This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

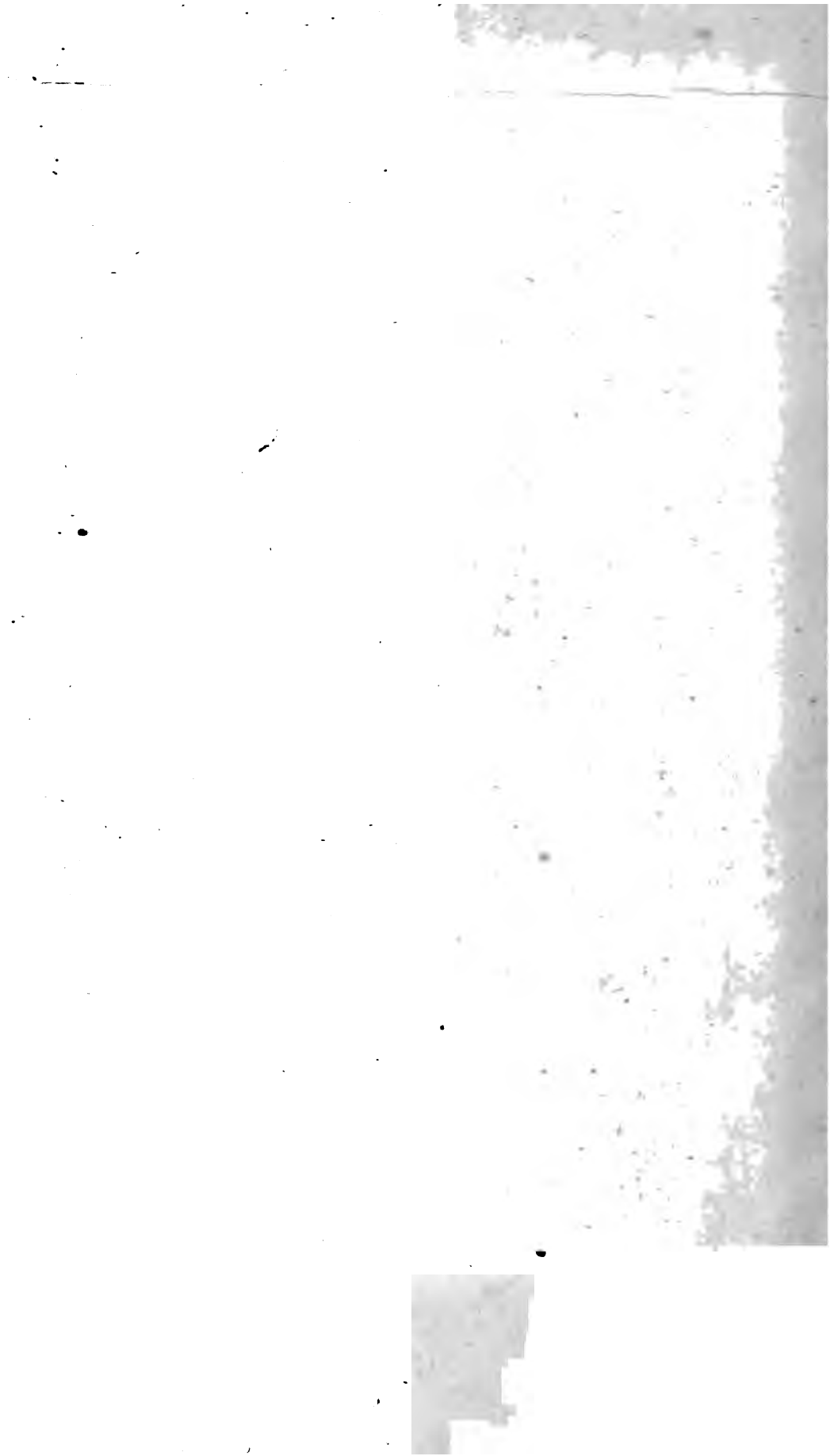
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

600019265T



THE

WEEKLY

POLITICAL REVIEW

OF

HENRY REDHEAD YORKE.

VOL. II.

From January to June 1807.

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville Street, Hatton Garden; and published at the Office, 412, STRAND, opposite the Adelphi, and by all the Booksellers and News-venders in Town and Country.

2297 d 9

D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No. 1. Address to the readers of the Review—On the compliments of the season, and an happy new year—Mr. Fox's private correspondence with Talleyrand—Civis's letter upon the patriotic fund—A genuine whig's letter upon the Hampshire election—Anglicus's letter to a young nobleman—Revolution in St. Domingo—Address of the government of Hayti to the commerce of neutral nations—Signature of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between this country and the united states of America - - - - - - - - - - - - 1—16

No. 2. Retrospect of the affairs of Europe in 1806—Parliamentary intelligence with observations—Mercator's letter upon West India affairs—A Foxite's letter on the delinquency of the editor—Address of the army of Hayti to the general in chief, Henry Christophe—Imperial ukase—Alexander, emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.—Miscellaneous information - - - - - 17—32

No. 3. Sketch of the operations of the campaign—Civis's letter upon West India affairs—The whigs—Ministerial economy—A half-pay recruiter's letter upon Mr. Windham's military plan—Proclamation of the king of Prussia relative to the French offer of negotiation—Note of Charles Maurice Talleyrand, prince of Boncvento; delivered in after the above armistice was signed—The president's letter to the congress of the united states of America - - - - - - - 33—48

No. 4. Sketch of the operations of the campaign concluded—Political reflections on the revolution in St. Domingo—Parliamentary intelligence—Mr. Fox's private correspondence with Talleyrand—Hampshire election—Middle Latitude's letter on the advantages of regular convoys—A continuation of the American state paper - - - - - - - - - - 49—64

No. 5. Slave trade non-importation bill—Observations upon aliens—The delinquency of Alexander Davison—The defence of John Bowles Esq—Mercator's letter upon West India affairs—Civis's letter upon the use of French commodities—Eugenius's letter to the marquis of Titchfield—Anglicus's letter upon the French, Russian, and Sepoy troops—Miles's letter upon the Pictonian controversy.—A continuation of the American state paper—Special message from the president of the United States—Frederick William's letter upon the proclamation of the king of Prussia, concerning the abolishing several abuses in the armies—Russian manifesto respecting the organization of the army - - - - - - - - - - - - 65—96

No. 6. The volunteers—The borough of Malton—A stroke of power in the island of Jamaica—Mr. Bowles and Cobbett, sir Home Popham and general Beresford—Publius's letter upon Mr. Pitt and the new plan of finance—Terræ Filius's real estate bill—A plain Englishman's remarks upon Cobbet's attack upon the two universities - - - - - - 97—112

No. 7. An address to the readers of the review for deferring the discussion of a promised article—An old field officer's letter upon sir Home Popham and general Beresford—A half-pay officer's letter upon the military plan—A Trinidad merchant's letter upon the importation of the Chinese into Trinidad—Verax's letter upon the slave trade—Contrast of character between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox—Goodman Blaff's letter upon foreigners—An old smoker's letter upon mad dogs—Queries—Official account of the battle of Pultusk - - - - - 113—128

No. 8. Parliamentary proceedings—General meeting of West India planters and merchants—Mercator's letter upon West India affairs—Senex's letter upon the slave trade—Monuments for Mr. Pitt—Continuation of the Russian state paper - - - - - 129—144

No. 9. An historical digest—Accusation of lord Wellesley—A West Indian's letter upon philanthropic insanity - - - - - - - - - - 145—160

No. 10. Defence of the administration of lord Wellesley—Monuments for Mr. Pitt—Meeting of the Roman catholics of Ireland—On the necessity of the immediate abolition of negro slavery—On the necessity of altering our plan of military operations—Opinion in America respecting the king of Prussia and Buonaparte—West India affairs—French barbarity—Eugenius's letter to the marquis of Titchfield—Amator Legum's letter upon the liberty of the press—Senex's letter upon the relief of the West India planters and merchants—Anglicus's letter upon the observance of the sabbath—Latin verse on the death of general Paoli—Rescript addressed by the grand seigneur to the grand vizier, on the 27th December, 1806 - - - - 161—192

No. 11. Defence of the administration of lord Wellesley—Civis's ministerial flim flams—Justitia's letter upon West India affairs, and new finance plan—Official account of the battle of Preussick Eylau—Battle of Pultusk - - - - - - - - - 192—208

No. 12. Norfolk Election—On the propriety of selling the West India colonies—Historical digest—Sir Home Popham—The catholic bill, and downfal of all the rank, weight, and talents of the kingdom—A country gentleman's letter upon the defence of the militia—Terræ Filius's letter upon the real estate bill—Inscription upon the right honourable William Pitt—Sempronius's letter upon the lying—Journals of France—Account of the battle of Pultusk concluded—Address to the people of Germany by the commander in chief of the imperial Russian army—The double acquittal—A bullet-in—A call for heroes - - - - - - - 209—240

No. 13. The historical digest—Dismissal of all the talents—Change of ministry—Eugenius's 6th letter to the marquis of Titchfield upon the catholic claims, and Mr Whitbread's plan for the education of the poor—Ajax Flagelliter's letter on the conduct of the Foxites—Operations of the Russians since their arrival in Old Prussia—The message of the president of America upon Burr's conspiracy - - - - - - - - - - - 241—256

No. 14. Considerations on the catholic question—Eugenius's 7th letter to the marquis of Titchfield, upon Mr. Whitbread's plan for the education of the poor—Publius's letter on all the talents—The president of America's message concluded—Proclamation of the prince of peace against the commerce of Great Britain. - - - - - - - - - 257—272

No. 15. Vindication of lord Wellesley's conduct respecting the personal freedom of the subject, and the liberty of the press in India—Dismissal of the late ministry—Oxoniensis's letter to the bishop of St. Asaph, upon his lordship's absence from the convocation, holden to petition against the bill in favour of dissenters—Stomagus on the Norfolk election—Publius's 2d letter "on all the talents"—A constant reader, on the treating act—The queries of Judith - - 273—288

No. 16. The historical digest—The three expiring pangs of all the talents—Publius's 3d letter on all the talents—A British soldier's observations on the organization of a general staff—Account of the capture of Alexandria - - - - - - - - 289—304

No. 17. The historical digest—Observations on the persecution of lord Melville—Publius's 4th letter on all the talents—Touchstone's political talisman—Anglicus on the condition of the Irish peasantry—Scotus Americanus on the American intercourse with the British West Indies—Account of the raising of the siege of Stralsund—Bulletin of the operations of the Russian army, from the 26th of December to the 16th of March—Report of general Bennigsen respecting the battle of Pr. Eylau—The speech of Cambaceres to the French senate, on the necessity of calling out the conscription for 1808—Report of the minister of war to the tyrant upon the same subject—Message of the tyrant to his senate for the immediate calling out of the conscription—The French official account of the events at Constantinople, with the diplomatic correspondence. 305—336

No. 18. Vindication of lord Wellesley's conduct respecting the personal freedom of the subject and the liberty of the press in India concluded—His majesty's message for proroguing the parliament—The dissolution of parliament—Remarks upon the general election—Timoleon on the perversion of the press—Address to the electors of Great Britain. - - - 337—352

No. 19. Address to the electors of the united empire—An approved loyalist's thoughts on the change of the late administration—Lord Grenville's letter to the secretary of the society for promoting christian knowledge—Reply of a member of the society to lord Grenville—Account of the Westminster election—An independent freeholder's address to the electors of the county of Hants—An independent loyalist's address to the people of Ireland—Agrestis on the squire and his servants, or the village uproar—Joseph's dream—Admiral Duckworth's account of the transactions before Constantinople - - - - - - - - - - - 353—384

No. 20. Address to the honest and independent electors of the city of Westminster—Account of the general election, with criticism on lord Milton's speech at Leeds—Viator's letter on the Horsham election, and the duke of Norfolk—General Frazer's dispatch relative to the occupation of Alexandria - - - - - - - - - - - 385—400

No. 21. Remarks on the Westminster election—The second letter to the electors of the united empire—The king's appeal to his people—Account of the Hampshire election—Ajax Flagelifer on the conduct of the whigs—A member of the church of England to the serious and impartial consideration of the freeholders of York—Continuation of general Frazer's dispatch—Articles of the capitulation for the surrender of Alexandria—Address of the French tyrant to the senate respecting the conscription - - - - - - - - - - 401—432

No. 22. Account of the general election—Third letter to the electors of the united empire—New constitution of the state of Hayti - - - - - - - - 433—448

No. 23. Answer to the Morning Chronicle on the probability of negotiation—Centinel's letter on the editors of the daily papers, and the clerks in the post-office.—Clericus's letter to lord Temple, upon his address to the freeholders of the county of Bucks—Account of the dinner given at Portsmouth to sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Rose—Philo Sidney's letter to the Hon. G. H. Rennet, on the Shrewsbury election—Anglicus's defence of the classics, in answer to Cobbett's ignorance—The Grantham address to the king - - - - - - - - - 449—464

No. 24. Remarks upon the late elections—Verax's letter upon the contested election for the county of York—Humphrey's letter upon the same subject—Remarks upon the conduct of Burdett—Sir F. M. Eden's address to the freemen of Durham—Address to the king from the borough of Carnarvon—Cleostratus's attack upon the editor for his opinions respecting the catholics—Animadversions upon Mr. Lyne's address to the electors of Middlesex—Extract from Mr. Bowles's observations upon Lancaster's plan of education—An admirer of whigs upon their disinterestedness 465—480

No. 25. Historical Digest—Vindication of lord Wellesley's conduct relative to the transactions in Oude—Remarks upon lord Howick's circular note—Mercator's eighth letter upon West India affairs—Juba's letter on the Westminster election.—Observations upon Cobbett, and the Hampshire election—Account of the defeat of the British army in Egypt - - - - 481—512

No. 26. On the impeachment of the late ministers—Vindication of lord Wellesley's conduct relative to the transactions in Oude, continued—Historical—The theory of money—On military presents and compliments—Ajax Flagellifer on the Yorkshire election—Answer to the letters of Verax and Humphrey on the Yorkshire election—Letter of a Sussex freeholder—General Armfeldt's report of the actions between the Swedish and French troops on the 16th of April, 1807—Capitulation of Dantzic—Official account of the battle of Auerstadt - - - - - - - 513—540

Mr REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 1. Saturday, January 3, 1807. Price 10*d*.

1

I cannot begin the labours of the New Year, without expressing, in the most earnest manner, my sentiments of gratitude towards my subscribers, for their patronage and continued support of this Review. It is with exultation I avow, that, after an experiment of one year and four weeks, *ten* only of my subscribers have relinquished the Paper. Of this number, *two* may be said not to have abandoned me; for, having changed their residences, and the Review being generally circulated in the parts whither they are gone, they have opportunities of reading, without being at the expense of purchasing it. This account they have communicated to me in terms that are extremely grateful to my feelings. From this circumstance, I am willing to believe that my exertions have given general satisfaction. It is also an encouragement for me to proceed with renewed industry and vigour. My readers may rely upon it, that no event (excepting extreme ill health, or a peace with France,) shall deter me from the prosecution of the work, while they are pleased to extend the same indulgence towards me, which I have hitherto experienced from them.

In the next place, I request all my Correspondents, with the exception of those who waste their time and paper in writing to me abusive letters, will accept my sincere acknowledgments for their patriotic, useful, and friendly communications. Among a numerous list of such friendly auxiliaries, I cannot avoid mentioning the names of ALBERT, a MINORQUIN, C. C. and AJAX FLAGELLIFER. These I have particularized, because they are, at present, wholly unknown to me; and the two former have, in the kindest manner, honoured me occasionally with their salutary admonitions respecting the manner of conducting the paper. I should be happy to have an opportunity of conveying my sentiments to them in the form of private letters. With respect of my other correspondents, it is sufficient for the public to know, that they were all *volunteers;* that not one amongst them is an author by profession; and that they are either beneficed clergymen, or gentlemen of independent fortune. It is necessary to state this fact, because it has been rumoured that I *employed* persons to send communications to the paper.

Lastly, when the success the Review has met with, is considered, I ought to congratulate *myself*, for displaying an habitual perseverance for *fifty-six weeks*, which those to whom I am known, never expected from me. In the course of the last year, I have had an opportunity of reading in the daily papers of London, as well as in the county papers, frequent extracts from my writings; they have appeared also in the French language, and, consequently, the political doctrines I have broached, seem to be generally approved of. This is satisfactory; and shews, that good principles will make their way, in despite of calumny and invective.

I have received several well-written letters upon the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett to me, which I have not inserted, and for this reason: they mentioned me in such terms of praise, that I could not permit them to appear, without exposing myself to the censure of the world. I freely confess that I am ambitious of praise; but I cannot consent to be the medium through which my own praises are communicated to the public. The gentlemen, therefore, who favoured me with these letters, will, I hope, admit the propriety of this deference to public opinion; and, at the same time, be assured, that I am not the less penetrated with sentiments of gratitude, for their good intentions and favourable disposition towards me. Though I will not defile my paper with personal altercations, I can assure my readers, that they will shortly see, in the subsequent numbers of this Review, such an exposure of the mysteries of the different Middlesex Elections, as will place Sir Francis Burdett, in a point of view, which no well-wisher to his country, and I add, no honest man, will envy him.

The next subject which deserves notice, is, the New Form in which the Review

appears. For making this change, I have no other reason to assign, than the request, repeatedly made, of a great majority of my subscribers. As far as I am concerned, it is immaterial to me in what shape my writings appear. The printer has informed me, that the present arrangement will exact an additional employment of my pen; but the circumstance does not intimidate me, provided the change afford general satisfaction. Although I have not been able to discover any great objection to the form adopted in the last volume, yet, I must admit that the present is the most commodious. We shall thus have *two* large octavo volumes in the year, one of which, will be completed at the expiration of six months.

Having explained the cause of this alteration, it will be proper to apprize my readers of the *improvements*, which, a greater experience in the business of authorship has enabled me to make.

In the first place, the general arrangement as announced in the Prospectus, published in 1805, will be observed, subject, however, to the following amendments.—The Historical department of the paper, will contain, as before, a digest of all the events which are passing before us; but the bulletins of the French army will be excluded from the State Papers. They will be made use of merely to elucidate the movements of the armies, without giving currency to rhapsodies of fulsome adulation in behalf of the ruler of France; or of low, vulgar, and illiberal invectives, against the persons of those sovereigns and nobles, who have been overpowered by his arms. We want no *ex post facto* anecdotes of Parisian manufacture. The State Papers will henceforward be more select, and not given promiscuously as they arrive. Hence, none will be inserted but such as from their permanent nature or importance (treaties, for instance, or manifestoes,) are worthy to be read and preserved. Secondly, I propose to give a correct analysis of the Proceedings in Parliament; and by thus reducing the arguments of the respective speakers into a small compass, we may succeed, at length, in causing long-winded speeches to be reduced within the compass of reason and sober argument.

Thirdly, the political remarks upon the two former departments, and upon various branches of our polity, will be continued, with a greater attention to arrangement. Under this head, I include communications.

Lastly, I shall occasionally review political pamphlets, under the head of POLITICAL LITERATURE; and introduce under the head of "Miscellanies," a variety of political queries and observations, which do not furnish sufficient scope for regular discussions. Upon the whole, it is my wish to make the future numbers of the Review, approach as nearly as can be expected from one individual, to the early volumes of the Annual Register. The standard departments of the work, will, therefore, consist of—The Historical; the Parliamentary; and the Political Review. In the next Number, I shall commence my operations; and the paper will be sent to press every Friday evening, so as to be presented to the reader at the usual hour of publication on Saturday, in a dry and unexceptionable condition.

The Compliments of the Season, and an happy New Year.

Deare countrey! O how dearely deare
Ought thy remembraunce and perpetuall band
Be to thy foster childe, that from thy hand
Did commun breath and nouriture receave!
How brutish is it not to understand
How much to her we owe, that all us gave;
That gave unto us all whatever good we have.

The Faerie Queene. b. 2. cant. 10.

Nought els but treason from the first this land did foyle.

Ibid.

What is the precise meaning of the salutation prefixed to this article? Although I do not believe that a single person out of the many to whom I now address myself, will enjoy an *happy* new year; although it be not impious or unnatural to *wish* that every one of you, as you advance in years, may also increase in health, truth, and prosperity; yet, *wishing*, will not bring happiness, no more than dreaming brings reality. It is the business, therefore, of your faithful editor, to remind you that we have fallen on evil days; that the approaches of calamity are visible and rapid; and that if you would escape the fury of the storm which is desolating the rest of the

world, you must resume the stubborn character of your ancestors, and fortify yourselves against adversity, by a speedy return to those religious, and public and private duties, for which *they* were renowned amongst nations. Formerly, this was the season of festivity: the circumstances of the times require, that we should observe it as a season of reflection. When we revert to all the events which have passed before our eyes since this work commenced, we are compelled to acknowledge, that no epoch in the history of man, has been so fruitful in calamity. We have been hitherto spared; but, it is beyond the reach of finite wisdom to affirm, that this state of apparent security will continue till the expiration of the year. For it does not appear that any adequate provisions have been made, to enable us to encounter the difficulties with which we are menaced. Abroad, our friends are either borne down by the tide of conquest; or, they are appalled by the disasters of their neighbours: at home, we find a people ready to make any sacrifices for the good of their country, and an unpopular government unable to take advantage of this laudable disposition. But, these are not the greatest evils with which we have to contend: we have also to contend with a treacherous and malignant faction, which, by clandestine machinations, and overt acts of sedition, is deeply engaged in sowing throughout the country, the seeds of disorder and disloyalty. This class of men are, in my opinion, more to be dreaded, and more to be watched, than either our government or Buonaparte. I did once cherish the idea, that the inflamed imaginations of these men, had become moderated by the influence of reason and example; that the extinction of public freedom in France, would have prompted them to divorce themselves from every unruly passion; and that the value of the liberty which they enjoy by laws, would be so enhanced in their estimation, as to inspire them with a veneration for the laws themselves. Recent events have proved that the judgment I had formed, was premature. The monster has only assumed a new shape; and if the votaries of revolution no longer emblazon on their red banners, the symbols of equality, universal suffrage, and rights of man, their public and *secret* operations are all directed to the attainment of those objects. They have their Catilines as well as their Jack Cades; their Gracchi as well as their Praise-God-Barebones. Very extraordinary and alarming facts have invaded my ears within the last three weeks; and therefore, I must again repeat, that instead of imitating our indifferent ministers in their revels, gambols, and festive juncates; every man who remains true to his king, true to the church and the state, true to the character of a Briton, ought to consider this as a period of great and imminent danger; and accordingly, he ought to sharpen the edge of his sword, to be ready to cut the throats of the enemies of the king, and of these conservative institutions, wherever they may shew themselves, and whether they be foreign or domestic foes. When, therefore, a man meets his friend, let him no longer imply health and *happiness* in greeting him with the compliments of the season; for the only just and appropriate meaning of the expression now is, that Great Britain may remain a nation until the first of next January, and that we may not become in that interval, the slaves of one great tyrant, or of a mob of tyrants. I have already observed that there is no harm in *wishing* an happy new year to our friends; but why should we make use of a phrase, and that too with apparent sincerity, when we are conscious, at the time of uttering it, that the wish cannot be realized? Is it from the natural propensity of men to torment and tantalize their fellow-creatures? Why then wish for impossibilities? What proof is there of friendship in the expression of a wish which borders on mockery? When we visit the house of mourning, do we ever attempt to console a weeping family, by *wishing* that their deceased relative were alive? On the contrary, do we not strive to inspire them with courage? Hence, it follows, that as it is impossible for any soul amongst us to be happy this year, we ought to dispense with the expression of the wish, and to supply the antient practice by introducing some other wish conveying a negative of circumstances likely to happen to every man; such as, "I wish you may not be ruined this year—I wish you may not be shot or sabred—I wish you may not be hanged, &c."

The stage upon which we move, is not so carpeted with joys as to justify us in entertaining the least idea of an happy year: on the contrary, wherever we fix our eyes, we may plainly discern the indications of a year of trouble, misery, anxiety,

and probably, of confusion. These indications are all to be traced in the events of the last twelve months. The humiliation of the house of Austria, occasioned the king of Prussia to lose his capital, and the greatest part of his dominions. My reasonings were disputed at the time; but, they have been since most fatally verified. As I am entering upon a new year, and about to renew my claims as a candidate for the favour of the public, I cannot do better than by citing, in this place, a passage relative to the subject.

"It does not require the gift of prophecy to predict the tragic catastrophe that would soon follow the downfall of the house of Austria. If that most frightful event, which can be compared only with the total dissolution of society, should occur *from the want of Prussian co-operation*, it will then be evident, that the antient system of policy has been blotted out of the memory of statesmen; that the love of present ease has prevailed over every rational sentiment of prudence; that those who have waited quietly till the invasion came on, may fight with a desperate and insulated valour, but that they will all be conquered in detail, by the ambitious enemy of Europe. The story of the Roman empire will then be renewed, when submission to foreign power, loss of liberty, and interruption of peaceful pursuits, will no longer be the phantoms of vulgar terror, or the themes of idle declamation; but real, and imminent, and inevitable calamities. Upon this last scene of the European drama, *Prussia will be called upon to perform her part*. With the moment of exalted glory past away, she would fall unlamented by posterity. While the tear of sympathy started from every eye, and the bosom kindled at the name of Austria, none would be found to dwell with rapture on the narrative of the expiring struggles of Prussia. Thus then, the extinction of the house of Austria would be avenged. *Its obsequies would be celebrated by bloody funereal games, and the Marche of Brandenburgh be the theatre of the representation.* A long and horrid night would thenceforward spread its curtain over the civilized world."*

Such were my predictions, in the event of Prussia refusing to co-operate with the allies *previous to* the battle of Austerlitz. With the exception of the prediction in the last sentence, which is nevertheless in the course of accomplishment, every syllable mentioned in the above extract has been fulfilled. Why, then, talk of an happy new year? The people of England have not been accustomed to hear homely truths from their ministers and representatives; they have been so much flattered, that false notions of security, seem to be every where entertained.

It may be alledged, that I am inculcating gloomy and desponding sentiments. That they are gloomy, is but too true; but when and where have I been known to encourage despair? All my labours have had a contrary tendency. There is not a single line to be found, in more than one thousand closely printed pages of the first volume of this Review, which can be tortured into such a meaning. On the contrary, the primary object of the undertaking was, and will continue to be, to inspirit the nation, by pointing out the ways and means of salvation. However, to obviate all misunderstandings, let us come to an explanation. What is meant by the term happiness? When applied to individuals, it cannot mean those enjoyments which the votaries of fashion falsely term pleasures; because these are of too fugitive a nature to leave an indelible impression upon the mind, capable of exciting, upon all occasions, serene recollections, and a consciousness of the dignity of our nature. True happiness, therefore, consists in the sensations which every man feels when he has discharged, according to the best of his ability, and to the circumstances in which Providence has placed him, the relative and public duties of a man and a citizen. If the mass of the people of this country were to be judged by this test, how few amongst us would be found to have been happy last year? Is it not become a subject of boasting, when any one has eluded the provisions of law, without being detected? Do not we exult in cheating the tax-gatherer, without reflecting that by so doing, we cheat our country, our children, and even ourselves? Does the evasion of the public law, framed by the united wisdom of the three branches of the legislature, evince a spirit of patriotism; or can it engender serene recollections? If not, we cannot be said to have discharged our duties as citizens;

---

* *See the 2d number of my first volume.*

and I believe it will not be denied that they who are not good citizens, cannot be good men. How then can we be happy, when we act in collusion together to sap the foundations of that general felicity, on which the happiness of the individual depends? There is too much thoughtlessness, indifference, and frivolity afloat; and I am sorry to add, the good old English spirit is gradually subsiding, while the levity and immorality of our French enemies usurp its place. This may appear to be a *prosing* doctrine to the fops of fashion; but its truth is not the less established on that account. To recal the people to a sense of their common dangers, and consequently, of their duties, is not less the province of a public writer, than to inveigh against public delinquents, and to denounce the crimes of the disturbers of mankind. If, therefore, my wish could influence the conduct of all orders of men, I do not think it could be more effectually accomplished, than by wishing that we might all be unhappy this year. For adversity is not without its uses. It reminds us of our errors, and by a natural transition, points out the path which leads to an happier futurity. A great and wide-spreading calamity might so convulse the state, as to cause it to be overwhelmed in a day; because we should not be adequately prepared to meet afflictions, which we had not anticipated. We have had numerous examples of the kind before our eyes within the last five years. In order, therefore, to fit ourselves for a brighter day, we should qualify ourselves to endure the ills of misfortune. A year of severe application to our public duties, and of extensive sacrifices for the good of our beloved country, now become doubly dear to us from the extinction of freedom and independence in every other part of Europe, would, I am confident, usher in the dawn of happy days. To promote this most desirable object, we ought to be parsimonious in our pleasures, moderate in our wishes, and liberal only in our objects. If every place of public amusement were shut up; if routs, masquerades, balls, play-houses, and operas, especially the latter, since the importation of the female pensioner of Buonaparte into this country, were abandoned during the present year; the public mind would be occupied with other and higher thoughts; and, in the absence of gratifications, whose only object is, to deaden reflection, and dissipate time; the men of the island would devote themselves to the means of attaining true happiness: and though the diversion from their accustomed pursuits might seem irksome at first, the ultimate advantages which they would reap from it, would amply compensate for their privations. It would resemble the struggles of those primitive Christians against the allurements of vicious examples, which had their final reward in the enjoyments of that eternal day-spring which reigns in the mansions of celestial glory.

Having thus given my candid opinions relative to the present state of this country, and the dark prospects with which the new year opens; I shall make it my business to offer such reflections, in the course of the future numbers of this work, which, if they cannot immediately remove, will, nevertheless, alleviate our burthen, and encourage us, by braving evils, finally to overcome them.

Mr. Fox's Private Correspondence with Talleyrand.

It must strike every impartial man, at least, as singular, that, at a time when his majesty's subjects are all prohibited by law from holding any correspondence with the enemy, the late secretary of state should have been himself in confidential intercourse with Buonaparte's prime minister; and that Talleyrand's letter to Mr. Fox should be of so very private a nature, that the latter did not feel himself justified in laying more than an extract from one of them before his gracious master. This subject was very properly taken up by Mr. Percival, on Tuesday, in the House of Commons, but afterwards as improperly abandoned, upon lord Howick's assurance, that the unpublished parts of these letters, threw no light (as he believed) upon the Negociation. This is one of the lamentable effects of that *candour*, which political partizans too often feel it necessary to exercise towards each other, at the expense of the public. If, however, Mr. Fox's friends have a shadow of zeal for his memory, they will produce the *whole* correspondence; for they cannot be so blind as not to know that there are many, very many people in this country, whose opinion of Mr. Fox is not precisely that entertained by his friends. There are many who are ready

to think all possible evil of Mr. Fox.—There are many more, who, not going that length, have no opinion of his discretion;—they remember that he was the man who pronounced the French Revolution to be the most stupendous monument of human wisdom;—they remember the evidence he gave at Maidstone;—they recollect that he rejoiced at the peace of Amiens, because it was glorious to France;—and some of them have lately seen a correspondence, * said to have passed, on his arrival in Paris, between Mr. Fox and General Santerre (the well-known *Regicide Brewer*, who commanded the troops at the murder of the king; and who, on that occasion, ordered the drums to beat, that the monarch's dying words might not be heard by the people,) in which, Mr. Fox proclaims the high value he sets upon the notice of "such a man" as general Santerre. These and many other circumstances attach a strong curiosity, at least, to Mr. Fox's private letters with Talleyrand; and their concealment may give rise to other sensations; to prevent which, and to secure Mr. Fox's character from any shadow of suspicion, I hope, ere these observations reach my readers, the letters will have been laid before parliament. I have hitherto considered the matter merely as it concerns Mr. Fox's reputation, with which, during the time he was in administration, at least, that of the country is intimately connected. I forbear, at present, from pressing the more important consideration, namely, the danger likely to arise from establishing, as a principle, the propriety of public ministers of states at war with each other, holding any intercourse unknown to one or both of their respective governments. This deserves a distinct consideration; and shall receive it, if the principle is not abondoned by the discretion of Mr. Fox's friends and successor.

The Patriotic Fund.

Sir,—In the debate on the king's speech, among a variety of topics touched upon by lord Howick that are highly deserving of illustration, I particularly noticed his allusions to the Patriotic Fund, and to the mischievous consequences of what he was pleased to term, "teaching the army and navy to look up for honours and rewards to any other source than the government."

I was at first rather surprised that his lordship should confine his censure to the committee for managing the Patriotic Fund, since many other societies and corporate bodies have, from time immemorial, had the hardihood to vote honorary rewards for public services; and the city of London, in particular, did so, on the very occasion to which his lordship alluded. It occurred to me, however, on recollection, that the city of London sends members to parliament; and a certain deference to parliamentary interest may be prudent, and perhaps necessary. The committee for managing the Patriotic Fund are not represented in parliament; and this, perhaps, accounts for their being singled out as the objects of ministerial attack.

Impressed, as his lordship appears to be, with a sense of the mischievous consequences of the system on which this institution is founded, he may probably feel it his duty to bring a bill into parliament, prohibiting any men, or body of men, (his majesty's ministers' excepted,) from voting honours or rewards, or expressing any testimony of approbation or gratitude whatever, to those who suffer, or distinguish themselves, in the service of their country; and thus get rid of this dangerous institution. Let us then inquire, before its fate be decided, how far his lordship's ideas respecting it are well founded.

An institution, to be deserving of censure, must be reprehensible either in its principles or in its practice. It must either be wrong in itself, or in the mode of its administration. I shall examine the Patriotic Fund by each of these criterions.

The principles on which it was founded appear in the proceedings of the general meeting when it was first established; and are declared to be, "the encouragement and relief of those who are engaged in the defence of the country, and who may suffer, or signalize themselves, in the common cause." It was therefore resolved, "that, in a conjuncture when the vital interests of our country, when the peculiar blessings which, under

---

* *In a pamphlet entitled "Circumstantial Details of the last Illness of Mr. Fox," &c. and which contains internal proofs of its own authenticity.*

our beloved sovereign and happy constitution, endear our social state, are involved in the issue of the present contest; when we are menaced by an enemy whose haughty presumption is grounded only on the present unfortunate position of the continental powers; and when we seem to be placed, for the moment, as the last barrier against the total subjugation of Europe by the overbearing influence of France; it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow subjects, who may be in any way instrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe. That, to animate the efforts of our defenders by sea and land, it is expedient to raise, by the patriotism of the community at large, a suitable fund for their comfort and relief; for the purpose of assuaging the anguish of their wounds, or palliating, in some degree, the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limb; for alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan; for smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age; and for granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit." It should be observed, that the Patriotic Fund was established at a crisis of peculiar public danger, when it was thought necessary to give new animation to those engaged in the general defence. The sentiments which then emanated from the meeting at Lloyd's were felt throughout the kingdom, and all ranks united in giving that energy to the public mind which this institution was so happily calculated to excite. In the list of subscribers we find the names of most of his majesty's then ministers, of the chief justices of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, of many of the other judges, and a number of such high characters as, it might be thought, would have sanctioned both the policy and legality of the measure beyond all question. But, without relying on their authority in support of principles which appear too incontrovertible in their own nature to require any vindication, I contend that his majesty's present ministers have given them the highest possible sanction, and shall oppose their former actions to their late declarations. In the last session of parliament they brought in a bill for increasing the pensions to officers' widows, and to officers and privates disabled in the service. Now, these gratuities, together with those given to the families and relatives of the men killed in action, are the sole objects to which the Patriotic Fund is applied, except the honorary rewards, which do not amount to one tenth part of the charitable donations. His majesty's ministers, therefore, in passing this bill, admitted the propriety, and even the necessity, of such encouragement being given; they adopted and acted upon the very system of the Patriotic Fund; and, in so doing, paid that institution the highest possible encomium.

But, it may be contended, (and we have not far to look for instances to establish the truth of the position,) that, though the constitution be good, the administration may be bad. It is necessary, therefore, to advert to the measures taken by the subscribers for carrying these resolutions into effect. For this purpose, at a subsequent general meeting, a committee was appointed, of fifty gentlemen, from such subscribers, of 100l. and upwards, as expressed their willingness to undertake the office. This committee established weekly meetings, and formed various sub-committees: thus dividing amongst them the great mass of business which was necessarily connected with this establishment, and conducting it without any expense to the fund, except the salary of a single secretary, to whom an assistant has been given since the battle of Trafalgar. They have annually prepared and published a report of their proceedings; wishing, as we learn from their prefaces, in the first instance to diffuse the knowledge of the institution as extensively as possible among those for whose relief and encouragement it was instituted; and, afterwards, considering it their duty to give the subscribers to the fund a regular account of its application. These reports will shew whether they have at all times made the original resolutions of the subscribers the strict rules for their conduct: and, until some charge of negligence or partiality can be substantiated against them, (and none, I believe, has ever even been thought of,) I shall continue to think them entitled to great praise, for disinterestedly devoting so much of their time and attention to the discharge of this important duty.

Being unable to discover any just ground for reprehension, either in the principles on which this institution was established, or in the mode in which it is conducted,

I shall now examine the mischievous consequences resulting from it, which have been assigned as the reason for the hostility manifested against it by one of his majesty's ministers. From the past we learn to judge of the future; and the mischievous consequences of the Patriotic Fund may best be deduced from those of the similar subscriptions raised during the late war. These can be testified by a cloud of living witnesses. The widow's heart has been made to sing for joy; the destitute orphan has been provided with support and education; and the disabled veteran has been furnished with the means of additional comfort. As the same causes produce the same effects, these consequences will ensue again; with this addition, that the donations of the Patriotic Fund are extended to all those engaged in his majesty's service, who suffer, and to the families or relatives of all those who fall, in action with the enemy, on every occasion whatever; instead of being confined, as was formerly the case, to those who had a share in gaining some particular victories: and the knowledge of this provision has certainly done away one great cause of reluctance felt by many men, and by those connected with them, to their engaging in his majesty's service; or, as it is well expressed by the committee, "the seaman, the soldier, the volunteer, may confidently trust, that those who are dear to him while living, will, in the event of his falling in the sacred cause, find friends and guardians in a grateful and generous country." This persuasion has, I believe, done more towards promoting the recruiting service than all the clauses in Mr. Windham's new bill.

To consider the present of a sword, or a vase, whether from the city of London, the Patriotic Fund, or any other body of men, or the freedom of any city or corporation, as teaching an officer to look up for honours and rewards to any other source than the government, is the language of spleen, not of sound reason. It is assertion, not only without proof, but without even a shadow of probability. As testimonies of the approbation of their countrymen, these gratuities have a comparative value; and nine out of ten of those from the Patriotic Fund are the more gratifying from being given to officers whose subordinate rank precludes them from any other honorary marks of distinction for their gallant conduct. The committee have observed the enthusiasm with which their honorary rewards have been accepted; and the effect they must naturally produce, of animating those who receive them to new exertions, is equally obvious and desirable. If public testimonies of approbation are to be abolished, the most powerful passion in the human mind, the love of fame, can no longer be gratified; and the greatest incentive to deeds of noble daring will be repressed. Let ministers be careful not to expose themselves to the suspicion of being actuated by a churlish jealousy of every thing, however laudable, which did not originate with themselves, and is not immediately under their own controul.

In the month of August last, the committee for managing the Patriotic Fund appropriated 40,000l. as a provision for the maintenance of such children of seamen and marines killed in his majesty's service, as they might recommend to that establishment. Previous to that measure taking place, several conferences were held between the committee and the commissioners of the Royal Naval Asylum. Lord Howick, as a member of that board, had then a most favourable opportunity of pointing out to the committee any of their proceedings which he considered as exceptionable; and the questions at issue between them might have been temperately and fully discussed. But, not a breath of disapprobation then transpired. On the contrary, they were complimented on their zeal and liberality. The 40,000l. was received: and, the moment parliament met, his lordship issued a thundering manifesto against them. The candour of this conduct, on his part, requires no comment.

I am still not without hopes of finding an excuse for his lordship. The resentment which he expressed against the committee for managing the Patriotic Fund, may, probably, after all, have originated in a misapprehension. He terms them the Committee at Lloyd's. Now, there is a committee at Lloyd's who conduct the affairs of the underwriters; and who, I have heard, while his lordship officiated as first lord of the admiralty, were thought so troublesome in complaining of the number of captures made in the channel, and of the want of proper protection being given to

trade, that his lordship, instead of following the example of his predecessors, and sending the intelligence received at the admiralty respecting the arrival of ships to them, ordered it to be addressed to the lord mayor, who was no more interested in it than you, sir, to whom I am addressing this letter. Perhaps, when his lordship discovers that the committee for managing the affairs of Lloyd's coffee-house, and the committee for managing the Patriotic Fund, are two distinct bodies, the innocent may no longer suffer for the guilty; and his lordship's wrath against the latter may be in some degree assuaged.

It appears rather extraordinary, that, notwithstanding various subscriptions of this sort have been set on foot from time to time, so as to have furnished lord Howick with abundant opportunity of reflecting both on their nature and consequences, he never should have discovered their mischievous tendency 'till the present moment. His lordship, while presiding at the board of admiralty, is supposed to have derived much useful instruction from a noble earl who once presided in the same situation. After the glorious victory off Cape St. Vincent's, where that noble earl acquired the immortal honours recorded in the title which he bears, he expressed himself in terms of rapture respecting a subscription set on foot for the sufferers under his command; and, in unison with those feelings, his name appeared in the earliest list of subscribers to the Patriotic Fund. With the favourable impressions of this institution which, we may presume, lord Howick to have received, it appears still more extraordinary that these formidable objections against it should have struck his mind the moment that an honorary mark of distinction had been voted to sir Home Popham, an officer to whom earl St. Vincent is well known to be inimical, and whose sentiments lord Howick may be supposed to partake, as far, at least, as friendship can properly influence the human mind.

Perhaps lord Howick may think reform preferable to revolution, and that the Patriotic Fund might still be tolerated, if the business were conducted by ten or twelve commissioners, nominated by government, with salaries of 1000l. or 1500l. per annum each, and a proportionate number of clerks and secretaries. From the number of new commissioners who have been appointed since his majesty's present ministers came into office, we may presume that they have cogent reasons for preferring this system. It might be farther necessary to call a general meeting of the subscribers, for the purpose of having these few words added to the original resolution for conferring honorary marks of distinction for successful exertions of valour or merit. "subject always to the approbation of his majesty's ministers for the time being;" For want of this precaution the committee certainly have committed most egregious blunders. Judging of successful exertions of valour, or merit, by the official dispatches in extraordinary gazettes, and the park and tower guns being ordered to be fired, as tokens of triumph, demonstrations that might have misled wiser men, they voted honorary rewards to the officers who commanded at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, without waiting to know the sentiments of the secretary for the war department; who the very next day told parliament, that it did not merit their thanks. They acted in the same manner on the capture of that important settlement Buenos Ayres; when, behold, it is now asserted that it was taken without orders, that the parties who directed the enterprize deserved censure, instead of praise, and have been recalled accordingly. The brother of lord Howick, who avows having advised their recal, has been sent out to take the command from general sir David Baird. Personal considerations could certainly have no weight in this appointment: the illustrious exploits of general Grey, must have distinguished him as the most proper officer who could be selected for that important trust; and when we hear them recounted, the laurels of Seringapatam, Alexandria, and the Cape, that encircle the brow of his predecessor, will doubtless wither at the recital.

It must be admitted, that his majesty's ministers act with great candour, in renouncing all credit to themselves, from the achievements of those officers who have had the temerity to conquer the enemy without their orders; particularly when it is considered how little other merit of this description they have to claim. Lord Howick's doctrine, that no officer, entrusted with command, is to act as his interest or inclination may prompt, and that such conduct will defeat the best concerted plans of ministers, is indisputable; and the effect of the assertion would have been

heightened, if his lordship had detailed those sagacious plans which had been defeated by the expedition to Buenos Ayres; but on this topic he forbore explanation. That these officers acted without any authority, is scarcely credible; and as it is the privilege of every Englishman to be considered innocent until he is found guilty, and as a latitude of discretion may have been allowed them with which lord Howick is unacquainted, I shall suspend my opinion on this subject until they have been heard in their own vindication. I feel disposed to exercise a greater degree of caution in condemning men on the accusation of the present ministry; and, indeed, to commiserate those against whom their accusations are brought, from having seen them, in the case of lord Melville, punish first, try afterwards, and, when the object of their persecution was declared innocent; leave him, in degraded honours, and shattered fortunes, without reparation or atonement.

Some claim to consistency, too, must be allowed them; for it well becomes that administration which suppressed the ardour of the volunteers, to decry the merit of the Patriotic Fund; as both sprang from the same source, that noble enthusiasm in the public mind, which renders every nation whom it animates, great and invincible. Mr. Windham has nearly accomplished the former object; lord Howick has undertaken the latter.

If both can be completely effected, if public spirit and enthusiasm can be altogether crushed, and every sentiment but such as is sanctioned by their fiat can be stifled, then, indeed, may they expect a long and undisturbed administration; but if they persist in their present system, they will find that the spirit of Britons is not to be broken: they will be told, that when they abolished voluntary services, and voluntary contributions, to substitute conscriptions and taxes in their place, they struck at the root af every thing spontaneous and noble in the public feelings: that they may hereafter attempt in vain, to revive that generous flame of patriotic ardour, which they have so injudiciously extinguished: that they employed that energy against their fellow-subjects at home, which should have been directed against the enemy abroad; and they will be pointed out by an indignant nation, as the men who depreciated the services of the volunteers, and disparaged the principles of the Patriotic Fund.

December 24, 1806. CIVIS.

Hampshire Election.

Sir,—I regret your correspondent, the *Freeholder*, in your last number, omitted to give you an account of the Dinner which took place at Winchester, on the day on which the *young ministerial* candidates were declared duly elected for this county. I shall, therefore, in order that all the facts relative to this election, especially as they regard the conduct of the *Grenvilles*, may pass in *review* before your readers, trespass for a few minutes on their attention. Immediately after the election closed, Mr. Herbert and Mr. Thistlethwaite *declined* the honour of being *chaired*, as customary on such occasions, and *retired* from Winchester, not wishing to receive the congratulations of the freeholders and yeomanry then assembled; and *their* friends adjourned from the hustings to the George inn to dinner, at which the earl Temple presided. After dinner the noble and *disinterested* earl gave—the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, and then the following toast: "*The glorious and immortal memory of Charles James Fox!!*" It was drank in *awful* silence by the company, from *their astonishment* that *such* a toast could have been given by the noble earl: and it was followed by other *whiggish* toasts, suitable only to such an occasion.

The truly glorious and immortal memory of the illustrious *relative* of the noble earl (Mr. Pitt) it did not *then* suit his lordship's purpose to notice; nor the good old fashioned election toast of—"Success to the *protestant* succession"—or any others of a similar tendency. I have merely related these facts, as "the Courier" has much disappointed us in this county, by not inserting in that paper, some observations on the toasts given by the noble earl at that dinner, although four weeks ago, it announced such an intention. Your readers, by reference to the files of the Hampshire Telegraph, will find this statement correct; as an *advertisement*, containing these toasts, was inserted in it; and *sans* doubt by the *whigs*, for the purpose of *exhibiting* to the freeholders the *consistency* of this *prominent* branch of the *Grenville* family, and *Colossal* prop of the *elephant* administration.

One word more—the account of the dinner contained in your last number, must surely have been *manufactured* after some of its *whig-attendants* had returned *here*, and inserted by them in the Hant's Telegraph, without the knowledge of its *impartial* proprietor (from whose paper it is taken) or of the friends of Mr. Thistlethwaite; as it does *not* notice either him or his speech *(if he made one)* after the healths of the two *young* members had been given; and the *dramatis personæ* merely consist of Mr. *Herbert*, the third son of the master of the horse; Mr. *Goldson*. a famous *anti-vaccinist*; and which, perhaps, accounts for the scraps of *Latin* with which his speech is *larded*; sir Thomas Miller; the immaculate earl Temple; and Mr. Portal, the *ci-devant* barrister. I have mentioned these *truly* independent personages in the order they are noticed in your last review.

I trust, sir, the plain, honest, uncorrupted, and hitherto undismayed freeholders of this county will *not be deterred*, either by threats, ridicule, or otherwise, from presenting to parliament their petition, on the indecent and undisguised use which was made of the government power and influence in the late election; as it will enable the public to judge of the *sincerity* of the professions made by *whig-ministers* when *out of place*; besides, the facts which must be disclosed, if the petition is not withheld, will lead to a discussion of the highest importance, not only to the people at large, but to *their* representatives *in* parliament, and which ought to produce some *legislative* regulation, to prevent, in future, the interference of peers in elections: for what avail the resolutions adopted by the house of commons, on the commencement of every *new* parliament, if there is no *statutable* provision to render them *binding* on those personages to whom they apply; it being understood there are instances of *peers*, or of *a peer*, voting at elections; and, as to their interference on such occasions, it is obvious to *every* one.

The following are the resolutions referred to: "Resolved, that no peer of this realm hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in parliament." R. *nem. con.* 14th Dec. 1699.

13th Febry. 1700—24th Oct. 1702.

"Resolved, that it is a *high infringement* of the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great Britain, for any lord of parliament, or any lord lieutenant of any county, *to concern themselves* in the election of members to serve for the commons in parliament." R. *nem. con.* 15th Febry. 1700—24th Oct. 1702.

The partizans of the *present* ministers *affect* to laugh at the idea of any petition being presented to parliament, on the ground of the undue influence used by them in the late election. At other times, they pretend and say, that ministers, in that respect, merely followed the footsteps of their predecessors, and, therefore, they are not blameable; but, surely, the good sense of the *British* nation will not admit, even if the fact were so (but which I deny), of such an excuse for an *unconstitutional* use of the power and influence of the government: and I do not hesitate to assert, that in no instance whatever, since the revolution, has there been such general ministorial interference, as during the *late* election.

From these reasons it becomes necessary, that a parliamentary inquiry should be urged on this subject, in order to ground such *legislative* regulations, as will, in days to come, secure a full and free exercise to the subject of the rights of election.

Portsmouth, 30th *Dec.* 1806. A GENUINE WHIG.

To a Young Nobleman.

Utcumq: defecére mores,
Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.—Hor. Carm.

My lord,—The present moment beholds you situated in an official capacity of the utmost importance. The English nation, a people peculiarly favoured by omnipotence, above the other children of the earth, beloved by its allies, dreaded by its enemies, and respected by all mankind,—this nation looks up to you as one of its principal directors. Upon your judgment and disposition, in a great measure, depend its safety, its happiness, and its prosperity. In consideration, therefore, of the high charge with which you are invested, it becomes *your duty*, not merely your *interest*, to use the most vigorous and prompt exertions in behalf of your country, and your king. Of your unalterable determination to persevere in the paths of

virtue and integrity, and of your heartfelt zeal for the public cause, I have not, my lord, the smallest doubt. The commencement of the present sessions opens to your view, a wide field for the display of oratorical, as well as political ability. Suffer not yourself, however, to be misled by the force of prejudice or the suggestions of enthusiasm. Be cautious in the distributions of emoluments; be guarded in the election of your subordinate agents. In the imposition of taxes, remember, not to oppress the poor. The needy labourer, who, from the burden of excessive imposts, is unable to procure the necessaries of life for his starving offspring, would as readily vow allegiance to Napoleon Buonaparte, as to the sovereign of England. He, like the miserable inhabitant of the continental states, would exclaim in the bitterness of his heart, "What cares the world for me? What I for it? "The famished wretch "has nought to lose;—a change cannot sink him lower, but may rouse him to a "better lot." It would be needless to comment further upon this subject; 'tis well known, that in case of invasion or serious attack, we must look to the lower orders of society as our chief defence; if they are overwhelmed with a grievous and intolerable weight of taxes, how can we expect their aid in the time of need? but, above all, my lord, employ the powers you so amply possess, in resisting the torrent of iniquity, which threatens our destruction. Strive against the attractions of vicious example, and take warning by the sad condition of those once great men, whose impropriety of conduct has exposed them to pity or contempt.—

Felix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.—

Alas! when I see them environed with an host of *domestic as well as foreign foes, when, instead of reforming their principles, and new modelling their plans, I see them deserting their homes, and spending their substance upon the capricious vanity of courtezans; I lament their folly, and tremble at their unconscious danger. YOUR conduct, my lord, I by no means reprobate. You are young, it is true, but your private life has, I am willing to believe, been hitherto irreproachable. Act ever thus, my lord, and be assured, that whilst you continue to do so, neither the sneers nor calumnious aspersions of your enemies will, in the slightest degree, be able to affect your honour, your integrity, or your peace. One further truth I should wish to impress upon your mind ,as deserving the most serious attention, "That next to the example of persons allied to the monarch on the throne, that of the peer is the most alluring and efficacious. It diffuses its effects, not merely among those who are admitted to his society, and to his table, but is propagated from one knot of imitators to another, and spreads through the adjoining country far and wide. The pattern which *he* exhibits, has a prevailing influence in deciding, whether vanity and pride shall be deemed honourable or disgraceful; whether the tide of extravagance, luxury, and dissipation, shall be quickened or retarded; whether useful plans and institutions shall meet with countenance or neglect; whether industry, morality, and religion, shall flourish or decline; whether unassuming merit shall be encouraged, or its recompense be intercepted by shameless ignorance, and accommodating, perhaps brilliant vice. Viewing all his proceedings in this light; let a nobleman be careful, and not for his *own sake only*, but for the *sake also of society*, that the influence of virtue and religion be not diminished by his example." To conclude, let me conjure you, my lord, to notice these humble admonitions. Scrupulously fulfil the duties of your elevated rank; and thus convince the English nation, that the dearest object of your heart is, the defence of their rights and liberties, from *factious jacobins and French marauders.* ANGLICUS.

REVOLUTION IN ST. DOMINGO.

Narrative of the Haytian Campaign against Tyranny, from the 13th to the 16th Oct. 1806.—"A horrible crime was about to be committed in the department of the south; thousands of victims were on the point of being sacrificed to the suspicion, or the ferocity rather, of Dessalines. General Moreau, and the inspector Etienne Mentor, were the ministers charged with the execution of these sanguinary orders in the quarters of Des Cayes. They were already employed in taking measures for

* *What stronger proofs of intestine dissatisfaction can we require than Mr. Paull's* 3,000 *votes at the Westminster election.—"The ministerial seat is made of red-hot iron, men are "afraid of sitting on it. The state of a sick man is very critical, when even quacks are "afraid to take charge of him. This is a a sure symptom of some great revolution."*
Extracts from the Argus, (printed at Paris) for the week before last.

executing them, when, being detected in their abominable projects, they were both arrested by order of the brave Ouagnac. The inhabitants of the town of Des Cayes, finding support in this amiable chief and his troops, rose *en masse*, and swore to die with arms in their hands.

" Colonel Francis Yeune, informed of the movements which took place in the town of Des Cayes, appeared in the midst of his fellow-citizens, confirmed them in these noble resolutions, and departed to propose in his division those sublime principles which were to insure the triumph of innocence. To arrive, address his companions in arms, and to dispose them to adopt his sentiments, were for him only the work of a moment.

" The minister of war, apprized by the colonel of the disposition of the inhabitants and troops, although ill, quitted his bed to put himself at the head of this holy insurrection. His whole suite followed him, and his zeal was well rewarded by the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Soon after, generals Ferou and Vaval followed his generous example. Colonel Brune also conducted himself perfectly in this crisis.

" After having formed all his dispositions, the minister set out from L'Anse a Veau, with the 15th and 16th demi-brigade, and advanced towards Mirajoune. On the next day, he had a conversation with general Gayon, who was encamped at Little Goave, and finding him favourable to his designs, every thing was agreed upon; but still this general would not conclude any thing until the arrival of general Petion, with whose sentiments he was previously acquainted. Colonel Lamane, and all the troops of this division, were also of the same inclination. General Ambroise, though much indisposed, and scarcely able to stand, repaired, notwithstanding, to Leogane, on the first intelligence of these movements, in order to be able to confer with general Petion on the part that he was to take. They scarcely met, when they fully agreed.

" On the 15th, at noon, general Petion arrived at Little Goave, where he was received by the army with the enthusiasm he merited. The two divisions having joined, marched direct for Great Goave, where general Germain waited for his brigade. Having been surrounded, he affected to decide in our favour; but it was soon perceived that he only wished to gain time.

" The same day we proceeded to Leogane; and, the next morning, with the 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 21st, and 24th demi-brigades, and three squadrons of dragoons, we were in possession, at four o'clock, of Port-au-Prince.

" The conduct of general Germain becoming more suspicious, and fears being entertained that he would escape by night, he was arrested.

" At ten at night, we were apprized by a traveller of the approach of a battalion of the 3d, from Archhaye, and forming the advanced guard of Dessalines. Every thing was prepared for their reception. They arrived, and surrendered without the least resistance, in consequence of the vigorous measures adopted by general Gayon.

" A deputation from the soldiers and planters of the plain of the *Cul de Sac* came at midnight to declare to general Petion, in the name of their constituents, that the deaths of Dessalines and Germain were necessary for the preservation of liberty; that the soldiers were resolved to do their duty; that the planters would take care of the plain, and that they would besides engage to keep the tyrant ignorant of the measures which it was necessary to adopt against him. They kept their words; Dessalines crossed the plain without receiving information from any one of the disposition of the army. This event confirms the observation, that tyrants have numbers of flatterers, but no friends.

" Dessalines, who was ignorant of this, and who had not the least suspicion of our arrival at Port-au-Prince, pursued his journey with the most perfect security. At eight in the morning he had reached our advanced posts without perceiving it, and it was only when they proceeded to arrest him, that he perceived he was not in the midst of his friends. He then endeavoured to escape, and in the attempt received the blow which put an end to his life and his crimes. Colonel Maardie, who wished to defend him, also fell on this occasion, but with general regret. On the part of the enemy there were also a few persons wounded; our loss was one man killed.

" Such were the operations of the army. Four days were sufficient to crown it with perfect success.

" This great event, which will contribute an æra in human revolutions, will proclaim to the astonished world the energy of an oppressed people, and attract to us the admiration and esteem of all nations.

" On the 18th, at nine in the morning, *te deum* will be sung in celebration of this memorable day, which has been the fall of tyranny and the resuscitation of liberty. (Signed) Gerin, minister of war and marine.—Petion, general commandant of the second division of the west.—Gayon, Vaval, generals of brigade.—Brunet, intendant general and head of the staff.

" *Head-quarters, Port-au-Prince, 17th October*, 1806."

" *Address of the government of Hayti to the commerce of neutral nations.*—The inhabitants of Hayti had scarce delivered themselves from the French yoke, than they had another hydra to destroy, which they had nourished in their own bosom. Their whole attention is now turned to the cultivation of that valuable produce, which the mercantile part of Europe obtains at a great expense from the most distant countries. Our persevering industry has procured us a most abundant recompense for our laborious exertions. The riches of our soil offer a most pleasing prospect to your speculations. Our warehouses, filled with all the productions of the Antilles, only wait the arrival of your mercantile fleets, to make an exchange of the manufactures of which we stand in need, for those which you require. If a system, unfavourable to the progress of commerce, has hitherto interposed to prevent its success among us, that disastrous influence will shortly cease. The imposture is dissipated, the phantom has disappeared, and all the illusions that hovered round it are dispersed. So far is our government, in its present regenerated state, from opposing the freedom of commerce in our ports, that it offers facilities to you which cannot be granted by any other government. It is of no consequence under what colours you may appear: the protection of your property, the security of your persons, and a rigid maintenance of the laws in every thing that relates to you, are guaranteed to you on the faith of government. Solid regulations, and dictated by wisdom—duties arranged in proportion to the difficulties that you may experience in gaining our ports, are equitably collected; great dispatch in expediting your vessels; with men of integrity in the direction of the public offices. Such are the changes on which you may have a perfect reliance. The government is firmly persuaded, that where a reciprocal advantage does not prevail, there can be no commerce. It has already directed the suppression of exclusive consignments; of the tax on the price of articles; of the privileges granted for the sale of coffee, as well as the obligation to take cargoes of sugar, &c. Every one will be at liberty to sell and to buy on the conditions that he shall judge most for his advantage. Those regulations, produced by ignorance, will no longer offer impediments to your speculations: your confidence will be no longer forced in favour of individuals who were equally strangers to you, and to the welfare of their country. Your friends, your own particular factors, shall have the possession of your property; and the government engages to grant them all the protection which they can desire. The sanguinary horrors which have too notoriously marked the commencement of a cruel reign, will no more renew the sad spectacle of scenes that are past. Come with perfect confidence to traffic in our ports: come and exchange the fruits of your industry for our riches; and be persuaded, that you will never have cause to repent of a reliance on our promises.

" At the same time, while the government is exerting all its efforts to procure you the advantages of a brilliant commerce, it requires of your agents the same loyalty and good faith, which it will exercise towards you. It also expresses its hope, that the base conduct of the privateers of Louisiana will not be imitated, and that it will have no cause to regret that its too great confidence has been abused.

" The ports are the Cape, Fort Dauphin, Port-de-Paix, the Gonaives, Saint Mark, Port-au-Prince, the Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel, where you may send your cargoes with the certainty of an advantageous return.

" The well-known exactness with which the government of Hayti acquits its engagements, is a solemn pledge for the execution of the treaties it may enter into with

you. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which preceded our independence, and the disastrous wars which it necessarily produced, the means of government have never failed of keeping pace with its wants. Such is the astonishing extent of our resources, that even the vices of the preceding administration did not prevent the liquidation of all its contracts. Judge then what will now be our prospect as well as yours, when a wise economy shall take the place of prodigality, and that an equitable collection of the revenues will determine the rights of government as well as those of individuals. Haste then to come and avail yourselves of these favourable dispositions, which your connections with us will confirm more and more. Whatever may be the number of your vessels, whatever may be the extent of your speculations for our ports, entertain not the least apprehension, that you will not acquire a certain profit. An abundant harvest, commodities already prepared, wait your coming, and the certainty of an immediate sale of your cargoes is assured to you.

"Given at the Cape, October 24, 1806, in the third year of the independence of Hayti.—The chief of the government of Hayti, Henry Christophe.—By his excellency the secretary of the government, Ronanez, the younger."

PROCLAMATION.—"An horrible tyranny, exercised a long time upon the people and the army, has at length exasperated all minds, and excited them, by a movement worthy the motive that has produced it, to rise in a mass, in order to oppose a powerful boundary against the torrent that threatened them.

"A plot, framed in silence and reflection, was upon the point of execution; men capable of thinking—those men capable of making the sublime principles of true liberty finally triumphant—men who were even the defenders of that liberty, were to disappear for ever. A rapid step towards its total subversion, had already appalled the most indifferent: every thing seemed to announce that we were approaching the moment when we were to see all the former scenes of horror and proscripton renewed; those dungeons, gibbets, faggots, drownings, of which we were the sorrowful and unhappy victims, under the iniquitous governments of Rochambeau, the Darbois, the Ferrands, Bergers, &c. &c.

"Less affected by the happiness of his people, than greedy to amass riches, the chief of the government unjustly despoiled thousands of families of their property, and who are at this moment reduced to the utmost misery, under the apparent pretext that they could not justify the titles to their property, but, in fact, to augment his own domains. Is it not incontestible, after enjoying an estate ten, twenty, or thirty years, that one ought to be admitted as the real proprietor? Dessalines was not ignorant of this: but had persuaded himself, that even his fellow-citizens had lost their titles in the late disturbances. He wished to avail himself of this to satisfy his cupidity. Some little farmers were hurried away from their dwellings, and sent, without regard to age or sex, to the plantations to which they formerly belonged. If any particular situation, or any view of the general interest, could authorize that measure which appears to have been adopted by preceding governments; at least it would have been justice to have granted an indemnification to those against whom it was exercised.

"Commerce, the source of plenty and prosperity to states, languished in an apathy under this ignorant man, the chief causes of which were the vexations and the horrors exercised upon strangers. Cargoes violently seized, bargains broken as soon as they were contracted, banished far from our ports the ships of all countries. The assassination of Thomas Thuat, an English merchant, who had long resided in the country, where he was respected on account of his blameless conduct and his virtues, excited general indignation; and why was he murdered? Thomas Thuat was rich: this was his sole crime. The Haytian merchants were not better treated. The advantages which it was affected to allow them, were only calculated upon the profits which it was expected to extract from them.

"Always swayed by his vicious disposition, the chief of the government, in his last tour, disorganized the army. His cruel avarice suggested to him the idea to transfer the troops of one corps to another, for the purpose of bringing them nearer to their native place, in order that they should require no subsistence, although he exacted from them the most assiduous service. The soldier was deprived of his pay, of his subsistence, and appeared every where almost naked; while the public

treasure furnished, in profusion, annual stipends of 20,000 dollars to each of his mistresses, of whom he kept twenty at least, to support their boundless extravagance, which was both a disgrace to the government and an insult to the general misery.

"The laws were not more respected. A constitution was framed by order of the emperor, solely for the advancement of his private interests, dictated by caprice and ignorance, put into form by his secretaries, and published in the name of the generals of the army, who not only never approved or signed this misshapen and ridiculous document, but never had the least knowledge of it, until it was published and promulgated. The regulating laws, formed without plan or combination, and rather with the intention of satisfying a passion, than regulating the interests of the inhabitants, were always violated and trodden under foot by the monarch himself. No protecting statute shielded the people from the barbarity of the sovereign; his supreme pleasure sent a citizen to death, and none of his friends or relatives could tell why. No restraint, in fact, arrested the ferociousness of this tiger thirsting for the blood of his fellows; no representations had any effect upon his savage heart, not even the entreaties of his amiable wife, whose excellent qualities we all admire.

"The ministers, whose duties were defined by the constitution, if that act can be so named, could never exercise it for the happiness of the people. Their plans and representations were always laughed at, and rejected with disdain. Their zeal for the public good in general, and that of the army in particular, was always, of course, rendered ineffectual.

"Cultivation, that first branch of public and private wealth, was not encouraged, and the orders of the chief only tended to diminish the number of unhappy planters. Was it wise, in fact, to snatch from cultivation the hands which promoted it, for the purpose of unnecessarily augmenting the number of troops, who were neither paid, cloathed, nor subsisted, while the army was before on a respectable footing.

"Such crimes, such enormities, such vexations, could no longer remain unpunished. The people and the army, tired of the odious yoke which he imposed upon them, have re-assumed their courage and their energy, and, by one great spontaneous effort, have broken it. Yes, we have burst our chains. Soldiers, you will be paid and clothed. Labourers, you will be protected. Proprietors, you will be secured in the possession of your estates. A wise constitution will shortly fix the rights and the duties of all.

"Until the moment shall arrive when we shall be able to establish it, we declare, that concord, brotherhood, and friendly intercourse, being the foundations of our union, we will never lay down our arms before we shall have struck down the tree of our slavery and debasement, and placed at the head of the government a man whose courage and virtues we have long respected, and who, like us, has been the object of the insults of the tyrant. The people and the army, whose voice we speak, proclaim general Henry Christophe, provisional chief of the government of Hayti, until the constitution shall have definitively conferred on him that august title. Signed by GERIN, PETION, &c. &c. &c.

The treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between this country and the United States of America, was signed, by the plenipotentiaries, on the 31st ult. From the temper which marked the previous deliberations of his majesty's ministers in relation to the maritime rights of this country, upon the question of the American Intercourse Bill, we might have presumed that great concessions would be made to America. I am, however, informed, that the terms of the treaty are not so bad as were expected. In a short time, the treaty itself will be laid before parliament, and then we shall be qualified to decide upon its merits.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°2. Saturday, January 10, 1807. Price 10*d*.

HISTORICAL.

Retrospect of the Affairs of Europe in 1806.

The conclusion of the treaty of peace between Austria and France, put an end to that noble confederacy, which had been framed by the matchless wisdom of Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of restoring the liberties and independence of Europe. Even after the pusillanimous capitulation of the Austrian general at Ulm, the public cause might have been sustained with effect, had the king of Prussia united his forces to those of the confederated powers. All the grounds of former jealousies between the houses of Brandenburgh and Austria had ceased to operate, from the moment that a third power, ignorant of its language, customs, and laws, had penetrated into the heart of the empire, and threatened the Germanic constitution itself with dissolution. Prussia was not insensible of the common danger: but, instead of pursuing those measures, which her proper interest and duty prescribed to her, she plunged into the vortex of French diplomacy; in the shadowy and delusive hope, that what the public would lose by the humiliation of her ancient rival, would be counterbalanced by her acquisitions in the midst of the general delapidation, and by the aggrandizement and consequent preponderance which she would thenceforward maintain in the empire. Under the impression of this misguided and fallacious policy, the king of Prussia, with a well-appointed army, which was in every respect capable of deciding the contest, hovered on the frontiers of Franconia, like a bird of prey, waiting to devour the spoils of the respective combatants. At one time, Prussia seemed disposed to abandon the greedy system of neutrality, which had formed the distinguishing feature of her councils since the year 1794. If it were possible to suppose that our sovereign could have offered Hanover in fee to the king of Prussia, as the condition of his co-operation, there is little doubt that the Prussian army would have acted with the allies. It is impossible, at this time, to say with confidence, what would have been the effect of such an offer upon the general system of Europe; but there can be no hesitation in stating, that an offer so splendid would have been considered throughout the world, as the most generous and sincere pledge which the sovereign of the British empire could have given, of his thorough comprehension of the dangers of the continent, and of his inflexible determination, supported by the patriotism of his people, to spare no sacrifices, not even the hereditary and personal appendage of his dignities, in the prosecution of the great cause which so deeply involved the interests of Europe. A sacrifice made under such circumstances, would not have revolted the minds of the British people. For, recollecting the blood which they had spilt, and the millions of treasure which they had expended, for the preservation of that electorate; and comparing these facts with their inability to wrest it from the hands by which it had been usurped, they would have regarded the cession of Hanover, not as a forfeiture of honour on *their* part, but as a signal instance of magnanimity on the part of their sovereign; which, so far from diminishing the stability or lustre of his throne, would cause it to take root in the centre of their soil, and its ramifications to be irradiated with additional glory throughout every part, not only of the British empire, but of the civilized world. It would, indeed, have been a sacrifice, or rather a cession and not a sacrifice, to public good; for how could that have been esteemed a sacrifice, which would have endeared still more (if it be possible) the sovereign to the British people, and which would have been repaid by them with interest an hundred fold? However ungrateful these truths may sound in some ears, I feel it my duty as a subject, who cannot be exceeded in devotion to THE KING, and as a Briton, to avow my decided opinion, that the most proximate cause of the evils we deplore, is to be found in the non-cession of Hanover. I do not want to be told that the absolute cession was ever solicited—if it had been, that circumstance *alone* should have determined

perfectly right

its retention. But, a gratuitous cession would, I repeat, have averted the calamities of Europe; and it would, at the same time, have been an handsome preliminary to the augmentation of the income granted by parliament to the younger branches of the royal family, and which was cheerfully, and readily acquiesced, in by a burthened, but loyal people.

It was obvious, from the uniform tone of the Prussian cabinet, that the accession of a Prussian army could never be obtained upon public principles; and that the only means which remained to ensure the active co-operation of that power, was by *territorial* aggrandizement. For twelve years the king of Prussia had played the part of a French postillion; and the only answer ever made by his cabinet to the representations of the legitimate monarchs of Europe, was, in the language of the postillion mounting his horse, *combien à payer*. He would have driven to the devil for a few acres of ground, at an earlier stage of the business; and it was only when he discovered that his frauds had revolted the minds of the German nation, and had been over-reached by his more dextrous ally, the ruler of France, that he felt himself ashamed of his conduct, and, with the fervour of a true penitent, confessed all his sins,* embarked in a single crusade against his heretic friend, and waged war against this mighty Saracen, with the chivalrous spirit of a crusader.

However, the peace of Presburgh placed the house of Austria in a state of sequestration; and bequeathed to the remaining powers of the continent an ample field for contest, in the division of the Germanic empire. The Russian army returned home after its co-operation was no longer required; the Prussians broke up from Franconia; Buonaparte was left undisputed master of the field, and, as might have been foreseen, dictator of the states of Germany. But, though Austria had fulfilled, to the utmost extent of her power, all the stipulations contained in the treaty of Presburgh; yet the French camps were planted along her western frontier line in an hostile attitude. The pretext was, that Catarro was not evacuated: and, on the same pretext, Brannau was retained by the French. When the seeds of a furious and general war had thus begun to spring up, and were visible to every one who did not contemplate the interest of Europe, except with a jaundiced eye; the baleful politics of Mr. Fox acquired an unfortunate ascendancy in the British cabinet. A negociation for peace was rashly entered upon, if not eagerly courted. The blessings of peace were harbingered in political pamphlets, and re-echoed by infatuated partizans. Peace was greeted by the friends and admirers of Mr. Fox, but the island

——trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
From all her caves, and back resounded *Death!*

In despight, however, of the general terror, the infatuated admirer of France prosecuted his pernicious purposes; and, in his zeal for accomplishing the object of his most mistaken policy, he overlooked the principles of manly pride and dignity, which ought never to be separated from the character and correspondence of a British statesman. Thus, while discord was sent from heaven, to restore, by its operations, the reign of Astræa, our minister was engaged in extinguishing the hallowed flame, by whose glimmering light alone the rest of the world were capable of tracing the path that led to liberty and preservation. Russia, in the depths of her recesses of ice and snow, was silently preparing the dreadful materials that were for ever to decide the question of continental independence. Austria, severely wounded, but not exanimate, was occupied in the reparation of her sufferings; and under the auspicious administration of the *future* deliverer of Germany, the adored hero of her armies, replenished those battalions, which treachery, ignorance, or cowardice, had reduced. France, bloated with success, insolent in victory, and mercenary in her protections, now threw aside the mask of peace, beneath which her aspiring ambition of universal empire had been faintly concealed; and, with a presumptuous hand, not less daring than politic for herself, tore asunder the consecrated charter, which, since the celebrated peace of Westphalia, had formed and cemented the basis of Germanic independence. The confederation of the Rhine was the early

* *See the king of Prussia's manifesto, in which he candidly avows, that he has been a dupe, a cheat, a thief, and a fool.*

progeny of French conquest. From the moment of its annunciation, Prussia began to be alarmed; and now, for the first time, the deluded monarch of that country perceived that he had been for years the greatest enemy to himself and to Europe. Previous to this transaction, he had taken possession of Hanover, as a *conquest*, in the strict sense of the feodal term; and had thereby, together with other circumstances connected with its occupation, such as the exclusion of British commerce from his ports, &c. involved himself in a war with Great Britain. Hanover was the sole cause. That war was not marked by any peculiar features; but the abdication of the imperial throne by the emperor of Austria; the subsequent confederation of the Rhine; the numberless innovations in the Germanic constitution; and the avowed declaration of the French government, that Prussia possessed Hanover only as a tenant at will, induced the cabinet of Berlin to determine, at length, to make an appeal to arms.

The public spirit of the Prussian people was sublimed by the grandeur of the contest; it was cherished by the influence of a mild government, and indignant at the consciousness of past degradation. Their king took the field, and viewed from his tent one of the finest armies of Europe. He took a position to cover Saxony. He forspok the admonitions of that experience, which the repeated victories of France had inculcated; and, in the loss of a battle, he lost a kingdom; but events have since shewn, that if he had lost his honour in the moment of prosperity, he has most nobly redeemed and preserved it in the day of adversity.

I have abstained from giving any narrative of the events that have occurred upon the continent, because, the usual channels of information through which we were enabled to compare, and finally to discriminate between, the respective accounts of the hostile parties, were interrupted, if not wholly closed. The only authentic documents which have reached this country relative to the operations of the different divisions of the broken armies of Prussia, are, the reports of prince Hohenloe and of general Blucher. But these reports, though highly interesting, are confined exclusively to the movements of the corps which those able generals commanded, after the signal defeat which the grand Prussian army sustained at Auerstadt. In consequence of this lamentable deficiency of intelligence, the French have hitherto remained as completely masters of the press of Europe, as they appear to be of the fields of battle. Having had occasion frequently to detect and to expose the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in the official bulletins of the French armies; prudence suggested the propriety of delaying, as long as possible, the historical detail of their transactions, until the arrival of some communication, in an official form, from the opposite quarter. But, as there is no prospect of such a communication being made to the public, while the French spread their victorious banners as far as the banks of the Vistula, we must endeavour to supply the chasm, by taking their bulletins as the substratum of our history, and relate in a summary yet perspicuous manner, the fortunes of the war from its commencement to the present time.

In a former number of the first volume of this Review, the relative position of the combatants was amply, and, as events have since proved, correcly explained. From the complexion of their circumstances, at that period, it was inferred, that, though the Prussians might be worsted in the first engagement, yet, from the strength of the positions which they could occupy in their rear; from the uncommonly ardent patriotism displayed by all classes of men; and from the collective strength of their auxiliaries, the fortune of war might be kept suspended until the arrival of the Russian forces. At first sight, this opinion may appear to have been too sanguine. But, by attending to all the circumstances on which it was originally formed, I trust, it will carry its own conviction with it. When I promulgated my opinion, I naturally reckoned upon the accuracy of his Prussian majesty's declaration, wherein it is stated, that "Princes, the honour of the German name, who can confide in his gratitude and honour, and who, fighting by his side, are not dubious of victory, *have joined their banners with his.*" * From this positive statement, it was reasonable to conclude, that the great secondary princes of Germany,

* *See the manifesto of the king of Prussia in our first volume.*

its retention. But, a gratuitous cession would, I repeat, have averted the calamities of Europe; and it would, at the same time, have been an handsome preliminary to the augmentation of the income granted by parliament to the younger branches of the royal family, and which was cheerfully, and readily acquiesced, in by a burthened, but loyal people.

It was obvious, from the uniform tone of the Prussian cabinet, that the accession of a Prussian army could never be obtained upon public principles; and that the only means which remained to ensure the active co-operation of that power, was by *territorial* aggrandizement. For twelve years the king of Prussia had played the part of a French postillion; and the only answer ever made by his cabinet to the representations of the legitimate monarchs of Europe, was, in the language of the postillion mounting his horse, *combien à payer*. He would have driven to the devil for a few acres of ground, at an earlier stage of the business; and it was only when he discovered that his frauds had revolted the minds of the German nation, and had been over-reached by his more dextrous ally, the ruler of France, that he felt himself ashamed of his conduct, and, with the fervour of a true penitent, confessed all his sins,* embarked in a single crusade against his heretic friend, and waged war against this mighty Saracen, with the chivalrous spirit of a crusader.

However, the peace of Presburgh placed the house of Austria in a state of sequestration; and bequeathed to the remaining powers of the continent an ample field for contest, in the division of the Germanic empire. The Russian army returned home after its co-operation was no longer required; the Prussians broke up from Franconia; Buonaparte was left undisputed master of the field, and, as might have been foreseen, dictator of the states of Germany. But, though Austria had fulfilled, to the utmost extent of her power, all the stipulations contained in the treaty of Presburgh; yet the French camps were planted along her western frontier line in an hostile attitude. The pretext was, that Catarro was not evacuated: and, on the same pretext, Braunau was retained by the French. When the seeds of a furious and general war had thus begun to spring up, and were visible to every one who did not contemplate the interest of Europe, except with a jaundiced eye; the baleful politics of Mr. Fox acquired an unfortunate ascendancy in the British cabinet. A negociation for peace was rashly entered upon, if not eagerly courted. The blessings of peace were harbingered in political pamphlets, and re-echoed by infatuated partizans. Peace was greeted by the friends and admirers of Mr. Fox, but the island

——trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
From all her caves, and back resounded *Death!*

In despight, however, of the general terror, the infatuated admirer of France prosecuted his pernicious purposes; and, in his zeal for accomplishing the object of his most mistaken policy, he overlooked the principles of manly pride and dignity, which ought never to be separated from the character and correspondence of a British statesman. Thus, while discord was sent from heaven, to restore, by its operations, the reign of Astræa, our minister was engaged in extinguishing the hallowed flame, by whose glimmering light alone the rest of the world were capable of tracing the path that led to liberty and preservation. Russia, in the depths of her recesses of ice and snow, was silently preparing the dreadful materials that were for ever to decide the question of continental independence. Austria, severely wounded, but not exanimate, was occupied in the reparation of her sufferings; and under the auspicious administration of the *future* deliverer of Germany, the adored hero of her armies, replenished those battalions, which treachery, ignorance, or cowardice, had reduced. France, bloated with success, insolent in victory, and mercenary in her protections, now threw aside the mask of peace, beneath which her aspiring ambition of universal empire had been faintly concealed; and, with a presumptuous hand, not less daring than politic for herself, tore asunder the consecrated charter, which, since the celebrated peace of Westphalia, had formed and cemented the basis of Germanic independence. The confederation of the Rhine was the early

* *See the king of Prussia's manifesto, in which he candidly avows, that he has been a dupe, a cheat, a thief, and a fool.*

progeny of French conquest. From the moment of its annunciation, Prussia began to be alarmed; and now, for the first time, the deluded monarch of that country perceived that he had been for years the greatest enemy to himself and to Europe. Previous to this transaction, he had taken possession of Hanover, as a *conquest*, in the strict sense of the feodal term; and had thereby, together with other circumstances connected with its occupation, such as the exclusion of British commerce from his ports, &c. involved himself in a war with Great Britain. Hanover was the *sole* cause. That war was not marked by any peculiar features; but the abdication of the imperial throne by the emperor of Austria; the subsequent confederation of the Rhine; the numberless innovations in the Germanic constitution; and the avowed declaration of the French government, that Prussia possessed Hanover only as a tenant at will, induced the cabinet of Berlin to determine, at length, to make an appeal to arms.

The public spirit of the Prussian people was sublimed by the grandeur of the contest; it was cherished by the influence of a mild government, and indignant at the consciousness of past degradation. Their king took the field, and viewed from his tent one of the finest armies of Europe. He took a position to cover Saxony. He forspoke the admonitions of that experience, which the repeated victories of France had inculcated; and, in the loss of a battle, he lost a kingdom; but events have since shewn, that if he had lost his honour in the moment of prosperity, he has most nobly redeemed and preserved it in the day of adversity.

I have abstained from giving any narrative of the events that have occurred upon the continent, because, the usual channels of information through which we were enabled to compare, and finally to discriminate between, the respective accounts of the hostile parties, were interrupted, if not wholly closed. The only authentic documents which have reached this country relative to the operations of the different divisions of the broken armies of Prussia, are, the reports of prince Hohenloe and of general Blucher. But these reports, though highly interesting, are confined exclusively to the movements of the corps which those able generals commanded, after the signal defeat which the grand Prussian army sustained at Auerstadt. In consequence of this lamentable deficiency of intelligence, the French have hitherto remained as completely masters of the press of Europe, as they appear to be of the fields of battle. Having had occasion frequently to detect and to expose the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in the official bulletins of the French armies; prudence suggested the propriety of delaying, as long as possible, the historical detail of their transactions, until the arrival of some communication, in an official form, from the opposite quarter. But, as there is no prospect of such a communication being made to the public, while the French spread their victorious banners as far as the banks of the Vistula, we must endeavour to supply the chasm, by taking their bulletins as the substratum of our history, and relate in a summary yet perspicuous manner, the fortunes of the war from its commencement to the present time.

In a former number of the first volume of this Review, the relative position of the combatants was amply, and, as events have since proved, correcly explained. From the complexion of their circumstances, at that period, it was inferred, that, though the Prussians might be worsted in the first engagement, yet, from the strength of the positions which they could occupy in their rear; from the uncommonly ardent patriotism displayed by all classes of men; and from the collective strength of their auxiliaries, the fortune of war might be kept suspended until the arrival of the Russian forces. At first sight, this opinion may appear to have been too sanguine. But, by attending to all the circumstances on which it was originally formed, I trust, it will carry its own conviction with it. When I promulgated my opinion, I naturally reckoned upon the accuracy of his Prussian majesty's declaration, wherein it is stated, that "Princes, the honour of the German name, who can confide in his gratitude and honour, and who, fighting by his side, are not dubious of victory, *have joined their banners with his.*"* From this positive statement, it was reasonable to conclude, that the great secondary princes of Germany,

* *See the manifesto of the king of Prussia in our first volume.*

who had ever been considered as acting under the immediate influence of the cabinet of Berlin, were prepared to take the field in support of the Prussian cause. The fact, however, was otherwise: for, with the exception of the elector of Saxony, not one of them joined his forces to those of the king of Prussia. The elector of Hesse, with the consent of the king of Prussia and Buonaparte, remained neutral: the duke of Brunswick also entered into a similar stipulation, which was acquiesced in by Prussia, but disregarded by the French ruler. Instead, therefore, of a powerful auxiliary army constituting the right wing of the Prussians, and presenting a formidable barrier to the irruptions of the enemy, the Prussian army was left wholly without support in that quarter: from which circumstance, it was obviously the duty of the Prussians, after they had neglected to avail themselves of the many opportunities in their power of annihilating the French divisions as they advanced successively, to have acted on the defensive; because the inevitable consequence of their defeat, in a general action, would be, the complete exposure of the electorate of Brandenburgh to the mercy of the invader. Hence, when I asserted that every thing seemed favourable to the Prussians, I grounded my opinion on the assurance of an effective co-operation, which, we now discover, they never received. But even this assurance was not the only foundation of that inference; for it was repeatedly and distinctly urged, in many of the preceding numbers, that the fortune of the campaign would materially depend upon the acknowledged *prudence* of the Prussian generals, derived from the frequent opportunities they had of ruminating over the French mode of warfare; whence they might have learnt, that the most certain method of defeating the French was not by fighting with them after their own manner, but by eluding their attacks. Little indeed was it to have been expected, that veterans trained in the school of Frederick the Great, and grown hoary in battles and war, would have suffered themselves to be influenced by the headstrong and blind impetuosity of younger and less experienced men. Little was it to have been expected, that generals, nursed in the cradle of adversity, and who had passed the greater part of their lives in camps, amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune attendant on war, should have shewn themselves so ignorant of their profession, or so regardless of its rules, as to risk the fate of a kingdom upon the doubtful issue of a single battle, without having made the least provision against defeat, without having formed any connected plan of operations, and without having placed the strong holds in their rear in a condition to check the progress of the conqueror, and to cover their own retreat. The result of this infatuation was, that immediately after the fatal battle of Auerstadt, the Prussian army, which the day before was the pride of Germany, and the hope of the civilized world; was scattered and dispersed, like a gay, numerous, and triumphant fleet, overtaken by the tempest, but scattered and dispersed to meet no more. That ascendancy of military reputation; that empire, formerly in compact, and without mutual relation, which cost, in the space of seven years, more battles and sieges to cement than had been fought during the war of forty years, were levelled with the dust by a policy, ever wavering, but always selfish; tardy in the support of the public, but precipitate in the furtherance of its own interests; cool and calculating before war, but rash and inconsiderate in conducting it, after it had commenced. The pomp of the strength of Prussia has ceased. As Englishmen, we must bewail the catastrophe of Prussia, because it has augmented the military glory, and swelled the pride of the conqueror; but, as men who reflect dispassionately on the effects of retributive justice, we cannot do otherwise than consider the disasters of Prussia as signal instances wherein Providence hath dispensed its unerring judgment on fraud, perfidy, and covetousness. It is not, therefore, the king of Prussia, whose fallen condition excites our commiseration, but desolated Europe, which, through his misfortunes, bleeds at every pore. If it be urged, that this interposition of Providence in the chastisement of a legitimate sovereign seems to arraign the superintending wisdom of the governor of the universe, while the victorious disturber of the peace of nations is suffered to pursue, uninterrupted, his course of triumphant iniquity, I answer, "FEAR YE NOT, STAND STILL, AND SEE THE SALVATION OF THE LORD:" the hour of final retribution is not yet come; the punishment, "in measure," of him through whose vicious tergiversation, the enemy of God and

man has been hitherto so unsuccessful, seems more consonant with all-seeing justice to inflict, as a memorable example to this and after ages, of the awful consequences of a systematic departure from the rules of probity and honour. The whirlwind has gone forth against Prussia, but vengeance may be yet in store against France. After other nations shall have felt the scourge for *their* vices, the reserved and collected thunder of heaven will intercept the career of the pupil of Destiny, and crush, in one tremendous visitation, that Babel of crimes which has been cemented by the blood and tears of a suffering world. Then will the veil, which has shrouded from human sight, the ordinations of Divine Justice, be partly removed, and in the measures of general punishment, we shall learn to acknowledge the severity of the means employed to make the common enemy of Europe a dreadful example to mankind.

Illi Justitiam confirmavere triumphi;
Præsentem docuere Deum! nunc secula discant
Indomitum nihil esse pio, tutumve nocenti.

At a moment, thus big with the fate of the civilized world, the British parliament was dissolved; and the opinion of the people resorted to, when, with the exception of a particular faction, there was no difference of sentiment among them.

PARLIAMENTARY.

On the 15th ult. the new parliament assembled, when the house of commons unanimously re-elected their former speaker, Mr. Abbott; and, on the 19th, the lords commissioners delivered the following speech in his majesty's name:

"My lords and gentlemen,—His majesty has commanded us to assure you, that in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great satisfaction to him, to recur to the firmness and wisdom of his parliament, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the sense of his people.

"His majesty has ordered the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negotiation with France to be laid before you.

"His majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interests and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.

"The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe; the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events.

"After witnessing the subversion of the antient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandizement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty; nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility.

"Yet in this situation his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy.

"The rapid course of the calamities which ensued, opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose.

"In the midst of these disastrous events, and under the most trying circumstances, the good faith of his majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between his majesty and the emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists; it has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence; and his majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the best remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—His majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honour and independence of your country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to

your feelings, and is deeply distressing to his majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his majesty's wishes by combining all practicable economy with those efforts which it is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe, could not fail to affect, in some degree, many important interests of this country.

"But under every successive difficulty, his majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an increasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform and determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations. The unconquerable valour and discipline of his majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre; the great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired: nor has the British nation been at any time more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independence of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.

"With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, his majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis; assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people."

No opposition was given in either of the two houses to the motion for an address to the throne. But a desultory debate took place, chiefly upon topics which formed no part of the subject before them. On the ministerial side, all responsibility for the recent disasters which had befallen the king of Prussia was wholly disclaimed, and it was asserted that the British government neither incited nor encouraged that sovereign to embark in a war against France. It was a war entirely of his own determination, and commenced without any previous communication or concert with Russia, which, having been kept in the dark respecting the intention and the time of waging it, her favourable disposition in behalf of Prussia, was, in a great measure frustrated, from her forces not having begun their march before the time, when, to have co-operated effectually with the Prussian army, they ought to have been in the vicinity of Berlin. All parties admitted that the misfortunes of the king of Prussia arose from the narrow policy which he had uniformly pursued. Had his Prussian majesty, or his advisers, consulted the records of history, they would have discovered that those who lent their aid in destroying others, must expect to be finally destroyed themselves. But the fact was, that the court of Berlin was not acquainted with its real danger; it went on from week to week, under the credulous and delusive opinion, that it could obtain from France not only security, but a large accession of territory, and abundant means of aggrandizement. The folly of Prussia, in her final effort, was not less than in her former conduct, and by this series of errors she brought on the dreadful catastrophe by which she was overwhelmed. Yet, notwithstanding the ground of offence with which Prussia had furnished this country, by her tergiversating policy, by her mean and selfish cupidity, and by her systematic opposition to every effort which had been employed for the safety and liberty of Europe, our government did not hesitate, even in the last moment of this awful trial, to offer its assistance to the court of Berlin to combine its exertions for the protection of the declining cause of the surrounding states, and to promote the independence of the continent, and the general interests of mankind. In answer to the imputations of the opposition, that ministers were attempting to gain Hanover by negociation from the French, while we were actually at war with Prussia for its recovery; it was observed, that Hanover had some time before been occupied by Prussia, and, by a subsequent act, had been given to that power by France, as an equivalent for other possessions ceded by Prussia. In the address of both houses of parliament on the subject of the war with Prussia, his majesty was thanked for having passed over unnoticed the unjust acquisition of his hereditary dominions by Prussia; and the real cause of the war with that power was, an actual and violent act of hostility committed, by refusing an admittance to our ships and commerce into the Prussian ports, and not for the acquisition which Prussia had so basely and perfidiously taken from a power that had no right to bestow it. It was evident,

therefore, that we were not at war with Prussia for the possession of Hanover, and so far from negociating for its restoration, it was unequivocally offered by the French government as one of the conditions. To the objections started against ministers for delaying to open a direct communication with Prussia until hostilities were on the eve of commencing; it was answered, that the first information which they received of the certainty of war between Prussia and France, was on the 13th of September, in a letter from the British consul at Hamburgh, inclosing a dispatch from M. Jacobi, in which he mentioned that he was coming to England, in some particular character. That minister did not arrive at Hamburgh till the first or second of October, and did not reach England till the 10th. Lord Morpeth had, in the mean time, been dispatched on an embassy to the court of Prussia, but did not arrive till such a time as the delivery of his credentials was rendered impossible by the calamities which had so rapidly taken place: and when M. Jacobi submitted his proposals to government, they were found, upon consideration, to be so vague, that it was judged expedient to send another mission to Prussia.

The late negociation with France formed another topic of animadversion in the house of Commons upon the conduct of ministers; their opponents contending that the assertion in his majesty's declaration of the first overtures having been made by France, was not established by evidence; that the *uti possedetis* was not admitted by the enemy to constitute the basis of the negociation; and that though we insisted upon treating conjointly with our allies, no mention whatever was made of Sweden in the course of the negociation. It was observed in reply to these arguments, that it was unfair to raise objections against the conduct of the negociation, before the proper authentic documents had been submitted to the house; that in the correspondence published by the French government, several material facts had been suppressed, particularly one contained in a letter which came at the same time, and in the same inclosure, with the note in answer to Mr. Fox's communication of the offer to assassinate Buonaparte, wherein Talleyrand says, "we are peaceably inclined in Paris. To shew which, I refer you to the emperor's speech to the senate", and the reference was to a passage where he thus expressed himself; "I wish for peace with England, and *they may have it as soon as they please, on the basis of the treaty of Amiens.*" Such a communication from a person standing in the relation which Talleyrand did to the French government might be justly construed by those who were desirous of peace, to be an opening for negociation. With respect of the *uti possedetis*, it was one of the bases first proposed by the French government in their communications to lord Yarmouth, and was transmitted by him to his majesty's ministers. Our government never departed from the principle of a joint negociation with our allies, until M. D'Oubril had signed a separate treaty of peace between Russia and France: then, ministers continued the negociations alone as long as that treaty appeared to be in force; but as soon they learnt that the emperor of Russia had refused to ratify it, they again insisted on a joint negociation.

These were the arguments employed against and in behalf of the ministry, relative to their foreign transactions. But in the latitude of parliamentary skirmishing, other subjects were adverted to by the opposition, which, if not unseasonable, were, at least, irrelative to the subject under discussion. The delays in sending out the different expeditions intended for foreign service; the appointment of col. Crawfurd to the command of a considerable force, in preference to officers of superiour rank; the conduct of ministers towards sir David Baird, and sir Home Popham! the supercession of sir John Stuart; the arrangements for the augmentation of the army, and the increase of the national defence; and the unnecessary dissolution of the late parliament, were introduced into the debate, and illustrated with a poignancy of wit and satire, which, in such an awful epoch as the present, had better been dispensed with. The ministers did not decline the controversy, and though they were not successful in all, yet in several instances, they refuted the arguments of their opponents. The opposition unquestionably conducted the debate with great indiscretion; for, if their grounds had been sufficient to substantiate their respective charges, each charge should have been made the subject of future inquiry, and not jostled in together so as to exhibit at one view a strong and a weak side, and to expose the vulnerable one to the strokes of their antagonists.

The answer of ministers to the charge of delays in sending out the expeditions was by no means satisfactory. They admitted that they *had* delayed, but they attempted to justify themselves by remarking that the novelty of an expedition to South America, and the extent of the operations on that continent, required time to *think upon*. The first notice that the government received of the expedition to Buenos Ayres, was on the 24th of June by dispatches, dated from St. Helena, in the month of April. "At that time," said lord Howick, according to the report of his speech, which was a very able one, "it was a matter of *serious difficulty to know what to resolve upon*." If they had sent out a strong fleet, and it should find that sir Home Popham had failed, it would not know where to go to. However, they had sent the Sampson man of war and a convoy which sailed under her protection as soon as the wind would permit. A more considerable reinforcement, it was judged imprudent to dispatch, in the situation of the continent at that period.

In the vindication of the appointment of col. Crawfurd, the ministers also failed in their arguments. For though it cannot be denied, that in such a perilous conjuncture as the present, precedence of rank should give way to precedence of merit; yet no evidence whatever was adduced by them, to authorize this preference of an officer, who, however theoretically skilful, or instructed as an eye-witness of the operations of armies, had never before been entrusted with the command of a brigade even on domestic service. It is true, they alleged as an example in their justification that the victory of the Nile was obtained not by the senior officer of the fleet but by an inferiour one, whose transcendent merits warranted the trust that was reposed in him. But, surely, there is a marked distinction between the rank of a rear-admiral, and that of a colonel. Had lord Nelson fallen in that memorable conflict, many experienced commanders could have directed the operations of the fleet; and this was partly the case: for, at an early period of the action, he was so severely wounded that he was compelled to quit the quarter-deck, and the management of the fleet devolved on capt. Berry. But, in the event of any accident befalling col. Crawfurd, the command of a considerable force would devolve on a young lieutenant colonel, without experience perhaps, in consequence of the breaking up of whole regiments for the accomodation of the favourite commander. The principle, however, which ministers have inculcated, deserves the highest commendation; and the country must rejoice when they hear their prime minister, lord Grenville, interrogate the opponents of government in the following strain. "Is it an objection that the person nominated is not of the highest rank, or of the greatest experience? Are there not men, who, from the accidents of life, have not attained the rank their talents deserve? and are there not those who have made such a beneficial use of a more moderate share of experience as to excel those who have been longer engaged in the service?"

In answer to the imputations upon their conduct towards general Baird and sir Home Popham, ministers disclosed an extraordinary circumstance of such grave and weighty consideration, that it is impossible not to be forcibly struck, if not appalled, at the justice and importance of their reasonings. They alleged that these officers undertook the expedition to South America, upon their own judgment and responsibility, and without orders from the government; that, in the prosecution of their scheme, they did not leave even a single ship of the line to protect the Cape of Good Hope; and that they went so far as to oblige a frigate which was sent out to India with money for the payment of the troops there, to desert her intended destination, and to join their expedition. If ministers should be able to substantiate these serious facts; if it should appear hereafter, that these officers were not invested with certain discretionary powers, and entrusted with a considerable disposeable force to answer the objects of these powers; it will be a difficult matter to justify their hazarding the safety of one solid and important conquest, for the sake of attempting to acquire another of a more brilliant but dubious description. The authority and supremacy of the government must be, at all times, vigilantly sustained, otherwise, commands and duties will clash and be in disunion; our officers of the army and navy, will be encouraged to risk the fate of our most valuable possessions, upon their own judgment, and to erect, under the auspices of public zeal, an *imperium in imperio*. The conduct of sir David Baird and sir Home Popham, is, however, supported by circumstances bordering

on precedents to be found in the history of this country. The national justice, will of course suspend its decision, until those gallant commanders shall have been heard in their own defence.

The supercession of sir John Stuart, the ministers denied; and the explanation they gave of the transaction is satisfactory in a military point of view, though it weakens, if not impeaches, the force of their argument in favour of their appointment of colonel Cra furd. They alleged that sir J. Stuart commanded originally a division of the British army in the Mediterranean, which was placed under his orders for the defence of Sicily; but when that force, consisting of 7000 men, was augmented to an army of 16,000, general Fox, the superior officer, took the command, as a matter of course.

Ministers, in attempting to vindicate the dissolution of the late parliament, fell far short of the general expectations of their friends. The prerogative of his majesty to dissolve the parliament was unquestioned by the opposition, but they insisted that it should be exercised with a sound discretion; and that, if it were exercised without a due necessity, the ministers would incur a weighty responsibility. There was nothing in the state of the country which justified the late unexpected and premature dissolution of a parliament which had sat only four sessions. Since the passing of the septennial act, there was no instance of a parliament being dissolved under six sessions, excepting in the year 1784, when the measure was unavoidable, from the unhappy differences which existed between the crown and the commons respecting the government. In the present instance, ministers, without any assignable cause, except a little convenience, advised the dissolution. The rupture of the negotiation with France was their alleged motive; but, whatever difference of opinion might have existed with respect of many of the measures pursued by ministers, on no subject, which ever engaged the attention of the country, had there been such complete unanimity, as in regard to supporting his majesty in the prosecution of the war. The opponents of ministers were supposed to be more earnest for the prosecution of the war than the ministers were. A proclamation had appeared, in which a day was fixed for calling parliament together, subsequent to the rupture of the negotiation; and yet, notwithstanding this assurance, a dissolution was announced, to the astonishment of the whole kingdom. Upon their own principles they could have nothing to allege against a parliament which had caused the resignation of one minister, and had impeached another. If, therefore, the measure should be connected with unprecedented and inexcusable interference in elections, such conduct would have a tendency to prevent union, and to deprive the legislature of its just authority.

In answer to these arguments, it was pleaded simply, in the upper house, that "it was not necessary for ministers to shew why, at this critical time, the sanction of the country was sought to the measures of the government;" and, in the other house, it was contended, that, after the negotiation had completely failed, ministers had advised his majesty to recur to the sense of his people, as the most likely method of obtaining unanimity; that the weather was fine, the season convenient, the harvest finished, and the elections could be carried on without the least disadvantage to the industry and convenience of the people. Thus, the defence of the principle itself was abandoned, and in its place were substituted the accidental and convenient circumstances which arose out of its application.

On the 22d of December, both houses of parliament voted their thanks to sir John Stuart, and to the officers and soldiers, for the brilliant victory obtained, with an inferiour force, on the 4th of July, over the French army under general Regnier, on the plain of Maida.

The debate which took place in the house of lords, on the 2d instant, upon the late negotiation with France, was distinguished by no circumstances of particular interest. During the discussion on the first day of the session, the substance of which has been detailed above, the principal topics were agitated fully; consequently, the debate on the 2d was merely a more amplified repetition of arguments which had been advanced before. The chief point upon which the debate turned, was, whether the negotiation originated in an offer made by the enemy to treat with us, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*? In was contended, by the opposition, that there was

no evidence of the fact, excepting the verbal declaration of lord Yarmouth, which they considered to be an improper and dangerous mode of conducting diplomatic affairs, and betrayed too much confidence on the part of our negotiators. His majesty's declaration was not borne out by the papers laid before the house; and the utmost proof that could be alleged in support of it was the belief of lord Yarmouth, that the basis of actual possession was admitted by Talleyrand in a conference. This was, however, an *ex parte* statement, which the other party might admit or deny, as they thought proper. Some more distinct and positive admission of the basis, which could have been put on record, which the party could not deny, and to which a reference might be made, was requisite, that, in case the other party should recede, all the world would be satisfied that we were in the right, and they in the wrong. By these means, all obscurity and cavils would have been avoided. The ministers replied, by adducing the subsequent testimony of lord Yarmouth in the house of commons*, which was corroborated by lord Lauderdale in his own conferences with the minister of France. Besides, there could be no doubt whatever as to its truth, even upon the face of the papers. The only point upon which any objection could be urged, was, that the French had contrived to suppress any precise admission, in writing, which could be matter of record; and this they did that they might be able to state what they pleased to the people of France. If lord Yarmouth had been dead, or not forthcoming, such doubts would have been excusable: but, independently of his written evidence, the *viva voce* evidence of the noble lord was also before the country. The doctrine, that no negotiation should be entered into, unless the first overtures were specifically committed to writing, was entirely novel and unprecedented. Nothing was more common than to commence with verbal communications, and then to proceed to written documents. In the present instance, the first propositions were made verbally; but, in every subsequent dispatch to lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale; it was prescribed to have their propositions committed to writing; and there was no dispatch transmitted by them to his majesty's ministers in which it did not appear that they uniformly dwelt upon that point. Indeed, lord Yarmouth was sent back to Paris for the special purpose of having the communications verbally made to him committed to writing. There was, therefore, no degree of incorrectness in the conduct of the negotiation on the part of this country, unless it could be alleged, as an accusation against ministers, that the French government had receded from their first propositions; unless it could be shewn that our government had manifested a disposition to treat upon a different basis, or had actually proposed such basis; or, rather, unless the positive directions to lord Yarmouth, to abandon the negotiation altogether, if the French government would not treat on the grounds proposed in the first instance, could be cancelled from the recollection of the country.

Such were the principal topics urged by both parties. In every other respect, the most perfect unanimity prevailed, for carrying on the war with fortitude and perseverance, as the only remaining hope of establishing the permanent security of this empire, and of restoring the dilapidated fortunes of the rest of Europe. Our resources were admitted, without a dissentient voice, to be commensurate, under a judicious application of them, to all our difficulties, and the public spirit of the

* *During a conversation in the house of commons, on the 30th ult. upon the subject of some papers relative to the negotiation, lord Yarmouth observed, that, when he arrived in Paris, after he had obtained his liberty, at the request of Mr. Fox, it was probably thought, that, as he might be in habits of friendship with that minister, he would be the most proper bearer of a communication on the subject of peace. He did convey it, and actual possession was the basis. Of this he was the more certain, because Talleyrand had rejected the basis of the treaty of Amiens, as it might be the cause of quarrels, and did not approve of the* status quo ante bellum, *for the same reason. He had, moreover, said, that, as there might be disputes about the basis of the* uti possidetis, *simply stated, he would send some explanation of it, which he would take care should arrive about the time that his lordship arrived. This formal communication actually did arrive on the very day that he arrived. The French afterwards shifted the ground, from a jealousy that we wished not to take the* uti possidetis *as the basis, but to make the basis itself the treaty.*

people was fully adequate to the arduous and complicated nature and extent of the present contest. No option, therefore being left us by our enemies, but war, it became our duty and our interest to prosecute it with vigour, courage, and unanimity.

WEST-INDIA AFFAIRS.

LETTER V.

Sir,—After several conferences between the lords of trade and a deputation from the committee of West-India planters and merchants, on a motion made in the house of commons by earl Temple, a committee has been appointed to consider the expediency of permitting the use of sugar and molasses in the distilleries and breweries for a time limited, under circumstances now affecting the trade of the British colonies in the West Indies.

A detailed statement of the circumstances alluded to, and of the consequences that must necessarily result from them, unless timely relief is applied, will shew the necessity of bringing the subject under the consideration of parliament; and a discussion of the other modes in which relief might be given, will shew whether any less exceptionable measure can be adopted, than the one brought forward with the concurrence of his majesty's ministers.

In the port of London alone there are now near 100,000 hhds. of sugar on hand, which, with the coffee and other West-India commodities, and the freight paid for bringing them home, may be estimated at five millions. Half that amount is a moderate allowance for the produce at the different out-ports; making together a capital of seven millions and a half, actually locked up. Bills are drawn upon the greatest part of this produce as soon as it is shipped in the West Indies; and the merchants who came under heavy acceptances, depending upon the sale of these commodities to make good their engagements, find them either wholly unsaleable, or if saleable at all, only at such low prices as are ruinous both to them and their correspondents.* That part of the produce for which the merchants are not under acceptances, is remitted to them in payment for goods shipped to the West Indies; and when a hhd. of sugar, which is calculated upon as a remittance of 20l. and which actually costs that sum, will sell only for 3l. 9s. the embarrassment of their situations may be easily conceived. If the market remains a few months longer in its present state, till all the bills the merchants have accepted, and all the goods they have purchased, become due, many houses will find it impossible to continue their payments; and the manufacturers and tradesmen who have given them credit, must be involved in their ruin. Nor will the mischief end here: for the goods annually shipped to the West Indies, amount to six millions and a half, and this trade will necessarily cease when the returns become so unproductive. The nature of these exports is very different from those made to the continent of Europe; which, exclusive of West-India produce, consisted chiefly of East-India piece-goods and indigo, articles that contribute nothing to the industry, and from their little bulk and great value, not much to the carrying trade of the country. The exports to the West Indies, consist of our staple commodities, iron ware, lead, brass, copper, tin, glass and earthenware, linens, woollens, and a variety of manufactured articles, which furnish employment and subsistence to thousands and tens of thousands, who if their accustomed occupations cease, must with their families go to the workhouse, and be maintained at the expense of the rest of the community. The British shipowners, too, will partake the general distress; for, if no outward-bound freights can be procured, they will be unable to send their ships to sea at the present enormous expenses that attend their equipment; and the ships employed in the West-India trade, from the obligation they are under of carrying a certain number of apprentices in proportion to their tonnage, form a great nursery for seamen. If the resources which supply the waste of war and casualty in his majesty's navy fail, our naval supremacy will be endangered, and every precaution should be used to guard against an evil of such alarming magnitude.

* *Sales of sugars have been transmitted from Liverpool, which, after deducting insurance, frieght, duty, and charges of sale, leave the planter only 3l. 9s. per hhd.*

The preceding facts will sufficiently shew the necessity of immediate relief being given to the West-India interest. It remains to consider the various modes in which that object may be accomplished. Some of the measures that have engaged the contemplation of his majesty's ministers, although judicious in themselves, and likely under other circumstances to prove of considerable benefit to the British planter, are, in the present state of things, very inadequate of themselves to the end proposed. Such is the plan of giving a bounty on the exportation of raw sugar; which, if the continental markets were open, would produce a very advantageous effect; but now they are so generally shut against us, can have but a very limited operation; for no bounty that government can or ought t give, will compensate the shipper for the hazard of smuggling sugar into any of the ports under the dominion of Buonaparte, plentifully supplied as they all are by the Americans, Danes, and Portuguese. The project of prevailing on America to lay a tax of one or two per cent. on West-India produce re-exported to Europe, is equally inadequate. It may make sugar so much dearer to the continental consumer, but will not hold out a sufficient inducement to him to take it from this market. Both these measures are intended rather for future than present benefit. They are mere palliatives, that might relieve trifling ailments, but cannot counteract the violent and rapid malady which now threatens the West-India body with immediate dissolution.

The demand for sugar is at present confined to the consumption of the mother-country; and the accustomed exportation of 124,000 hhds. per annum, is totally lost, with the exception of perhaps the odd 24,000, which still may be shipped to the Baltic. If, therefore, we now have, as lord Temple has stated, 160,000 hhds. of sugar on hand in the kingdom, we may expect next year to have 260,000, and the year after, 360,000, (if they will be worth the expense of bringing home) unless some new vent, or mode of consumption for them is found out. This is a plain and self-evident proposition; and the ruin of the West-India colonies, and of all those connected with them, if their produce thus continues to accumulate, follows as an incontrovertible deduction.

The most obvious and unexceptionable remedy, appears to be that which his majesty's ministers have recommended to the consideration of parliament; the substitution of sugar for corn, in the distilleries and breweries; particularly as the same cause which prevents the exportation of sugar, also prevents the importation of corn; and must as certainly in time occasion a deficiency of the one commodity, as it has already occasioned a superfluity of the other. That our own growth of corn is inadequate to our consumption, is a fact established by the report of every committee of the house of commons who have investigated the subject; and it also appears upon the same authority, that 5-6ths of the corn imported in 1800, that year of scarcity, in which Great Britain paid more than twelve millions to foreigners for the purchase of grain, was the growth of countries at present completely under the dominion of France; from whence, consequently, no supplies could now be drawn in any exigency whatever.* Under these circumstances, independent of the claim which the West-India planters, and those dependent upon them, have to parliamentary consideration, a due regard to the general welfare of the community prescribes our husbanding that necessary of life, of which, without this provident precaution, we shall soon inevitably stand in need. The landed interest need fear no diminution in the value of corn; as the quantity annually imported, was much more considerable than that for which sugar can possibly be substituted.

The superior advantages of this plan will appear still farther, by comparing it with others that have also been suggested for the relief of the West-India interest; this end might be attained, if Great Britain were to relax from the monopoly by which she bends all the produce of her colonies to the increase of her commerce, navigation, and revenue; an obligation which it would be unjust to enforce, if she

---

* *Vide account presented to the house of commons by William Irving, inspector-general of the imports and exports of Great Britain, dated from the Custom-house, London, Jan. 14, 1802, copy of which is to be found in the Appendix to the Chronicle in Dodsley's Annual Register for the year* 1801, *page* 135 *to* 140. *Vide also report of select committee of the house of commons in the appendix to the same work for* 1800, *page* 14.

could no longer consume it at home, nor find a vent for it abroad. She might relieve the planter, by giving him permission to sell to the Americans or Danes, the quantity of sugar formerly re-exported from Great Britain. These powers might either consume it themselves, or re-ship it to other nations on the continent, who would receive it from them though not from us; but in so doing, Great Britain would render herself, in some degree, dependent upon the neutrals, through whom she found a market for her colonial produce; and, at the same time, diminish that commerce upon which her maritime greatness depends.

Another alternative remains, more becoming the dignity of the British empire; to turn the arms of the enemy against himself, and to put every port under his controul in that state of blockade, in which he has declared the British islands to be, by his imperious mandate. However we may ridicule this decree, his object is as completely effected, so far as it relates to our colonial produce and manufactures, by shutting up the entrance of his own ports against them, as it would be by blocking up the entrance of our's: and while we suffer every disadvantage, from being thus excluded from all commercial intercourse with the continent, he suffers none; but imports and exports every commodity that he wishes, by means of neutrals. We now engage him with unequal arms; but were this measure enforced, privation and distress would soon be felt throughout his vast dominions. Every article of importation would rise to an enormous price; the temptation of profit would induce his subjects to smuggle West-India produce and manufactured goods from this country, when they could obtain them through no other channel; his views would be completely defeated, and in a political as well as commercial point of view, this system might produce the happiest effects. But, on the other hand, it would expose us to the hazard of being involved in a dispute with America, to whom we appear to have conceded the right of carrying the produce of the enemies colonies to their mother countries, if first landed in her own ports; and here the great manufacturing interests we have at stake, as well as the difficulty of supplying our West India colonies, in case of such an event, must make us pause. If they escaped actual famine, they would suffer none from the advance that would inevitably take place in the price of their supplies, than they could be compensated for by any advance in the price of their produce.

Of the various measures which have been suggested, the substituting the use of sugar for that of corn in the distilleries and breweries, is evidently the most desirable; as combining the interest of the planter with that of the public, as providing a new source of consumption for the produce of our colonies entirely within ourselves, as neither abridging our commerce, making us dependent on the assistance of any foreign power, nor exposing us to the risk of being involved in additional hostility. His majesty's ministers are certainly placed in an arduous situation. Even in the execution of this plan, they have prejudices to combat, and jarring interests to reconcile. But minor considerations must give way to those of greater importance. In public as well as in private life, half measures are ruinous; and indecision is often as destructive as error. Men who take the helm of the state in a stormy season, must not shrink at difficulties; it is their province to encounter and subdue them. Let them then act with the energy and decision that the crisis requires: and so divide the pressure of the public burdens, as to prevent any one class of the community from sinking beneath their weight.

Short-sighted politicians indeed must those men be, who would excite an opposition on the part of the landed interest, to that relief which the exigencies of the commercial interest required; these interests, so far from being opposed to each other, are inseparably connected; and must stand or fall together. In France, great animosity unfortunately prevailed between the noblesse who were the landholders, and the merchants who ranked among the *tiers etat*. The nobility were jealous of the wealth and pretensions of the merchants, who looked with an invidious eye on the titles and distinctions of the nobility; their discord precipated the French revolution, and proved the downfall of both parties. In a country like this, where luxury and taxation are carried to their height, that commerce, which is the source of the national wealth, and which raises the value of landed property in exact proportion to the extent of its own prosperity, must be supported. When

it declines, the revenue becomes unequal to the expenditure; the powers of government lose their energy, a general political convulsion takes place; private as well as public credit is destroyed; paper currency vanishes; specie rises in value, and every commodity for which it is exchanged falls in price; trade and manufactures cease; luxury is abolished; and the land, being the only permanent object, bears all the burdens of the state. In the progress of the French revolution, all these events may be distinctly traced. An immense population whose former occupations had ceased, was left without any other employment than a military life. Society was divided into two classes, the growers and the consumers of provisions; the former of whom were obliged to maintain the latter, and landed property therefore was sold at three and four years purchase. Such is necessarily the state of things, when an empire, falling by luxury, reverts to the first principles of society. Political economy teaches this doctrine, and the truth of it is illustrated by example. Let us take warning, then, by the fate of others: our commercial prosperity is the main pillar of our national greatness, and when that is shaken, the whole edifice will fall to the ground.

MERCATOR.

The Delinquency of the Editor.

Sir,—I am absolutely thunderstruck that you, who profess yourself such a disciplinarian, and whose profession must naturally have attached you to precedent, can lend yourself to the justification of such wicked men as sir Home Popham and sir David Baird, who, it appears, have had the audacity to step out of the strict letter of their orders to capture a silly mercantile settlement, which is only calculated to open a new door to our already too-extensive commerce. And then, sir, that sir Home should have the impudence to write circular letters to the merchants of Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, &c. pointing out this new channel for their goods, instead of leaving the task to the noble lord who has lately so much distinguished himself in his correspondence with the lord mayor, and who must, of course, know so much more about the matter! To be sure, it is true, that a lately deceased statesman did not think it wrong to send an ambassador of his own to St. Petersburgh to counteract the representative of his sovereign, and it is more than probable that some of those who are now most loud against sir Home and sir David, were privy to that transaction. But, sir, the cases are not at all parallel; the one was more constructive high treason, the other an abominable instance of officious zeal. Really, sir, I shall expect you soon to say, that such men as sir Home Popham and sir David Baird are great commanders, and that their real offence was not the capture of Buenos Ayres; but that the one was obnoxious to earl ——— (beware of the name ye printers' devils!) and that they were both selected for their skill and intrepidity by that infernal fellow Harry Dundas. By and by I suppose you will be telling us that the hero of Acre was an unfit man to recall; and that the man whom the French ordnance could never subdue, ought not to have been the victim of the British ordnance at Rochester. As if, too, the hero of Maida (who, according to Mr. Windham's culinary phrase, "did the thing to a turn,") ought not to have been superseded even by the brother of a secretary of state; though you must know very well that a large army never was commanded by a major-general, however fit a colonel may be to command a large expedition. And then, forsooth, you preach about introducing the spirit of party into the navy, and talk of Mr. Pitt promoting sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis to the peerage without reference to their politics; as if the example of such "a shallow-pated fellow"* were to be copied by his enlightened successors.

Those and many such extravagant notions you have already broached, and are on the very brink of repeating. But do suppress such antiquated principles. Learn, sir, to conform yourself to new and wiser maxims, or do not expect the countenance of a single

FOXITE.

---

* *Vide Cobbett for this and many such proper epithets for the late minister.*

Address of the army of Hayti to the general in chief, Henry Christophe.—"Tyranny has been destroyed along with the tyrant! Liberty revives! Since the 17th we have been free—striking example of revolutions effected by machiavelism, and which proves that a people long in bondage, if once acquainted with their own strength, though they may suffer themselves to be abused for a time by those they believed capable of putting them in the enjoyment of their efforts, yet it will never be possible to shut their eyes against their true interests; the incessant agitations, which have succeeded each other, have sufficiently proved this, and that the object proposed had not yet been obtained—that period alone when the temple of war may be closed.

"The principles you have always acted upon, and which you have had the courage to communicate to the generals in the periods of barbarism, when even our breath was construed into a meaning, and might bring the heads of the innocent to the scaffold; these principles have been the electric flame which has caused the commotion that has been so strongly felt, and which has carried away every thing with it, to the moment when Jean Jaques Dessaline, our common oppressor, ceased to live.

"Vengeance has had its operation, and now the whole army only waits for your presence to concur in the formation of the social compact which should unite us—of a constitution, in which every citizen shall at length find security for his person, and the sacred right of property, emanating from the general will; not like that misshapen act which we have trodden under our feet, made in the silence of the cabinet, without the knowledge of those most interested in it, and calculated only to flatter the caprice of a single individual, and even in the letter of it contrary to every principle of liberty. Thus long abused, we have sworn not to separate till we have seen the new constitutional act proclaimed—that act by which we ought to be governed—until we have approved of it, and sworn to obey it; and until, conformably to the usages of ancient warriors, we have publicly acknowledged you for the head of our government, and borne you upon our shields.

"Satisfy, general, the impatience of your brave soldiers, of the whole nation assembled, who are the admirers of your virtues, and to which nothing is wanting, at these moments of joy, but your presence.

"Head-quarters, Port-au-Prince, Oct. 21, 1805.

(Signed) E. Gerin, minister of war and marine; Petion, general commandant of the 2d division of the west; Yayou, Vaval, generals of brigades; Bonnet, adjutant general chief of the staff, &c. followed by a great number of signatures.

Imperial Ukase. Alexander, emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.—Our manifesto of the 30th of August declared the situation of our affairs with the French government. At that period of our hostile situation, Prussia still formed a barrier between us and the French, who tyrannized over various parts of Germany. But, soon after, the fire of war blazed out in Prussia also; after various disasters and important losses on her part, our own dominions on the frontiers are now threatened by the flame. To Russians, accustomed to love the glory of their country, and to sacrifice every thing to it, it is unnecessary to explain how unavoidable these events have made the present war. Honour unsheathed our sword for the protection of our allies; how much more justly must it be drawn for the defence of our own safety? Before these events could approach our frontiers, we took, at an early period, every measure to be ready to meet them. Having in good time ordered our army to move beyond the frontier, we have now commissioned our general field-marshal Kamenskoy to command it, and to act against the enemy with all the forces entrusted to him. We are assured, that all our faithful subjects will join us in fervent prayers to the almighty, who directs the fate of states, and the issue of battles, that he may take our righteous cause under his all-powerful protection, that his victorious strength and blessing may direct the Russian armies employed for repelling the general foe of Europe. We are confident that our faithful subjects of the government on the frontier will, in the present circumstances particularly, redouble

the proofs of their attachment and their zeal for the common good, and that, unshaken by fear or delusive promises, they will tread with firmness the same path in which, under the protection of the laws, and of a mild government, they have hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and undisputed property, and shared in the universal prosperity of the whole empire. Lastly, we are confident that all the children of the land, relying on the help of God, on the valour of our troops, and on the known experience of their leader, will spare no sacrifice, no efforts, which patriotism and the safety of our country may demand.——St. Petersburgh, Nov. 28, 1806.

Miscellaneous.

The notices which have recently arrived from the continent are consolatory, inasmuch as they exhibit the king of Prussia as resigned, and firm in adversity. But, the most gratifying piece of intelligence which hath reached this country, is contained in a multitude of authentic communications concerning the present state of the French army. A great proportion of the felonious brigades, which inundated the electorate of Brandenburgh, are now visited, through the merciful dispensations of heaven, with a malady which has already swept thousands of them from the face of the earth. I trust that this dysentery will rage with devastating fury, and that it will creep into the life blood of every French soldier. Thus human nature will gain more by the assaults of external causes, than by the ravages of the sword. If disease and death stalk through the blood-stained camps of the Corsican, the duty of the Russians will be, to "bury themselves in the interior of their country," and view with complacency the delightful scene of havock. Hitherto, they appear to be acting upon this principle; and if they will not be too impetuous, the bones of their accursed foes will form a splendid mosaic for them to walk over in their march to glory.

Two months ago, I first suggested the propriety of detaining and bringing in all neutral ships, and I have since maintained the principle; ministers have, at length, adopted the measure, under some modifications. It is with unfeigned pleasure that I take this opportunity, although they deserve to be censured on other accounts, to acknowledge my gratitude to them for giving us, at length, *one* proof of their patriotism.

A proclamation of the king of Prussia, which shall appear in the next number, *seems* to invalidate much of what I have said respecting the operations of the campaign. But let us hear the defendants, who have been condemned by the king. I have the honour of knowing general Kleist, the commandant at Magdeburgh, and a braver soldier, or a more loyal subject (as I always thought) never lived in the world.

But, in such times as we live in, no trust can be reposed in any man. The king of Prussia's proclamation shews that he has been betrayed; but, let us draw a line of demarkation between the treachery of a minister, and the cowardice of a general.

In answer to many correspondents, respecting an expression, which I used in my last number, about the secession of *eight* of my subscribers, I answer, that they need not have been so surprized, inasmuch as my statement related only to original subscribers. Where I have lost one of this description, I have gained one hundred elsewhere.

Albert will find a letter for him at the office, on Monday.

C. C. will hear from me this day.

Ministerial economy—the revolution in St. Domingo—the continuation of the Prussian campaign—and John Bowles, esq. in my next.

London: Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°3. Saturday, January 17, 1807. Price 10d.

Sketch of the Operations of the Campaign.

About the middle of last September, the Prussian troops advanced with uncommon rapidity from Berlin, and passing through Saxony, arrived at the frontiers of Franconia, upon nearly the same position which they had occupied previous to the battle of Austerlitz. These positions were judiciously chosen, provided the Prussians had made a prompt and vigorous use of their advantages; for the greatest part of the Prussian army was thus concentrated, and ready to commence operations. But, instead of pushing forward to attack the French forces in detail as they were approaching, they remained immoveable, and calmly suffered the divisions of the French to pursue their route uninterrupted, and even appointed a particular day (Oct. 8,) for a round battle with their enemies. No wonder the French generals should laugh at the absurdity of such conduct, and that Buonaparte should talk of marching into Saxony before he went to bed. Three opportunities were thrown away of crushing the French army: the right division of that army, consisting of the corps of Soult and Ney, and a division of Bavarian troops, advanced by the route of Allberg and Nuremberg, united at Bayreuth on the 7th, and thence proceeded to Hoff, where they arrived on the 9th of October. If the Prussians had marched in force from Saalfeld, instead of halting there, they might have prevented the junction of these two corps, and have frustrated the French plan of operations. But the Prussian generals seem to have forgotten the rapid march of the French a year before, from the coasts of the Atlantic to the walls of Ulm; and to have concluded that a French army marches at the rate calculated by German quarter-masters-general. On the 24th of September, the French guards quitted Paris, and on the 6th of October they arrived at Bamberg in Franconia. The second opportunity which the Prussians lost was, by allowing the formation of the centre of the French army. This body was composed of the corps of Bernadotte and Davoust, the imperial guards, and the reserve of Murat, which advanced from Bamberg, where, as has been already stated, it had arrived on the 6th of October, through Cronach, and reached Saalberg on the 8th, whence it pushed onward through Schleitz as far as Gera. It is obvious, that if the Prussians had acted with spirit, the junction of the centre and right wing of the French army might have been prevented; for the corps under the prince of Hohenloe, which formed the left wing of the Prussian army, had arrived at Hoff long *before* the right of the French had reached Bayreuth; wherefore, it would have been an easy matter for him to have effected the destruction, at least, of Soult's corps, which was half a day's march in advance of the corps under Ney, and the prince of Hohenloe's force was treble that of the French. A slight inspection of the map will satisfy every one of the justice of this remark. Yet the Prussian army, under the disastrous influence of indecisive counsels, was motionless. The third, and last opportunity which the Prussians declined was, in not attempting to prevent the advance of the left of the French army, composed of the corps of Lannes and Augereau, as far as Saalfeld. In consequence of the French having accomplished this movement, their whole army united in one compact mass, and, as will presently appear, were capable of turning the left of the Prussians, which was the great object they wished to avoid. But, it was truly said in the third bulletin of the French, that while the Prussian generals were consulting upon the measures that should be taken, without being able to agree; while they were deliberating, the French army continued its march.

The campaign opened with the battle of Schleitz, which was fought on the 9th of October, between a body of Prussians, consisting, according to the French account, of 10,000 men, and a division of the French centre, under Bernadotte. From this circumstance, we may form some estimate of the velocity with which the French

armies move. The Prussians were defeated, with the loss of 400 men killed, 900 made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, which last make as loud a noise in a bulletin as they do a rumbling one in the field of battle, and are of equal importance in both. The soldiery, however, entertain a very high opinion of these cumbersome engines, and ignorant men are much in the same predicament. The action of Schleitz, which the French magnified, in their usual manner, into a battle, was merely an affair of posts; for, we are in possession of the Prussian account of it, by which it appears, that there were not more than 3,000 Prussian troops engaged in the defence of the village. The day after the action, Bernadotte removed his head-quarters to Auma, and, on the following day, Murat arrived at Gera.

While these operations of the centre were carrying on, the left wing of the French army was equally successful. The division of Lannes, which had penetrated without the smallest interruption (the Prussians being doubtless engaged in deliberations) through Cobourg and Graffenthal, attacked, on the 10th of October, the advanced guard of prince Hohenloe, commanded by prince Lewis of Prussia. This affair, according to the relation of the Prussians, was severely contested; it terminated in the death of prince Lewis, who was killed by a quarter-master of the 10th regiment of French hussars, and in the loss, on the part of the Prussians, of 600 men killed, 1000 made prisoners, and 30 pieces of cannon.

It will be now proper to explain the relative positions of the two hostile armies, in order that the reader may form a more perfect idea of the circumstances which brought on the fatal battle of Auerstadt, or of Jena, as it is sometimes called.

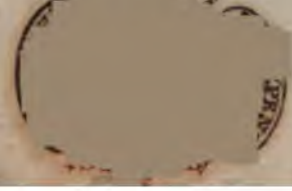
Every one conversant with military affairs must acknowledge, that the most egregious blunders were committed by the Prussian army at the very outset of the campaign. Led on by an unjustifiable and extravagant opinion of their own valour and strength, the Prussians, high and low, acted as if they were going to certain victory. Their understandings having been bewildered by this delusion, they took no precautions against a reverse of fortune. Hence, their plan of operations, if indeed they may be said to have had one, was inconsiderate and highly impolitic. They sallied forth rather with the view of gaining a battle, than of conducting a campaign; and even under the influence of the policy which they had adopted, they neglected the means of ensuring it. For, as I have already observed, if they had opened the campaign a few days earlier, they must have been successful; instead of this, they suffered the French to accumulate their force in Saxony, while, with a step alternately advancing and retreating, menacing a blow, but afraid to strike, the Prussians lost the opportunity of probable victory, which was never afterwards recovered. Neither Dresden nor Berlin were covered by an army. Turned on its left, after having committed itself to the most hazardous operations, the Prussian army was placed in the most critical situation. On the 12th of October, the Prussians occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar. The French army occupied Saalfeld and Gera, and was about to advance to Nauemburg and Jena. In the first line of the French, the corps of the army under Davoust was at Nauemburgh; that of Lannes at Jena; and that of Augereau at Kala. Cut off from Dresden, the Prussians remained at Erfurt on the 11th, and endeavoured to collect their columns which had been sent towards Cassel and Wurtzburg, to act upon the offensive. The Weser, upon which they had raised batteries; the Saal, which they attempted to defend, and the other rivers, were all turned much in the same manner as was practised on the Iller the year before; so that the French army lined the banks of the Saal, with their rear towards the Elbe; while the Prussian army had its rear towards the Rhine. In this position the fatal battle of Jena was fought. The history of that battle, given by the French, with its consequences, together with a Prussian account, just arrived in this country, I shall here insert.

"The battle of Jena has wiped away the disgrace of the battle of Rosbach, and in seven days concluded a campaign which has wholly quited all the dreadful preparations for war with which the Prussian heads were so much possessed.

"The following was the position of the army on the 13th:

"The grand-duke of Berg and marshal Davoust were with the corps of their army at Naumburg, having a part at Leipzig and Halle.

"The corps of marshal prince Ponte-Corvo was on the march to come up to Nau[illegible]



"The corps of marshal Lannes advanced to Jena; the corps of marshal Augereau was placed in the position of Khula.

"The corps of marshal Ney was at Kotha.

"The head-quarters were at Gera.

"The emperor was on the march to proceed to Jena.

"The corps of marshal Soult was on the march from Gera, to take a more convenient position upon the straight road from Naumburg to Jena.

"The position of the enemy was the following:

"The king of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th of October, by bearing down his right wing on Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. All the divisions of his army were disposed for the accomplishment of this plan; but the French army turning him upon the extremity of his left wing, was found in a few days at Saalburg, at Lobenstein, at Schleitz, at Gera, and at Naumburg. The Prussian army seeing itself turned, occupied the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in calling in their detachments, and on the 13th formed itself in order of battle between Capelsdorff and Auerstadt, being about 150 000 men strong.

"On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor came to Jena, and on a small elevated flat, beset by our advanced guard, reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, in order to manœuvre in such a way as next day to force the different passes on the Saal, and so to fall on. The enemy made a vigourous opposition, and seemed by their dispositions, on an inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar, to think that the French could not stretch out upon the plain without previously forcing that passage. It did not appear possible, in fact, to bring the artillery upon the flat, which was so small, that four battalions could scarcely open out their ranks upon it.

"The men were set at work the whole night to make a way over the ruts, and at length succeeded in bringing the artillery upon the height.

"Marshal Davoust received orders to defile near Naumburg, for the purpose of defending the defiles of Koesen, as the enemy wanted to march upon Naumburg, in order to reach Apolda, and fall upon his rear in case he remained in the situation he then was.

"The corps of marshal prince Ponte-Corvo was destined to stretch out by Naumburg, in order to fall upon the rear-guard of the enemy, in case he bent strongly toward Naumburg or Jena.

"The heavy cavalry, which had not yet come up with the army, could not be entirely brought on by mid-day. The cavalry of the imperial guard was at the distance of thirty-six hours march, notwithstanding the heavy journey which it had performed since it left Paris; but it was come to that moment of the war, when no single consideration should outweigh to deprive them of the advantage of being the first to meet and fall upon the enemy.

"The emperor placed the whole corps of marshal Lannes in order of battle upon the level height, which the enemy seemed to overlook (they occupied a position over against it). This corps was placed under the care of general Victor; each division formed a wing. Marshal Lefebre ordered the imperial guard into a square battalion upon the highest point. The emperor kept the watch in the midst of his brave men. The night presented a remarkable spectacle: two armies, the one of which extended its front upon a line of six hours march, fired the air with its lights; the other, the lights of which seemed to be brought into one small point; and in the one, as well as in the other, all watchfulness and motion. The lights of the two armies were at half cannon shot distance respectively; the sentinels were almost touching, and there was not a single motion on either side which could not be heard from the other.

"The divisions of marshals Ney and Soult took up the whole night in marching. At break of day the whole army was under arms. Gazan's division was disposed in three ranks; the left on the level height; Suchet's division formed the right; the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height. Each of these corps had their artillery in the little spaces between.

"From the town and neighbouring vallies the passes had been discovered by which the troops, which could not be placed upon the level height, might extend

themselves in the easiest manner; and this is surely the first occasion when an army had to defile through so small a pass.

"A thick fog obscured the day. The emperor passed before the different lines: he commanded his soldiers to take care of the Prussian cavalry, which had been described as being so formidable; he bade them remember that a year was not elapsed since Ulm was taken; that the Prussian army, like the Austrian then, was surrounded; had been driven from their line of operations, and lost their magazines; that they at the present moment no longer fought for honour, but for a retreat; that they alone sought to make themselves an opening upon different points, and that the corps of the army which should let them pass, would lose its honour and its glory."

"To these inspiring words the soldiers answered with a loud cry of *let us onward!* The light troops began the action. They opened a very brisk fire. Good as was the position of the enemy, he was nevertheless driven out; and the French army marched out in the plain, and began to form in the order of battle.

"The enemy's army, which on their side had no other view than to fall on whenever the fog should have cleared up, took up their arms. An army of 50,000 men from the left wing posted itself to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to get possession of the passes of Koesen. But this was already anticipated by marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one amounting to 80,000 men strong, placed themselves before the French army, which was opening out from the level height of Jena. The mist hung over both armies, lasting two hours; but at length was dissipated by the brightness of the sun. The two armies mutually beheld each other at the distance of less than cannon-shot. The left wing of the French army, supporting itself against a village and the woods, was commanded by marshal Augereau. The imperial guard poured their fire upon the centre, which was maintained by marshal Lannes; the right wing was drawn together out of the corps of marshal Soult, who had only a small corps of 3,000 men, purely composed of troops which had arrived of his light corps.

"The enemy's army was numerous, and displayed a fine cavalry; their manœuvres were exactly and rapidly executed. The emperor had chosen to delay coming to an engagement for two hours, in order to watch the positions which the enemy should take after the action of the morning, and to give the necessary orders to the troops, especially the cavalry, which required the greatest care. But the impetuosity of the French was too ardent for him. Several battalions had begun to engage in the village of Hollstedt. He saw that the enemy was in motion to drive them out; he gave immediate orders to marshal Lannes to march with expedition to the support of the village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement with his right wing upon our left, marshal Augereau was commanded to repulse them; and in less than an hour the action was general. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful events ever witnessed on the theatre of history. On one side, as well as on the other, every manœuvre was performed as if it were on a parade.

"Among our troops, there was not for a moment the least disorder; the victory was not uncertain for an instant. The emperor had all along by him, besides his imperial guards, a large body of troops, as a reserve, to act in unforeseen events.

"Marshal Soult having got possession of the wood, which occupied him two hours, made a movement in advance. At that instant the emperor gave orders that the division of French cavalry in reserve should begin to take post, and that the two new divisions from the army of marshal Ney should take station on the field of battle by the rear. All the troops of the reserve were advanced to the foremost line, which, being thus strengthened, threw the enemy into disorder, and they instantly retired.

"They retrieved themselves during the last hour; but were cast into dreadful confusion, at the moment when our division of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the grand duke of Berg at their head, were able to take a part in the engagement. These brave cavaliers, fearing that the fate of the day would be determined without their assistance, then bore the Prussians down before them, in great confusion, wherever they met them. The Prussian cavalry and infantry could not withstand

the shock. In vain did they form themselves into a square: five of their battalions were put to the rout; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were surprised and taken. The French came at the same instant to Weimar as the enemy, who found themselves pursued for six hours.

"On our right wing, marshal Davoust did wonders. Not only did he maintain his ground, but he followed, fighting, for the space of three hours, against the great body of the enemy's troops from the defiles of Koesen.

"This officer, to a distinguished bravery joins a vast deal of firmness, the first recommendation of a warrior. He was supported by generals Gudin, Friant, Morand, Daultranne, chief of the general staff, and by the steady intrepidity of his brave light corps.

"The result of the battle is from 30 to 40,000 prisoners of war, and more are continually coming in: three hundred pieces of cannon, immense magazines, and quantities of provisions. Among the prisoners are more than twenty generals; among others, several lieutenant-generals; one is lieutenant-general Schmettau. The amount of the loss of the Prussian army is enormous: it is estimated at above 20,000 killed and wounded. Marshal Mollendorff is wounded; the duke of Brunswick and general Ruchel are killed; and prince Henry of Prussia is wounded desperately. According to the account of deserters, prisoners of war, and flags of truce, the disorder and confusion in the remainder of the enemy's army is at the utmost.

"On our side, we have only to lament the loss of brigadier-general De Belli, a brave soldier; and the wound of brigade-general Couroux. Among the killed are colonels Verges, of the 12th infantry of the line; Lamotte, of the 36th; Barbenegre, of the 9th regiment of hussars; Marigny, of the 28th chasseurs; Harispe, of the 16th light infantry; Dalembourg, of the first dragoons; Nicholas, of the 61st of the line: Viala, of the 81st; and Higonet, of the 108th.

"The hussars and chasseurs displayed a valour on this day, which entitles them to the highest praise. The Prussian cavalry were never able to stand against them, and all the attacks they made upon the infantry were successful.

"Of the French infantry we shall say nothing. It is known, long since, that it is the best infantry in the world. The emperor declares, that the French cavalry, after the experience of the two last campaigns, and last battle, has not its like.

"The Prussian army has, in this campaign, lost every point of retreat in its line of operations. Its left wing, followed by marshal Davoust, begins its retreat to Weimar, at the same time that its right wing and centre take their retreat from Weimar towards Naumburg. The confusion was, therefore, extraordinary. The king was forced to retreat across the field, at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

"Our loss is 1000 to 1100 men killed, and 3000 wounded. The grand duke of Berg is at this moment close up to Erfurt, where is a corps of the enemy, commanded by marshal Mollendorff and the prince of Orange.

"The general staff is occupied in preparing an official relation, which shall make known, with every detail, all the different corps and regiments that have distinguished themselves, to entitle them to the esteem and acknowledgments of the nation; if any thing were wanting, they have testified it amply in the enthusiasm and love they have shewn for their emperor in the thickest of the fight.

"At one moment there was room for a doubt: every mouth was at once filled with the universal cry of *Long live the emperor!* a sentiment which ran through every heart in the midst of the battle. The emperor, seeing his wings threatened by the cavalry, set forward at full gallop to the spot, to direct other manœuvres, and order a change of front.

"He was every moment annoyed with the shouts of *Long live the emperor!* The imperial foot-guards, enraged not to be allowed to press on while they saw that every other corps was in motion, and that they were left inactive, several voices among them cried out, *Forward!* "What is this?" said the emperor: "This can come from none other but some beardless boy, that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon him to advise me."

"In the heaviest of the fire, when the enemy had lost almost all his generals, it might be seen what Providence has done for us, which had spared our army. Not a man of distinction, on the side of the French, is injured or wounded. Marshal Lannes was grazed by a musket bullet on the breast, but escaped unhurt. Marshal Davoust had his hat and clothes shot through in several places with small bullets. The emperor was continually surrounded, wherever he appeared, by the prince of Neufchatel, marshal Bessieres, the grand marshal of the palace, Duroc; the grand master of the horse, Caulincourt; his aides-de-camp, and equerry in waiting. A part of the army did not fire a single shot.

"Erfurt is taken; the prince of Orange-Fulda, marshal Mollendorff, several other generals, and a considerable number of the troops are prisoners of war."

Such was the fate of this memorable battle, which, in its portentous results, and the unmodified ruin which it produced, exceeded every thing in the history of European wars. A whole empire was lost by this single battle.

The German Account is as follows:—

A late Paris journal accompanied the description of the battle of Jena, with the following reflections. Grand and awful truths once more arise from this beginning of the war, and the following are perhaps the conclusions that ought to be drawn from these truths; that in the present age, there is only one people truly skilled and powerful in the art of war; because they have invented a new system of warfare, of which other nations have never had any conception; that such is the superiority of the military talents of that extraordinary genius who conducts the armies of France, that every one must be impressed with the continual increasing conviction that Europe will require to be regenerated as well as France, before she can cope with the latter.

The reflections of another observer go further. "It was neither a want of patriotism, nor a want of personal bravery, (he remarks) that so rapidly delivered Prussia into the hands of the invincible Napoleon; but it was a deep-rooted germ of destruction in the Prussian States, which was visible in the army as well as elsewhere, viz. a catching at frivolities and trifles; and this root of the evil may be ascribed to some old reasons, often suspected by many, but never publicly told. The all-penetrating mind of a Frederick the 2d, directing all its energies to one sole object, was wanting; and the place of such an energetic mind was but ill supplied by the acknowledged uprightness, benevolence, and firm conduct, of the present noble king of Prussia. So far, therefore, as the strict spirit of discipline, inculcated by the system of Frederick, was in modern times regarded as pedantry, so far, in some provinces, at least, did discipline degenerate into the ceremonies of a drawing-room, and the administration of the finances into a system of embezzlement; thus was the old warlike spirit of the army destroyed, and seduced from the observance of what was essential to its very existence. Whoever is acquainted with the Prussian state, will certainly see with vexation an edifice undermined, that once contained so much excellence, and which might so easily once more have retrieved its ancient dignity and consistency, if the heads of the empire had understood the prognostics of the times, and had been willing to submit to a few necessary reforms. A reform was particularly requisite in that part of the military system which excluded from all promotion in the army the most learned and enlightened members of society, viz. the higher classes of the citizens, not of the rank of nobility; and it is remarkable, that an order issued in France, similar to that which appeared in Prussia some years ago, permitting the nobility alone to be promoted, preceded the disturbances in the army which ended in the breaking out of the revolution.

Those who are well informed on the subject assure us, that prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, the night before the battle of Saalfeldt, in which he fell, foretold to several of his confidential friends the fate of the Prussian army. The counsels of Colonel Von Pfuhl were never listened to from the beginning.

Three principal errors probably hurled the Prussian army into the gulph of destruction. The first was an inconceivable disregard of any thing like a regular plan, and a heedless security. Only a few hussars were stationed in the Thuringer woods and hills, the passes and fastnesses of which could have been insurmountably de-

fended against the most superior force in the world by a few cannon and sharp-shooters. It is incredible, but nevertheless true, that the Prussian generals left all the most important passes on the Saal unoccupied; and when this was remarked by some Saxon engineers, they were laughed at, as if no enemy could come there. The Prussians had almost no reconnoitring parties, and they never suspected that the emperor of the French, with his main body, had advanced within a few miles of them.

How differently was the emperor Napoleon supplied in this respect; and how far superior was he in point of vigilance and activity! When he had fixed his head-quarters at Auma, early in the morning two prisoners were brought in, who had been seized as spies. It soon appeared, however, that they were very honest men, as in their answer they completely coincided with each other. One of them was a son of the celebrated Scottish Baronet, Sir John Sinclair, who was studying at the university of Gottingen, and having been on a visit to Gotha, the road by which he was returning was cut off, and he was travelling through the Prussian main army to Leipzig. His companion was a garrison preacher of Gotha. The young Scotsman had a plan of study drawn up by his father in his pocket-book, and soon proved his innocence. The emperor himself conversed with him and his companion so early as two o'clock in the morning, and when he learned from them that the Prussians had no suspicion of his being so near, he exclaimed, turning to the by-standers, "Ils se tromperont furieusement ces peruques!!" (How these wise-acres will be deceived!) Both were kindly dismissed with passports.

The Prussian patroles allowed themselves to be cheated by the most trifling appearances. An officer commanding a body of horse, which was sent out from the royal camp towards Naumburg to reconnoitre, returned without going to Naumburg, because when half way he learned from a traveller that they knew nothing of the French at Naumburg. From such extraordinary security no other consequences could follow.

The second grand error was the unaccountable neglect of every means for securing subsistence for an army of 140,000 men. There were, indeed, large magazines stored up in Hoff, Zwickau, Naumburg, and Weissenfels, but they were left without any protection, and soon rendered completely inaccessible to the army, which they were intended to supply. They became a welcome booty to the French, who by turning the Prussian army cut them off from all their magazines. On the 11th of October, the day after the ruinous affair near Saalburg, the whole Prussian army altered their former position, they concentrated themselves into a camp near Weimar, and placed themselves in such a position, that they were under the necessity of either fighting or starving. The barren country of Weimar was in no condition, neither was it by any means prepared to subsist this army along with its appendages. There was no bread, no brandy, no beer for the soldiers, and no fodder for the horses. Every thing in Weimar was completely devoured during the two days the camp remained in the line from Weimar to Jena and Auerstadt. A supply of brandy and meal came, indeed, the day before the battle, but it was too late, for the greatest part of it fell into the hands of the French. As on the 11th and 12th of October nothing was provided, the soldier was forced to take whatever he could get. Not only all the vegetables in gardens or in fields, either above or below ground, were stolen, but all the villages were stripped; even the stables and cow-houses were broken into, the cattle driven out, and the unthreshed corn thrown before the horses. A Prussian general who is now dead of his wounds, had, indeed, made it a maxim to permit the peasants' horses, cows, sheep, and provisions, to be carried off, and the country stripped to an extent of three or four leagues, that the enemy might find nothing left.

The third and most decisive error lay in the false calculations that were made respecting the movements of the enemy, and the unfortunate choice of positions. The Prussian army lost time at Erfurt, and when the French first began to surround the Thuringer Wood, the Prussians busily employed themselves at the head-quarters at Erfurt, with the extravagant project of falling upon the French army in the rear, at Frankfort, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg. The position of the Prussian army on the left bank of the Saal was, in every respect, disadvantageous. Thereby the road to

the capital, and to the chief fortresses (the protection of which ought to have been the first object) as well as to the whole electorate of Saxony, was thrown entirely open. By this position the army was also cut off from their retreat to Magdeburg, after the battle, and they were forced to march in a crooked line by Erfurt towards the Elbe, while the French followed them in a direct line, and anticipated every advantageous position. The reserve, under the command of the prince of Wurtemburg, was posted, without any object, at Halle, in place of its keeping the corps of marshal Ney from falling upon the rear of the main army.

Those bulwarks of the Prussian monarchy, the most important fortresses, which would have greatly obstructed the progress of the French army, were in an untenable condition, and without provisions; and in the event that the battle was to have been lost, there was no place of assembling made known—no rallying point fixed upon. The discomfited corps therefore retired in quite different directions, and were almost all made prisoners.

On the decisive day, the 14th of October, the left wing was not formed in the same line, nor united with the centre. This want of unity had this effect—that two separate and distinct battles were fought at one and the same moment, and upon ground not very extensive. After the duke of Brunswick was wounded there was no commander in chief to direct the Prussian army. The corps fought singly, without plan, and without concert, and many regiments did not engage at all; very little of the strength or position of the enemy was known. The Saxons, who fought on the left wing, generally assert, that on the day of battle they either received no orders at all from the officers under whose command they were, or that the orders they did receive were such as could not have been executed. They were soon obliged to deliver up their remaining ammunition to the Prussians, and they lost their cannon when the retreat began, in consequence of having no cavalry to cover them. Lastly, the Prussian army was detained and hindered in its flight by the crowd of waggons and horses, and their unusually great quantity of baggage. This complete overthrow and destruction was not owing, however, to any want of bravery.—That the Prussians, under all these difficulties, fought with courage and perseverance, is testified by the French themselves.

The victorious emperor Napoleon conducted the events of the 14th of October with steadiness and the keenest prudence. He lodged the night before this eventful day in the castle of Jena, and on the following morning, as is asserted at Jena, he reconnoitred from the top of the old observatory, (commonly called the Fox Tower) the opposite heights on the road to Weimar, and witnessed the bloody battle that took place between the French that were marching through the Muhlenthal and the Saxons and Prussians posted on the Sneckenberg. Not far from this spot is the chain of sandy hillocks, which present, as it were, a steep wall on the heights of the Saal. There is here a coppice, known through the whole neighbourhood by the name of the Rauhthales, a place celebrated in the annals of the Jena muses, on account of the combats that used formerly to take place between the students at that spot. This is the pass which the emperor Napoleon fortified so strongly, and in such a masterly manner, with heavy cannon, and which is spoken so highly of in all the official accounts of the battle. It is incomprehensible to the slightest observer, how this place was not occupied by the Prussians; and yet it was strongly recommended to them by the Saxon officer of engineers, Lehman, who knew the ground well. So far was this carelessness carried, that the outposts, consisting of Prussians and Saxons, which were driven in by the French, from Jena to Camburg, in consequence of the above pass being left open, had no knowledge whatever of what was going on within a league of them.

The Journal de Paris informs us, that a young Prussian adjutant, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Jena, ascribes the unfortunate issue of that battle to the neglect of the superior officers among the Prussians, in not occupying in good time the narrow passes of Kosen. Marshal Davoust anticipated them, and eleven successive attacks afterwards made against him, could not drive him out of these passes. Besides this, the rapidity of the evolutions of the French army astonished the Prussian generals. In every manœuvre attempted by the latter they were anticipated. What, however, most surprised this officer, was the French artillery. The most

courageous soldiers could not approach the showers of balls which preceded the march of the columns, without trembling. The regiment of Larisch, for example, was above 2000 men strong, and in a few minutes only 50 men were left standing, having been stationed opposite to a battery of eight field-pieces.

West-India Affairs.

Sir,—It must be highly satisfactory to you and to your readers to know, that amidst all the difficulties that attend the administration of public affairs, his majesty's ministers find resources equal to every exigency. The happy instance of their fertility of invention, which occasions my now addressing you, is of so very extraordinary a nature, and so far surpasses the powers of common minds, that it cannot be contemplated but with mingled sentiments of surprize and admiration. Finding it necessary to adopt some expedient, to repair the errors and retrieve the mischiefs of a late favourite measure, they have levied one (would you think it) in the virtue and public spirit of contractors, and what is still more wonderful, of West-India contractors too. Yes, sir, those leeches, gorged with public plunder, those defaulters of unaccounted millions, are about to compensate their injured country for all the wrongs they have done her. The two sets of commissioners who have been appointed to examine them and their accounts, this double watch set upon them at home and abroad, may now sleep in peace. Their offices will be sinecures. The fable of Midas, whose touch turned every thing into gold, was but a type of our wonderworking administration, whose influence assimilates the dross of the basest characters into the ore of the purest virtue.

But to be more explicit, his majesty's ministers, after having had time to reflect calmly and dispassionately on the consequences of their American intercourse bill, wrote to the commanding officer in the West Indies, expressing a great anxiety to foster and encourage a mutual intercourse between the British settlements in North America and the West-India islands, and requesting them to prevail upon the contractors, to draw as great a proportion as possible, of the provisions necessary for the supply of the forces on that station, from Canada and Nova Scotia. Had this anxiety to foster and encourage that mutual intercourse been felt in due season, the provisions of the bill alluded to would have been very different from what they now are. If it be admitted that the principle of this bill stands on the strongest of all possible foundations, necessity; it must also be admitted, that, in carrying it into effect, due regard should have been paid to the interests of our own colonies in North America; instead of which, they are left to cope even-handed with the United States in the supply of the West Indies, without any protecting regulations in their favour, while the war premium of insurance on British vessels from our North American colonies to the West Indies and back, is from twenty to twenty-five guineas per cent. and the peace premium on American vessels from the United States to the West Indies and back, is only five guineas per cent. Under these circumstances, our North American colonies are excluded from all competition with their rivals, but at an insupportable disadvantage; and that commerce to which as British subjects they have a natural right, is transferred to a foreign flag.

It might have occurred to our legislature, that such would be the natural result of the difference in the premiums of insurance paid by the respective parties. It might have occurred to them, (or if they were ignorant of the fact they might have learned it by condescending to inquire,) that America actually pays her great and good ally, France, an ad valorem duty of twenty per cent. on all goods imported into her West-India colonies, with a duty of seven per cent. on all produce taken in return; and that she pays in the Dutch West-India settlements, a duty of eleven per cent. on importation, and eight per cent. on exportation. It might have occurred to them, that America in her own commercial regulations, had set us the example of making a marked distinction between the duties on goods imported in British, and those imported in American ships, which, with the greatest propriety, they might have adopted to any extent, when granting a privilege never before allowed to any foreign power of intercourse with our West-India colonies. In one article alone this distinction has been attended to. Fish imported into our West-India islands from the United States pays a duty of 2s. per quintal, which is given back

as a bounty on fish imported from our own North American colonies. Why was not this principle generally acted upon, and an ad valorem duty imposed upon every article imported from the United States in American ships, and given back as a bounty on the same articles imported from our own North American settlements in British ships?

This regulation would be reasonable as it respects America; both as it is founded on the same principle that she herself exercises towards us, and as in giving her ships access to our West-India islands, we have a right to prescribe the conditions on which that access shall be granted. It would be just to our own North American colonies, by holding out a proper, and indeed necessary encouragement to their industry; and it would be advantageous to the maritime interests of the empire, by extending British navigation. Without any invidious view towards the United States of America, and with every wish for a continuance of friendly and honourable emulation in commercial prosperity between them and Great Britain, it may fairly be affirmed, that the loss of any branch of commerce to this country, is so much the more to be regretted if it is gained by America; for the extension of her carrying trade increases her demand for seamen, and by the temptation of high wages, the exemption from the impress, and the similarity of language, many thousands of British seamen are induced to engage in her service, are provided with certificates of American citizenship, and so become lost to their own country for ever.

These important considerations may, perhaps, induce his majesty's ministers to amend the American intercourse bill, by a clause imposing an ad valorem duty of seven and a half, or ten per cent. on all commodities imported into our West-India islands from the United States of America in American vessels; to be given back as a bounty on the same commodities imported from the British North American colonies in British vessels. Such a measure would give a stimulus to the now-discouraged industry of our own settlements; would extend their agriculture by furnishing a market for their produce; would increase their population by encouraging emigrations from the United States, and, in time, enable them to supply our islands with most of the articles necessary for their consumption. If the act remains in force as it now stands, as population will ever follow encouragement, our North American colonies will soon be nearly deserted by emigration,* and our West-India colonies will become totally dependent on the United States of America for their supplies.

How far this would be consistent with policy, will best appear from a reference to the past discussions between the two countries; every one of which, since we have been engaged in hostility with the continental powers, has originated in some fresh demand on the part of America, and terminated in some new concession on the part of Great Britain. The result of Mr. Jay's negotiation, was our waving the important right, until then uniformly maintained, of preventing neutrals from carrying on any trade in time of war which was not allowed them in time of peace. This tranquillized her but for a while. Legislative sanction has since been given to her intercourse with our West-India colonies. She now challenges the right of carrying the produce of those of our enemies to their respective mother countries; is indignant at our taking out of her vessels British seamen, to whom she has given certificates of American citizenship; and sends commissioners here to procure redress for these grievances, first passing a non-importation act of British goods, to enforce compliance with her demands. What we have now conceded, the treaty when published will shew; but, I fear that America has found too much advantage in complaining, to desist from the practice. We have surrendered our maritime rights; we have infringed our navigation laws in her favour; and this will encourage her to ask so long as we have anything left to give; till the trident is transferred from the hand of Britannia into the grasp of Columbia.

When we compare the menacing tone she has ever assumed towards this country, with her submissive conduct to France, we cannot but be struck at the contrast.

---

* *It is a fact equally alarming and authentic, that seventy families, taking with them all their moveable property, and fifteen sail of vessels, have already emigrated from the town of Liverpool alone in Nova Scotia, to settle in the United States of America.*

France, last war, in open violation of the laws of nations, captured her vessels trading to and from Great Britain. She endured this treatment for four years together; and, at length accepted a nominal compensation for it, of two millions of dollars allowed in the purchase of Louisiana. France has lately avowed her determination to act again upon the same system, in order to enforce her blockade of the British isles; and we shall see whether America will repel this outrage on her just rights, with the same spirit and promptitude as she has shewn in supporting her pretended rights against England. Be the event as it may, the just and clear line of policy for us to preserve, is to make ourselves as independent of her as possible. By giving proper encouragement to the agriculture and population of our own settlements in North America, we shall enable them, in a great degree, to supply the wants of our West-India islands, we shall increase their demand for our manufactures, and restore an extensive branch of commerce to the British flag, which the pressure of circumstances has lately obliged us to concede to that of America.

As the age of miracles has ceased, I have not such implicit faith in the purity and public spirit of the West-India contractors, as to believe that they will sacrifice from fifteen to twenty per cent. on the amount of the supplies they furnish, in order to draw them from Canada and Nova Scotia; and, lest this rare expedient should fail, which, even if it succeeded, could produce but a very trifling effect, I would recommend it to his majesty's ministers to have two strings to their bow; and to secure the object for which they have expressed so laudable an anxiety, by such an amendment of the present American intercourse bill, as shall secure the just claims and protect the legitimate interests of the British settlements in North America.

CIVIS.

The Whigs.

SIR,—When I mentioned in my last, that it was very probable the Whigs would speedily retire from their situations, because they had too much good sense remaining in them, to stay till they were turned out; it was far from my intention the phrase should be understood (as has been supposed) that they had that combination of good qualities which we commonly, and justly distinguish by the name of good sense; but I use the term merely to express that certain something of prudence, which, as the man in the play says, makes every well-bred dog walk down stairs, when he sees preparations are making for turning him out.

Lord Howick is now considered the head of the Foxites, from the lead that he has taken in the late parliamentary discussions; and it is pretty generally thought, that the administration have so divided their power, that the Grenvilles are to command in the house of lords, and the Foxites in the house of commons. Whether this is the case or not, is a question of no importance to be decided; for every person of common sense knows that most of them (especially the Whigs and the inferiour Grenvilles) have shewn such a pitiful deficiency of every statesman-like quality, that they are unable of themselves to stand against the well-directed efforts of a vigorous opposition. In the event of the Whigs retiring from office, we may consider who, in all probability, will succeed them in their several departments of government.

The towering genius of Mr. Pitt, which shewed itself more splendidly as the difficulties which surrounded him encreased, and whose eloquence at once encouraged his countrymen and discomfited their foes, needed not any help from the companions of his administration more than their mere official duties required. But lord Grenville, though possessing all the advantages which must arise to a statesman from being educated in the school of Mr. Pitt, is not able of himself to guide the helm of state, or stand alone against a powerful opposition: but must have every possible assistance from his companions in office. The Grenvilles form the most numerous part of the present administration, and accordingly many people think they will be able of themselves to turn out the Whigs, and from their own forces to fill the vacant situations. But the voice of the country is so strong against this proceeding, that I am sure lord Grenville will be too politic to hazard the vain attempt. That most wise and patriotic statesman, lord Temple, whose conduct at the late Hampshire election you have convinced all your readers was so honourable,

would indeed make a most excellent chancellor of the exchequer, or fill any other important situation with renown. But the country calls for, and wants a financier in that department, and there is but one man in the country fit for the office. I allude to a statesman whose mind is not confined to the knowledge of mere official duties, but who has acquired all the grand financial principles of Mr. Pitt, together with much of the general political knowledge of that immortal statesman. I scarcely need say this is Mr. Rose. Lord Grenville, with him at his side, will be able to make a most important stand. I will not anticipate your readers reflections, in considering what situation lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and others, might hold; but shall conclude with saying, that lord Grenville never can remain a minister with such supporters as the Foxites. I am, sir, &c. M.

Greenwich, 10th Jan. 1807.

Ministerial Economy.

If there is any one instance in which the present administration have, more than in any other, disappointed public expectation, it is in their total neglect of those principles of economy and reduction in the public expenditure, which, while in opposition, they so loudly called for. In this respect they may be justly said to have only "kept the word of promise to the ear." That, however, the public might not think the subject totally forgotten, the king's speech has been made the medium of keeping alive the embers of this promise; and we are, therefore, led to hope that something may yet be done to redeem a pledge so essential to the general welfare and security.

The public are under infinite obligation to every member of parliament who, at any time, has the courage to put ministerial professions to the test: nor could a more constitutional or popular ground have been taken for so doing than in the motion made by Mr. Biddulph, to put an end to the salary of the chairman of the ways and means. Though the house, in its wisdom, decided against the motion for the present, upon the ground that the proper time for the proposal would be when the salary was moved for at the end of the session; the subject is still open, and I trust will not be lost sight of. At all events, it has had the effect of putting ministerial economy to the test; and I only wish that test had been made still more complete, by half a dozen members offering themselves to fill the office without salary; for it is an office which every member of parliament, not labouring under bodily infirmity, is fully competent to fill. Lord Howick's speech upon the occasion merits the most serious attention, and I therefore recommend it to that of my readers.

I am far from thinking that the servants of the public ought not to be fully recompensed for their services; and not only so, but I think they ought to be enabled to keep up the becoming splendour of their situations without intrenching upon their private fortunes: for however creditable it may be to the individual, it is no honour to the country which suffers a Chatham or a Pitt to die in beggary. But I do think, that at an æra like this, when the people are sacrificing so largely for the defence of all that is dear to them, there are many sinecures which might be cut down, many enormous salaries which might be diminished, and many other instances of economical reform, the introduction of which would go farther than any one instance besides to redeem the lost popularity of the administration, especially of that most unpopular, the financial branch of it. The Grenville family alone are said to receive above 60,000*l.* a year for offices to which no active duties are attached: nor will this appear incredible if it be true that previous to Mr. Pitt's last administration, the marquis of Buckingham's tellership of the exchequer produced 30,000*l.* a year. On this circumstance being known to that great and upright statesman, he is said to have insisted upon the Marquis's (his relation remember) relinquishing 10,000*l.* a year to the public; and upon hesitation, threatened to make the reduction still more, by passing the loans through the office of another teller. If this be true, it forms another splendid wreath for the brow (I should rather, alas! say for the statue) of that truly great man. It may account too for the coolness he latterly experienced from his nearest connections; as well as for the toast lord Temple gave at the dinner of the Hampshire whigs and dockmen.

To H. R. Yorke, Esq.

Sir,—My usual channel for recruiting intelligence being *hermetically sealed*, I must now confine myself to such remarks as may occasionally occur, from what I hear among my acquaintance and in coffee houses, which, let me tell you, would be ample scope for a genius less sterile than mine, for we are the talk of the whole town; a general conflagration could not have ferretted us more effectually from our garrets, than the invitation from the higher powers for us to become active officers on the most essential of all services, that of recruiting our *wasting* army. We have accordingly cheered up our creditors with the hope of speedy payment from the produce of our exertions; myself and some others have thrown off our gouty flannels as unnecessary, and, indeed, indecorous for *active officers*. What our number may now be, or what our success in recruiting, I know not; but my forty pounds are safe in a napkin, there to remain till called for; as the friend I mentioned in my last, who so kindly offered me his assistance, is, I find, only fit to recruit men for the hulks.

It would be amusing enough to the splenetics in the House of Commons, if that meddling young nobleman Lord C. with his antiquated notions about *defending his country*, and that teasing gentleman Mr. Canning at his back, to egg him on, was to call for a return of the half-pay officers, and those not in the army, employed under the *invitation* of October last, with a DESCRIPTION return of the number of recruits raised by them in the United Kingdoms, specifying those approved, and those rejected, since the 25th October; also an account of the *total* sum paid to those officers and gentlemen. Such a return, sir, would cause sighs on one side of the house, and smiles, attended with indignation, on the other; for both would be enabled to draw a *strong* comparison between Mr. Pitt's systems for increasing our force, and those of the present day. If lord C. was also to call for a return of recruits raised by every system for the last six months, together with one of deserters for that period, the comparison would not tend to allay the astonishment of the house.

As I have other matter in hand for next week's Review, I must break off for the present. I am, sir,

Jan. 14, 1807. A HALF-PAY RECRUITER.

State Paper.—By his Majesty the King of Prussia, as inserted by Authority in the Gazette of Konigsberg, of the 1st Dec. 1806.

"The battle of the 14th of October, notwithstanding the courageous efforts of his majesty's armies, has been so unfortunate for the Prussian arms, that the road to the capital, and even to the very heart of his majesty's dominions, has been left open to the enemy; the king was, therefore, induced to offer terms for an armistice, of which he had every reason to expect a cordial acceptance on the part of the enemy, as in the midst of the battle he received a letter from the emperor Napoleon, full of friendly expressions; but to this offer of the armistice the door of acceptance was shut, unless the king consented, as the basis of a peace, to certain sacrifices, incompatible with his honour and dignity. The king, who saw the full extent and magnitude of the misfortunes and dangers which unavoidably surrounded his faithful subjects, preferred an immediate and certain tranquillity, to the remote and uncertain prospect of the return of the fortune of war in his favour; his majesty, therefore, immediately took the resolution of making such sacrifices, however great they might be, as were compatible with the interests of his throne, and accordingly sent the minister of state, the marquis Lucchessini, as early as the 18th of October, with ample diplomatic powers, to the head-quarters of the emperor and king Napoleon.—The sacrifices which the king had agreed to, on receiving the first dispatches from marquis Lucchessini (to whom, in order to accelerate the business, his majesty had sent major-general Zastrow) were so adequate to the advantages which the enemy, by the fortune of a single day, had gained, that so early as the 30th of October, they were respectively acknowledged, and received as the basis of a treaty for peace, by the plenipotentiary, the grand marshal of the palace, Duroc; upon this basis the peace itself was to have been concluded without delay, and the king, on his own part took all the necessary measures to provide that

those conditions of peace should be punctually fulfilled, immediately after the signing of the preliminaries thereof. The emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, refused to put a stop to hostilities, and allowed his army not only to enjoy the advantages they already possessed, but to proceed in acquiring new conquests, and even all the provinces of the king on the Oder and the Warta, destitute of garrisons, were inundated with French troops, and thus these defenceless provinces felt all the horrors of war, as well as the capital. At the head-quarters of the emperor, even four days after the acceptance of the conditions of peace, a seditious proclamation was printed, published, and distributed, tending to produce an insurrection or disturbances, and rebellion among the subjects of his majesty in South Prussia. Wherever the enemy's troops could find their way, the property of the king was taken possession of, the royal treasures were seized, and it was attempted to seduce the servants of his majesty from their lawful allegiance, and an oath was even tendered to them, whereby they were required to swear fealty to the enemy. Those facts created a suspicion that the emperor was not serious in his intention of concluding a peace upon the basis already understood by the plenipotentiaries of both nations. The unceasing, but ineffectual endeavours of the plenipotentiaries of the king, not to break off entirely the thread of communication between the two belligerent powers, proved clearly to his majesty that this suspicion was well grounded, more particularly as the positive declaration, "That the emperor, knowing the situation in which Prussia has been placed, since the unfortunate battle of the 14th, must take advantage of that situation for the conclusion of his peace with England and Russia," leaves no doubt remaining with respect to the intentions of France. After this, the formally concluded basis for peace was entirely set aside, and instead of it an armistice was proposed on the part of the French, at the very moment when it was thought that the basis of a definitive peace had been settled, and each new advantage gained in the interim, by the French, now increased the severity of the demands made upon Prussia. After having indulged themselves in so many illusory hopes, the plenipotentiaries of the king at last thought themselves justified to conclude, on the 16th of November, the armistice hereafter inserted verbatim,* in order to put a stop to the continually increasing demands of the enemy. This document was accompanied by the official declaration of the imperial minister for foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, the contents of which prove more clearly than any thing that had gone before, that Prussia would only flatter herself in vain, if she cherished the most distant hope of a secure or lasting peace, notwithstanding the unheard-of sacrifices which the armistice imposed upon her. But if the king himself even had indulged such a hope, it was no longer in his power to fulfil those conditions in that armistice with regard to the return of the Russian armies, because, as the French troops during the negotiation had advanced even to the Vistula, his majesty was not in a situation to stop the march of the Russian armies, when their own frontiers were menaced by the enemy. Thus, no choice was left to the king; he was obliged to refuse his ratification of the armistice which the grand marshal Duroc brought to his head-quarters at Osterode, on the 22d of November. If any alternative remained, it was one that implied the accomplishing of impossibilities, viz. to invite the cabinet of St. James and St. Petersburgh to unite with his majesty, and agree upon the basis of a negotiation with the emperor Napoleon for a general peace. This has been done, and though there were but feeble hopes of the success of such an attempt, yet the king did not recall the marquis Lucchesini from the head-quarters of the emperor and king. During the time that the king was thus employing all the resources in his power to stop the shedding of human blood, he was nevertheless busily occupied in bringing forward all the means of resistance which God has given him. While the fortresses, provided with ample means of defence, such as those of Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, &c. have been delivered up to the enemy, in a most scandalous manner, by their respective commanders; the other fortresses of the country, particularly those on the banks of the Vistula, have been now put in the best possible state of defence, and entrusted to the command of brave and honourable officers. The rest of the

* *It is unnecessary to insert the armistice, as it has not been acted upon.*

marching regiments which were quartered or encamped near the Vistula and Warta, shall be united with the numerous well-disciplined and brave army brought to the assistance of the king by his true friend and faithful ally, the emperor Alexander.

"While these united troops attack the enemy, a new and numerous army, which is began to be collected, well disciplined, and equipped for war, shall follow their fellow soldiers to the field of glory. Above all, the king relies on the support of that people, who gloriously fought the battles in the seven years war, against almost all Europe, and who did not despond nor waver in their allegiance to their monarch, even when the capital, and the greatest part of the kingdom, were in possession of the enemy; his majesty looks with confidence to the support of that people, who, upon that occasion, in the midst of unheard of perils and calamities, evinced an energy and firmness which has merited the applause of the present age, and secured them that of future generations. At the present moment there are even greater calls upon our energies, than there were at the period of the above calamities. We now struggle for all that is dear and honourable to us as a nation, or sacred to humanity. To preserve the independence and existence of the nation alone, the king took up arms; this the nation, nay, the whole world, knows; and the enemy will not be able to deceive the people by the phantom of a pretended coalition, of the existence of which he cannot produce the least evidence. In her former struggles in the seven years war, Prussia stood alone, or at least without any material assistance from any other power. She then stood up against the first powers in Europe. In the present struggle, she can reckon upon the assistance of the powerful and magnanimous Alexander, who, with his whole strength, stands forward for the preservation of Prussia. Prussia in this great struggle, has only one interest in common with Russia; both will stand and fall together. With such an intimate union of both powers, in such an holy struggle against an enemy whose success has raised him to such a giddy height, that he knows no limits to his career, the issue of the struggle cannot long remain doubtful. Perseverance in danger, according to the glorious example of our forefathers, can and will alone lead us on to victory!"

Note of Charles Maurice Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento; delivered in after the above Armistice was signed.

"The undersigned minister for foreign affairs has received his imperial and royal majesty's commands, to declare to their excellencies the marquis Lucchesini and the general Von Zastrow, plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of Prussia, as follows:

"Four coalitions, of which the last has brought on the present war, were formed against France—all four have been conquered: the victories which his imperial and royal majesty has gained over them, have subjected under his power very extensive dominions. Thrice has France, actuated by a moderation unexampled in history, determined to give back the whole, or at least the greatest part, of her conquests; and has re-established princes upon their thrones, without any great diminution of that power which they had forfeited in consequence of the emperor's victories.

"Although the emperor has thrice acted in this manner, yet is he willing once more to display his extraordinary moderation, though it might produce, before the lapse of ten years, even a fifth coalition.

"In the course of those continually-renewed wars, France, Spain, and Holland, have lost their colonies. It is natural, it is just, that those countries which, by the laws of war, have come into the possession of the emperor, should serve as compensations for those colonies. But the most material injury which the fourth coalition has done to France, is, that the Porte has lost its independence. Wallachia and Moldavia were governed by two men, who were justly deposed by the Porte; but she has been forced to reinstate them in their dignities, by the threats of Russia; and those concessions, on the part of the Porte, may be reckoned as actual conquests by Russia: if, therefore, the total independence of the Porte ought to be a chief point to France, his majesty the emperor would lose the greatest advantage of his victories, if he were not to obtain the guarantee of the future independence of that power.

[redacted] the least consent to the restoration [redacted] of the rights of the Porte over [redacted] independence recognised and [redacted]

[redacted] their excellencies the marquis [redacted] the assurance of his high considera- [redacted] LEYRAND, Prince of Benevento."

[redacted] P. M. 3.—This day, at twelve o'clock, the presi- [redacted] Mr. Coles, his secretary, the following [redacted]

[redacted] *of the United States of America, in* [redacted] *assembled.*

[redacted] great satisfaction to announce, in the [redacted] in our foreign relations, existing at [redacted] have been amicably and justly terminated. I lost [redacted] were most likely to bring them to [redacted] charged with such powers and instructions, [redacted] no imputation on either our moderation or [redacted] have since taken place in our negociations with the [redacted] have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the [redacted] of the session, I may be enabled to lay before [redacted] be that of the negotiations for settling our dif- [redacted] which had taken place at the date of the last dis- [redacted]. On the western side of the Mississippi, she [redacted] and took post at the settlement of Bayou Pierre, [redacted] village was originally settled by France, was held by [redacted] Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of [redacted] insulated, and distant, it was not observed, at the mo- [redacted] France and the United States, that she continued a guard of [redacted] which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, [redacted] made by our commander in chief, to assume the Sabine river, [redacted] of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the [redacted] shall be known, this has been referred by the Spanish com- [redacted] superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to [redacted] of the Sabine river. The correspondence on this subject, now [redacted], will exhibit more particularly the present state of things in that [redacted]

[redacted] nature of that country requires indispensibly that an unusual proportion [redacted] employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, [redacted] the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had [redacted] to call on the governors of Orleans and Mississippi, for a corps of [redacted] volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he has proposed, [redacted] render this unnecessary. But I inform you with great pleasure of [redacted] with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their [redacted] in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, intitled [redacted] the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the union, and must [redacted] to the general determination to protect them efficaciously, under all circum- [redacted] which may occur. *(To be continued.)*

---

* * *The Parliamentary Digest, and what I have to offer concerning the Revolution of* [redacted] *together with my examination of the charge against Mr. Boucles, and my* [redacted] *of the character and conduct of that gentleman: are unavoidably postponed until* [redacted] *as it is my wish that the order of the Historical Narrative should not be* [redacted] *interrupted.*

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 4. Saturday, January 24, 1807. Price 10*d*.

HISTORICAL.

Sketch of the Operations of the Campaign—concluded.

AFTER the calamitous battle of Jena, the Prussians were so completely broken and dispersed that they retreated in the utmost confusion; and, as no place of rendezvous was fixed upon previous to the battle, such divisions of the Prussian army which had escaped the sword or captivity, endeavoured to reach the banks of the Oder, so as to be enabled to rally behind Custrin, where an army could make a stand for a considerable time. But, they were anticipated by the enemy, who, to use their own phrase, were always *trois jours en avant*. What remains, therefore, for me to illustrate, comprehens the operations of the retreating divisions of the Prussian army, in order to effect their escape; and, in this short narrative, it must be universally admitted, that, however censurable the previous movements of the Prussians were, their subsequent conduct, under adverse fortune, deserves the highest commendation. When their skill and gallantry are contrasted with those of some of the Prussian generals who commanded the strong holds which were unaccountably surrendered to the enemy, we shall soon penetrate into the causes of the present distress to which the Prussian monarchy is reduced.

A short time before the great battle of Jena, the public mind of Prussia was raised almost to a pitch of enthusiastic phrenzy, from the short but affectionate letter which the queen wrote to the prince royal. The words were, "rejoice, my boy, the prince of Hohenloe has defeated the French." This gratifying intelligence was instantly circulated in bulletins, and confirmed by the dispatches which the governor of Berlin had received from Dresden. But, the delirium of joy had not, in the least, abated, when, on the 17th day of October, the following tremendous annunciation was made by the same governor. "The king has lost a battle. The first duty of a citizen is to be tranquil. This is what I, the governor, require of all the inhabitants of Berlin. The king and his brother are living." It is impossible to conceive any thing to be more simple and pathetic than this concise declaration. The effect it produced may be well imagined. The public mind was depressed in proportion to its former elevation; consternation appeared on every countenance; dismay occupied every heart. From that moment, the old adage of the invincibility of the French was revived, and the futility of resistance became the popular topic. By such irresolution and want of fortitude, the nations of Europe have suffered themselves to be subjugated by France! However, the disordered passions of the citizens were soon communicated to the dispersed soldiery; and the proclamation of the prince of Hertzberg, the governor of Berlin, was not calculated to inspire into their souls the spirit of patriotism. Instead of encouraging them to look the public danger in the face, and to place every obstacle in the way of the victorious enemy; instead of calling upon them to resist and die, rather than to submit and be enslaved; he cautioned them against the least attempt to annoy the French, and recommended that they should resign themselves to their impending fate.

We now return to the army. The king withdrew to Custrin on the Oder, with his body-guard. The wrecks of the left wing of his army, under the command of the prince of Hohenloe, attempted to reach the Oder at the nearest point from the scene of battle; but, as the French right wing had gained three days march before them (from the circumstance of their having pushed onward and turned the left of the Prussians previous to the battle of Jena) the prince was compelled to shape his course in another direction, and to endeavour to reach the Oder by making a detour, in order to arrive at Stettin on that river. This was evidently his object, and is expressly mentioned both in the French bulletins and his own letter to the king. By forced marches, the prince of Hohenloe reached the neighbourhood of the defiles of Boitzenberg, on the 27th of October, with the intention of

passing them, in order to arrive at Prentzlow, about ten miles distant, on the same night; but when he approached these defiles, he found them in the possession of the French. Notwithstanding this untoward circumstance, he forced them; but did not prosecute his march in a direct line, because the whole of his cavalry having been without forage for several days, were quite exhausted; and he was apprehensive that his cavalry would be engaged by break of day, and that the issue would be unfavourable. For this reason, he turned immediately to the left, and, in the course of the night, reached the vicinity of Schonermark, pushing, at the same time, strong patroles towards the enemy. About two in the morning the patroles returned *without having seen a Frenchman*: the prince then pushed a patrole as far as Prentzlow, who returned with intelligence that they had *seen nothing of the enemy*, and that the French patroles had *not shewn themselves in Prentzlow*. The prince then continued his march to Prentzlow, in the hope of finding bread and forage, of which *every one was destitute*; but he had no sooner reached the heights of Prentzlow, than the enemy appeared with superior numbers and artillery on his right flank; an engagement ensued, and the prince was compelled to retreat through Prentzlow.

Here let us pause for one moment, and with all possible respect for and admiration of the talents and valour of the prince of Hohenloe, hazard a short comment upon what appears to me, I will not call it a great fault, but an error of judgment which he committed. We find, by his own account, that he had succeeded in forcing the defiles of Boitzenberg; and that instead of pushing on in a direct line, to Prentzlow, he turned to the left, for the reasons already assigned. Here he lost time; and, perhaps, the loss of his army may be attributed to this very circumstance. For, by collating the accounts of the hostile parties, it is evident, that if he had proceeded on the high road to Prentzlow after the passing of the defiles, he would have reached Prentzlow, *before* the enemy, and have secured a mouthful of provision, sufficient to have enabled the army, by a great exertion, to have reached Stettin, only *seven* miles distant, before the enemy could have arrived at Prentzlow in such force as to have impeded his march. The prince had left, as will be immediately seen, his reserve at Lichen, which, it would have been better to have sacrificed, rather than have lost his whole army, and with it Stettin, which would never have shamefully capitulated, had *he* entered it in safety; while his Prussian majesty would have preserved one of his best generals, and an army. In offering these observations, however, we must make all due consideration for the circumstances in which the prince of Hohenloe was cast; and lest we, sitting down at our ease by our fire-sides, at this distance from the dreadful theatre of hunger, fatigue, anxiety, and battle, should be accused of injustice, I shall here insert the prince's reasons for his conduct, as given in his letter to the king of Prussia, dated Oct. 29, 1806.

"Sire,—I have not had the good fortune to conduct the army entrusted to me over the Oder, and to screen them from the further pursuit of the enemy. After I had reached the neighbourhood of Boitzenberg, by forced marches, on the 27th of October, and had the intention of passing those defiles, in order to reach Prentzlow on the same evening, I found them already in the enemy's possession. I forced them, but did not think it prudent to continue my march in a direct line, because the whole of my cavalry being without forage for several days, was quite exhausted; and, by break of day I had reason to expect the cavalry would be engaged, and that the issue would be unfavourable. I therefore immediately turned to the left, and in the course of the night reached the vicinity of Schonermark. I had already given orders for pushing strong patroles towards the enemy; about two in the morning these returned, and brought me no information of the enemy's being at hand. At length, I pushed a patrole as far as Prentzlow, which brought intelligence that they had seen nothing of the enemy, and that the French patroles had not shewn themselves in Prentzlow. I then continued my march for Prentzlow, where I hoped to find bread and forage, of which every one stood in need. I had no sooner reached the heights of Prentzlow, than the enemy shewed himself upon my right flank. An engagement immediately ensued; the enemy's superior numbers and artillery compelled me to retreat through Prentzlow. The hope of finding bread and forage here was now extinguished by the enemy's advance. Several of his battalions shewed themselves on my right, and being much superior in artillery and cavalry,

he was upon the point of renewing the attack upon my front. Many of my battalions were without ammunition; the whole of my riding artillery was lost; and for the cannon that was left, according to the report of colonel Huser, there was not ammunition for more than five discharges. I was still seven miles distant from Stettin; and the very last hope of obtaining any thing upon the march had vanished. From my support which still remained near Lichen, and from general Blucher's corps I was already cut off; without cavalry fit for action; without ammunition, and, above all, without provisions; and convinced that I should only risk the lives of the few that remained as an unavailing sacrifice in your majesty's service, I submitted to my hard fate, and entered into a capitulation with the enemy, the conditions of which your majesty will see in the supplement to this dispatch. I can safely lay my whole conduct during the campaign before your majesty and posterity, and await the result with an unshaken confidence. *I believe I can prove that I have been the unhappy sacrifice to the circumstance of not having had my earliest proposals acted upon.* The misfortune alone, and not the shame, affects me. The superiority of the enemy's cavalry had, for some days past, nearly ruined the whole detachment under general Schimmelpennick. It was upon the existence of this corps, which had destroyed all the bridges over the Rhinow, the Havel, and the Finow Canal, that I rested the practicability of my retreat. In the supplements, your majesty will perceive the extent of the losses sustained by the above-mentioned detachments; *I have conducted an army without bread, forage, or ammunition*, while the enemy moved in the same direction. The impossibility of obtaining my object is neither imputable to my want of zeal, good-will, or to the inadequacy of my orders. The greatness of my misfortunes may be regretted, but I cannot be deprived of the truncheon of honour."

Most deeply, indeed, are the misfortunes of this able general to be regretted; and though I cannot help thinking that, "without bread, forage, or ammunition," Stettin might have been reached, even from his own statement of the case; and that a strong sortie might have been made from that place to secure his entry into it; yet, as I before observed, we ought to touch this chord with peculiar delicacy; and go no further than to indulge ourselves in that universal grief which follows the extent of his misfortunes, especially as the plan of operations which he acted upon, was contrary to his own advice and judgment. I trust, therefore, that I shall be excused for having made a comment upon the chance of an event, which *was possible*, and which, if it had failed, could not have placed the Prussians in a worse predicament than the one which they afterwards were reduced to.*

Having thus seen the fate of the greatest part of the prince of Hohenloe's army, I shall next detail the operations of that portion of it which was cut off from the main body, and which endeavoured to effect its retreat in another direction. This was the corps under the command of general Blucher, which, after the most gallant, skilful, and brilliant retreat ever recorded in military history, was compelled to surrender, on the 7th of November, between Kiel and Ratkau, in the duchy of Holstein. When this great general perceived that his attempt to reach the Oder was frustrated, he resolved to devote himself and his army to the good of his country, by occupying a large portion of the French army in his pursuit, by which it would be diverted far from the scene of operations, and afford a better hope for the wreck of the grand Prussian army to accomplish its retreat to the Oder. There was not a shadow of hope that his corps would escape captivity: but his main object was to draw off, as far as he could, a large proportion of the enemy's forces, and to furnish the principal fortresses with provisions. This he effectually performed: for, no less than three divisions, those of Soult, Bernadotte, and Murat, followed him from the marche of Brandenburgh to Kiel, on the borders of the Baltic; and their pursuit would have been extended still further, had there not been some mistake or disobedience of orders in the defence of Lubeck, into which general Blucher had thrown a strong corps, for the purpose of retarding the march of the enemy. That city was carried by storm, after a most determined resistance on the part of the Prussians; in which

* *Seventeen thousand men, with sixty-four pieces of artillery, surrendered to a few brigades of French cavalry; for neither the divisions of Lasnes nor Bernadotte had yet come up.*

desperate conflict above 5000 persons, French, Prussians, and unoffending inhabitants, fell. The account of these operations are detailed with such modest simplicity, by the illustrious general, in his letter to the king of Prussia, that I shall insert it *verbatim*.

" Under the greatest depression of spirits, I am compelled to inform your majesty of the gradual annihilation and capture of the corps I had the misfortune to command, under circumstances in which no alternative remained. That a corps, separated from the heart of the kingdom, and from all the other troops and fortresses, after it had expended its ammunition in four engagements, should be annihilated by a force six times its number, stands in no need of justification; but it will be a great consolation to me, should your majesty follow my report step by step, and scrutinize all the measures I had adopted.

In taking a review of these measures, it may be necessary previously to observe, that the operations of my corps, till the 28th, viz. when the army of prince Hohenlohe capitulated, were directed to the gaining of the Oder; and that afterwards the whole of my exertions, and the movements of my troops, were calculated to draw the French from the Oder, and out of the heart of the Prussian monarchy. It was also my object *to supply the fortresses with provisions*, and to gain time for the approach of the Prussian troops and the Russian armies. That I have not been altogether unsuccessful, the consequences will prove, since three of the principal of the French corps, under Murat, Bernadotte, and Soult, surrounded me at the time when, deprived of all my ammunition, I capitulated with 9400 men, at Ratkau, between Kiel and Lubeck.

On the 24th of October, the prince of Hohenlohe entrusted me with the command of the corps which had been under the duke Eugene of Wirtemberg. This corps was much reduced in consequence of losing a battle near Halle; and besides one-half of a battery of twelve-pounders, had only a few six-pounders, and their riding artillery, and were *without forage or bread*. This artillery belonged for the most part to the corps that had been engaged in the battle of the 14th, and was much reduced in consequence of forced marches. With this corps I marched into the neighbourhood of Ruppen on the 26th. Prince Hohenlohe was then in the vicinity of Lichen. My view of proceeding to Zehdenick, the direct road to Prentzlow, was disappointed; the enemy had occupied that place and Gransee. I, therefore, marched on the 27th with the first division to Furstemberg, and sent the second to Lichen. Towards evening, my rear was attacked near Menz; it repulsed the enemy. I afterwards drew my rear off to Furstemberg, and placed the troops composing it near the first division.

On the 28th, at day-break, I joined the division of my corps at Lichen, and directed my march to Bortzenberg. Prince Hohenlohe had passed through Schonermark to Prentzlow. Such a detour was more than I dared to make, and I therefore resolved to drive the enemy out of Bortzenberg; as otherwise I must have given up all hopes of joining prince Hohenlohe. During this march the enemy attacked my rear not far from Lichen, but were repulsed by my regiment, which made about 30 prisoners, and cut down about 50 of the French. Upon my approach, the enemy left Bortzenburg; my patroles, however, fell in with them in all the adjacent villages, and during the night I was compelled to take possession of some of these villages *to prevent the men and horses from dying of hunger*, and to drive the enemy out of them.

Early on the 29th, just setting out upon the march to Prentzlow, I learned from some stragglers of prince Hohenlohe's corps, that the prince had capitulated there. My corps was 10,500 strong; the army of Murat was within two leagues a-head of me; on my flanks, and in my rear, was the corps of Bernadotte; each of them was double my force, which had neither bread nor forage, and was almost entirely exhausted by the forced marches it had been compelled to make. My resolution was soon taken; instead of marching directly for Prentzlow, I immediately took the left to Strelitz. I therefore hoped to join the corps of Weimar, and then to approach Magdeburg; or, according to circumstances, to pass the Elbe, in order to furnish Magdeburg and Hameln with provisions to hold out longer against the enemy, and to operate in his rear. In the mean while, several officers and

yagers, whom I sent out, were unable to procure me any information of the Weimar corps. I marched on the 30th by Strelitz, as far as Dambeck, and there unexpectedly fell in with that corps. Here I learnt, for the first time, that Soult's corps had anticipated my arrival upon the Elbe. In the mean while, my rear guard, before they arrived there, were harassed by the enemy.

On the 31st I sent two officers to the Elbe to provide the vessels necessary for passing that river, near Bortzenberg and Lauenberg. I continued my march to Wahren, and, on the following day, to Old Schwerin and Slave. After the arrival of Soult's corps, my situation became more critical. I had joined the corps of Weimar; but these troops it was necessary, during the nights, to distribute in several villages, to prevent them from dying of fatigue and hunger. In consequence of this distribution, my corps ran the risk of being dispersed entirely by an attack from the enemy.

On the first of November my rear-guard was attacked by the enemy near Wahren. The enemy pushed as far as Schwerin, where my head-quarters were fixed. The whole of my corps were in quarters, between Kuppentin and Serrahn; and as the enemy knew he could not penetrate by Old Schwerin, I looked upon his last movement as a feint, and expected his real attack between the lakes of Krakow and Schwerin. A large corps of my troops had arrived at their place of rendezvous previously appointed. The enemy proceeded further towards the Elbe, and I set out some hours before day-break to reach the vicinity of Presten and Kladrum. My corps was distributed over a space of five leagues: it was necessary to possess a number of villages to obtain provisions. Several soldiers dropped down, and expired through hunger.

On the 3d, I marched into the neighbourhood of Schwerin: here I hoped that both my wings would have been covered by the marshes of Lowitz and the lake of Schwerin, and that I should be able to obtain some bread and brandy from that place for my people. On the following morning it was my intention to have marched for Lauenberg, to avoid the corps of Bernadotte and Soult. During this march, my rear-guard was engaged in a very warm action, which terminated in the evening, near the village of Fahre. The detachment under colonel Osten, at Wittenburg, had left that place without orders. Of this I was uninformed. Had the enemy attacked me at this moment, while I was between the villages of Fahre and Plate, I should have been forced upon the lake of Schwerin. The enemy's attack upon Fahre seemed to be only a demonstration, in order to draw my attention to my left wing, while he surrounded my right.

The bloody affair with the rear-guard at Fahre did not terminate till an hour after dark. The head-quarters of both armies were not more than half a league distant; mine were at Ostdorf. Marshal Bernadotte summoned me the second time to capitulate. I then forbade him, once for all, to repeat this summons. In pursuance of my plan for drawing the enemy's force, in the first instance, as far as possible from the Oder, and to hazard an engagement only when I could advance no farther, I marched immediately from Schwerin to Gadesbusch and Roggendorf. During the night, the troops under general Salitz, and also those of my right wing, were annoyed by the enemy. It was still in my power to approach the Elbe near Lauenburg, but I had no time for deliberation. Thus there only remained open to me the road to Hamburgh or Lubeck; or I must have resolved to give battle on the following day. My troops, horses, and men, were so exhausted, that I could expect no favourable issue from engaging with an enemy six or seven times my number. The grand duke of Berg was upon my left flank, marshal Bernadotte in my front, and marshal Soult on my right. In this critical situation I determined to march upon Lubeck, keeping the Trave in front. Had my troops obtained any refreshment, they might have engaged against any moderate superiority, even though there had been but little probability of a favourable result.

On the 5th of November our march was happily continued. The gates of Lubeck, and the Trave, from Travemunde to that place, were all occupied, as far as the Danish frontier. The army, in this position, would have been in a condition, in the course of a few days, to have resisted the enemy's prodigious superiority, supposing that every one had done his duty: but this, alas! was not the case. The

enemy, on the 6th at noon, forced their way through the Burg gate of Lubeck, upon which 16 pieces of cannon were planted, and which was also defended by three battalions. The enemy would not have succeeded in forcing the gate, if the cannon had not been partly withdrawn, contrary to orders, and, just at the decisive moment, ceased to do any farther execution among the enemy's troops. As soon as I was apprised of this unexpected event, I attacked the enemy in the streets, with as many of the troops as I could collect. The contest lasted a considerable time, and with much bloodshed. The city was at length filled with the enemy's forces, and it was now no longer possible to withstand their superior numbers. The regiments of Tschammer Owstieh, the greater part of the regiments of Brunswick-Oels, the Magdeburgh brigade of Fusileers, and a party of Ivernois' Yagers and Fusileers, were almost entirely cut to pieces or made prisoners. The remaining troops, which still consisted of nine thousand and between two and three hundred men, had not rallied during the night; and our principal want was ammunition. I had now to resolve upon risking a doubtful attack, and rushing upon a foe, at least eight times my strength, or upon violating the Danish territory. The latter I deemed imprudent, as it was protected by a Danish corps, and the violation of its neutrality might be inconsistent with our political relations. The consequences of the former must have been, that the whole corps would have been destroyed or taken; a circumstance which would have been much more to be deplored than that of surrendering upon certain conditions. On the 7th of November, therefore, at the moment when three French armies were on the point of attacking me, I resolved to capitulate. A copy of the articles of capitulation is subjoined. The weakness of my corps proceeded partly from the loss which I suffered in the succession of petty engagements which I sustained, and especially in the battle of Lubeck, and partly from the fatiguing marches, during which, from the want of provisions, each battalion was compelled to leave behind between forty and fifty men daily. General Von Pelet, also, with four squadrons of Bayern dragoons, and general Von Usedom, with ten squadrons of hussars, had separated, some days before, from the army: and it should be further observed, that the troops belonging to the corps of the duchy of Wirtemberg had previously suffered very severely at Halle. At the moment of capitulation, the senior officer on the staff committed the mistake of stating, in the general abstract which he gave in, the effective strength of the regiments as much greater than it really was, and also to include the troops which had previously been detached, or which had the day before been killed or made prisoners in Lubeck. The French generals, however, in mustering the troops which have capitulated, must have been convinced that their number did not exceed that which I have above stated. The troops, in general, have manifested a degree of constancy, fidelity, and bravery, which has exceeded my expectation; and, under different circumstances, would have immortalized them. Though the regiments belonging to the corps lately under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg had fought an unsuccessful battle at Halle, in which they suffered severely—though, my whole corps, during an incessant retreat of three weeks, performed forced marches of from five to seven (German) miles daily,* and was destitute of all the necessaries of life—without suitable clothing, and numbers of them without shoes; and, what is more, having had no bread for the last three weeks, nor any pay for the preceding fortnight; nevertheless, there was not a single regiment, nor even a detachment, but was continually ready to perform whatever they were desired to execute. Their alacrity, their unbroken constancy, and their readiness to make every sacrifice, were evinced to the very last moment, even after the loss of Lubeck. I conclude this report with that heartfelt tranquillity, which the consciousness of having done my duty inspires; and remain, &c. &c."

Thus, by the capitulation of general Blucher's division, there did not remain a single Prussian corps on this side of the Vistula. The French, availing themselves of the enormous advantages which they had gained, called in their pursuing divisions, and advanced, with uncommon rapidity, to the Oder. After having perused the *authentic narrative* of general Blucher, we ought to suspend our judgment relative to the serious charges which the king of Prussia, in his proclamation, has alleged

* *A German mile is nearly equal to six English miles.*

against some of his oldest officers*. "While the fortresses," says he, "provided with ample means of defence, such as Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, &c. have been delivered up to the enemy, in a most scandalous manner, by their respective commanders;" &c. general Blucher, on the other hand, tells the king, in the report which I have inserted above, that "It was the object of his operations to *supply the fortresses with provisions;*" and in another part of the same document, he states, he expressly specifies his object to have been, if he could have accomplished it, "to have passed the Elbe, *in order to furnish Magdeburg and Hameln with provisions.*" Why should he have been so anxious to throw supplies into fortresses, which were "provided with ample means of defence," if he had not known that they were destitute of them? Besides, we have the concurrent testimony of the king himself, in the very same proclamation, nay, in the very same paragraph, wherein he arraigns his generals, to prove that the fortresses were *not* provisioned; for, he continues, "the other fortresses of the country, particularly those on the banks on the Vistula, have been *now* put in the best possible state of defence;" &c. This expression evidently denotes, that they had not *before* been in that state. Again: what mean all the repeated representations of the generals Hohenloe and Blucher, in their letters to the king, wherein they assert that their troops were famished for want of bread? that they were destitute of ammunition? that they moved by circuitous routes to procure bread and brandy, to save them from perishing with hunger? If, as the king maintains in his proclamation, the fortresses were amply provided, how comes it that no supplies were drawn from those sources? All these matters require elucidation, before we can feel ourselves justified in giving our unqualified assent to a denunciation of so serious a nature as the one under discussion. A wretched, penurious policy, or a treasonable negligence, is imputable to some one; for, if the fortified towns were in a defensible condition, and had been defended, the French army could not have arrived on the banks of the Vistula, without incurring the certainty of being eventually exterminated. A cursory account of the principal fortresses will establish this truth.

Magdeburg, which surrendered on the 8th of October to the enemy, is situated on the Elbe, and is a place of equal strength, and importance. All my readers are, no doubt, acquainted with the energic account drawn by Schiller, of the siege of this city, in the year 1631, when, to use the historian's language, the imperial generals Tilly and Pappenheim, made it "one bath of blood." This is the only strong fortified place of any consequence in Brandenburg; and it ought to have been considered as the point, whence all the operations at the opening of the campaign should have been made, subject however, to a proper regard for regal Prussia. For the enemy being within a short distance from the borders of Brandenburg, had all their resources at hand; so that in case of a defeat, and the fall of Magdeburg, the whole of the electorate of Brandenburg would be laid open. It is somewhat singular and inexplicable, that the Prussian army should have taken its position on the frontier of Saxony, without intending to advance, after having made that the point of departure. For that part of the country is neither strong by nature nor art. There is scarcely in Thuringia, the part occupied by the Prussian army, one advantageous position: and the country is so open, that the moment the Prussians were defeated, the French were able, without any difficulty, to spread through Saxony, and thus to push on with rapidity, and to intercept the retreat of the Prussians to the Oder. Saxony cannot be defended, excepting between the Elbe and the Mulda, a space of about 12 miles, intersected by many small rivers, and by an infinite number of ravins, generally so deep, that they are almost impassable, in case of opposition. A camp might have been formed in this part, with its right wing at Plauen, and the left on the mountain near Potchapel, if the Prussians meant to have advanced at all; because this would have kept the enemy in check, and frustrated their rapid march across the Elbe at Dresden. The best plan, however, would have been to have covered Magdeburg, and to have strengthened the left of the Prussian army, so as to have ensured a safe retreat to the Oder.

Stettin, from its situation, is capable of a long defence, as appeared when it was

* *Vide the proclamation in the last Number.*

taken from the Swedes. But it is much more reasonable to believe, that this place should have surrendered to the French than Magdeburg, on account of the infatuation which led the Prussian army onward, without the least provision against disaster.

At the confluence of the Warta into the Oder, is Custrin. The Russians attacked it in 1758, but failed in their attempt, though the place is small. It was relieved by the victory which the king of Prussia gained at Zorndoff.

Breslau, though tolerably fortified, could not make a considerable defence, because it is commanded by a neighbouring height, and has no outworks of consequence; besides great part of the town is without the wall, under the cover of which, the approaches may be made very near. It is however a place of importance, as magazines of provisions were formed there; a large body of troops can be lodged there during the winter quarters; and it may likewise cover a camp if the ground be well chosen.

Gross Glogau may be justly esteemed the most important fortress of Silesia. It covers the country so effectually, that no enterprize of consequence can be undertaken until it is secured. It is a great depôt of corn; and no magazine can be formed nearer the frontiers of Silesia, than at Posen, 60 miles from Glogau. This fortress made a stout defence, but like the rest, it finally submitted to the victor. Thus, the course of the Oder is entirely under the command of the French, whose armies have advanced even to the other side of the Vistula. Time will shew whether all these places were surrendered by treachery, cowardice, or a want of early precaution on the part of the Prussian government.

After Buonaparte had subdued all on this side of the Oder, he carried his arms into Poland, in which country, his pioneers in the science of revolution, had been sent before to clear the way for the reception of the imperial artizan. In the mean time, Denon, with a committee of predatory *virtuosi*, together with a troop of philosophical thieves, detached from the national institute of Paris, arrived in the electorate of Brandenburg, in order to sack the royal palaces, to collect booty, and to despoil it of all the monuments which constituted the illustration of the ingenuity and talents of its people. Every visit from these cold-blooded ruffians has been followed by robbery. The delightful retreat of *sans-souci* has been stripped of all its valuables, which were capable of conveyance, and *sans-souci* itself would have been removed, if the shoulders of these modern buccaneers could have sustained the burthen of it. Neither Attila nor Alaric made war after this fashion.

Warsaw and Praga have fallen into the hands of the French, and several divisions of their army have crossed the Vistula. But there, let us hope, their career will be arrested. The Russians have at length entered upon the scene of action; and the French, whether from the sense of weakness; from the sickness of a great part of their army; or, from the desire to wait the arrival of the flocks of conscripts on their march from France; are throwing up works for the protection of the bridges which they have established over the Vistula, the Bug, and the Narew. Their army is concentrated; and their positions, according to the latest accounts, were; the left, under Ney, was at Rypin; the advanced guard of the centre, under Augereau, was at Plonsk; and the right, under Davoust, had established itself at Steroc, at the confluence of the Narew and the Bug. The king of Prussia has not been indolent all this while. He has recruited his army; and the Russians with a very formidable force, are ready to co-operate with him. Several affairs of outposts have taken place between the French and Russian forces; and from the abuse lavished by the former upon the Kozaks, it is almost certain that they have impressed the French with a very high opinion of their mode of warfare. Let us hope that this grand effort for the emancipation of Europe, will be crowned with ultimate success!

POLITICAL

Reflections on the Revolution in St. Domingo.

Until the arrival of the new constitution, it will be difficult to affirm much concerning the future permanence of the black empire in the West-Indies. Nevertheless, the late events in St. Domingo merit our attention. These events are distinguished by the splendid epithet of a revolution; whereas, in fact, the change

which took place was merely of persons—the sable sceptre having been transferred, by the death of his imperial majesty, Jean Jacques Dessalines, to Henry Christophe. From the official accounts, published at St. Domingo, or rather at Hayti, it appears that the avarice, cruelty, and tyranny of the emperor Dessalines, were the causes of his overthrow. He was accused with having invaded the right of property, by the removal of the petty planters from one part of the colony to another, under the pretext that they had not a good title to their possessions; with having been most rapacious and extortionate in his fiscal government, and profuse in the expenditure of the public money; with having caused the national troops to be stationed on their own lands, that they might draw provisions from their own resources, while the money raised for their subsistence was expended by himself on his *twenty* mistresses, *plus* his wife. He was also accused with having violated the constitution, which *he himself* had enacted, in defiance of the will or sanction of the people. In consequence of these manifold aggressions upon the *sacred* and *imprescriptible* rights of the citizens, they put themselves into a state of "*holy insurrection*," to use their own phrase, which proves they are proficient disciples of the Parisian school; and, in the most orderly manner, knocked their emperor on the head. Next, according to the genuine tactics of the French revolutionists, they decreed, that a new constitution shall be framed forthwith, and that a provisional government, with Christophe at its head, shall conduct the affairs of the empire, until, by that constitution, *he* shall be raised to the supreme authority.

Accustomed as we have been in Europe to these frolics of liberty, we cannot wonder that the *enlightened* citizens of St. Domingo should follow the example set them by our philanthropic philosophers; who never deposed a government, and set up another in it. stead, without announcing to all the nations of the earth, that an halcyon age would supersede the reign of terror. The blacks have conducted this business with a scrupulous and minute observance of all the *sacred rules* adopted by their French doctors: and it requires very little reflection to perceive, that they will go through every stage of sanguinary atrocity, before they arrive at that condition of indifference to their forms of government, which will reconcile them to the iron sceptre of a negro Buonaparte, provided he will promise not to guillotine them.

We have seen these poor, ignorant creatures, aping, in every respect, the patterns of their former masters in the old world. When France had a republic, red caps, liberty, equality, humanity, and the guillotine, the negroes of St. Domingo adopted the same regenerating system. When she acknowledged an usurper and an adventurer for her emperor, the negroes converted the republic into an empire, and acknowledged one of their generals for their emperor also. But, though it be true that they trod closely upon the heels of the French, they discarded a great deal of their sophistical foolery, and, in some instances, made considerable improvements on the plans imported from France. They went to work with a bold and intrepid spirit; and, as far as their unlettered minds permitted them to judge of the principles of legislation, they enacted some ordinances which the sages of Europe may blush at. In the midst of all their efforts, they were cunning enough to know, that two emperors could not govern, and be friends, at the same time; accordingly, they christened anew their island, shook off all connexion with the metropolitan country, and resolved to extirpate every Frenchman resident amongst them. It may be recollected by some of my readers, with what transports of joy these pious resolves were hailed by the emancipating saints of Great Britain; who, in their holy zeal for extending the rights of humanity to their fellow-creatures across the Atlantic, forgot that the establishment and consolidation of a black empire, of whatever description, in the West-Indies, would inevitably lead, sooner or later, to a general and *well regulated* massacre of all *their own* fellow-citizens, who inhabited those regions; and who, by braving a pestilential climate, the horrors of war, and the consequent insecurity of their property, had been more instrumental in augmenting the wealth, commerce, and maritime strength of the mother-country, than all her other Trans-atlantic possessions taken collectively. It is not in the nature of Englishmen to admire slavery; it is not the character of the West-Indian planter to wish for the degradation of his fellow-creatures. But, after the legislature had been the first to encourage the principle of employing African slaves; after re-

peated parliaments which numbered amongst their members the greatest sages, philosophers, and legislators who ever figured in the world, had sanctioned it by the fostering care with which they protected it; surely, it is not too much to assert, that something is due to justice: and, that, before the uncertain consequences, even of a benevolent principle, are enforced, a reasonable equivalent, a substitute, or a compensation, should be made to those proprietors, whose existence, as well as property, *may* be put in jeopardy, by the impetuous philanthropy of some of their countrymen. I would not be understood to arraign the good intentions of these men; but, though I shall never be the advocate of slavery in any shape, excepting in the case of selling all the French, whom we can seize, to the negroes of Africa, (these miscreants being already slaves) yet, I must except against the horrible injustice of treating the West-Indian planters and merchants, as a race of cut-throats and tyrants; and, upon grounds, not less forcible, I shall defend the reputation of our ancestors from those foul blasts of calumny which have been poured upon them, through the medium of their descendants. If the West-Indians be cut-throats and tyrants, I should be glad to know what appellation we are to affix to our East-Indian kings and satraps? Nay, what shall we call most of our overseers of the poor at home? In my opinion, this matter has been pushed with too much eagerness and pertinacity. Had the civilized world been in a state of profound tranquility, the measure now proposed in parliament might have been successfully agitated; but, in the midst of a distracted world on fire, it is an act of desperation to intermeddle with those sources of opulence and power, which contribute so materially to our safety.

These reasonings will avail but little. The champions of the black empire, abetted by the saints, who are anxious to wash away their own sins in the blood of the West Indian planters, will not condescend to listen to any appeals to their reason upon the case, and to the obvious necessity of things. With them, there must be no compromise between eternal damnation and felicity, when political questions are referred to their reveries; and they little suspect that, while they are thus feebly endeavouring to assimilate the moral governance of the world, with the unfathomable justice of the Supreme Disposer of all things; they are, at this moment unable, after all the profound meditations of theologians and of theological philosophers, to account for the causes of those moral evils, which, in various shapes, pervade the whole of creation. With Robespierre they declare, "Perish our commerce rather than our principles;" with Condorcet they exclaim, "Let twenty thousand planters die, rather than retain 40,000 of our fellow-creatures in slavery;" with the Athenian sophist they declaim, "It is better all our colonial slaves should be free, rather than that we should not tyrannize at home." They will have their wish; and I shall, for the present, conclude with giving them a sketch of that sort of happiness which they are about to dispense; and if they please to consider Henry Christophe as the Messiah of the negroes, they may give him a place in the catalogue of saints. The bloody prophecy is taken from Raynal,* and from that inspired writer, Mr. Fox and his coadjutors, most likely derived their notions, without knowing perhaps, that the passage which I am about to cite, like many others in the work, was not written by the author whose name is affixed to it.

"If then, ye nations of Europe, interest alone can exert its influence over you, listen to me once more. Your slaves stand in no need either of your generosity or your counsels, in order to break the sacrilegious yoke of their oppression. Nature speaks a more powerful language than *philosophy* or *interest*.† Already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been established, to whom treaties and power give a perfect security from your attempts." (Would Mr. Wilberforce like the situation of ambassador plenipotentiary to his imperial majesty, Henry the 1st, by the grace of God, and the will of the people, emperor of Hayti?) "These are so many indications of the *impending storm*; and the negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them on to *vengeance and slaughter*. Where is this *great man*, whom

* *Hist. of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, book ix.

† *Nego Majorem.*

nature owes to her afflicted, oppressed, and tormented children? Where is he? He will undoubtedly appear; he will shew himself; he will lift up the sacred standard of liberty. This venerable signal will collect around him the companions of his misfortunes. They will rush on with more impetuosity than torrents; they will leave behind them, in all parts, indelible traces of their just resentment. Spaniards, Portuguese, *English*, French, Dutch, *all their tyrants will become the victims of fire and sword.* The plains of America will suck up with transport the blood which they have so long expected; and the bones of so many wretches, heaped upon one another, during the course of so many centuries, *will bound for joy. The old world will join its plaudits with those of the new.* In all parts, the name of the hero who shall have restored the rights of the human species, will be blest; in all parts, trophies will be erected to his glory. Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* be a dreadful one."—A considerable part of this pious and humane prediction hath been fulfilled; the rest is to come. It may not, however, be improper to add, that it is founded on a *petitio principii;* for, in the preceding page it is declared, that previous to the accomplishment of the holy work, the negroes must be placed in a condition which shall bring them to a level with civilized Europeans. Thus, "while we are restoring these unhappy beings to liberty, we must be *careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities!!!* We must give a country" (Sierra Leone to wit) "give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and articles of consumption agreeable to their *respective tastes;* and our colonies will never *want hands, which, being eased of their chains, will become more active and robust.*"

We shall soon see how many Africans, free from chains, will migrate to our colonies, after the passing of the non-importation slave bill; and we shall also soon discover whether this physical dissertation on the properties of animal fat, extracted from the *Materia Medica* of modern philosophy, will be realized. In the mean time, the importation of the two hundred Chinese into Trinidad, will enable us to make an experiment upon *cheap activity*; and under the blessings of the "holy insurrection" of Christophe and his partizans, we shall have as much vengeance, blood, and slaughter, as shall appease nature, satisfy humanity, and teach us all our true interests.

PARLIAMENTARY.

The debates in parliament have not been hitherto of a description to excite much interest, with the exception of Mr. Biddulph's judicious speech for abolishing the salary granted to the chairman of the committee of ways and means. It was aptly observed by that gentleman, that at a time when the public burthens pressed heavily on every class of the people; when the country was engaged in a contest of great danger, and of indefinite extent, which would necessarily require additional imposts to be laid upon them; the members of the house of commons should be the first to set an example of voluntary sacrifice for the public good. Formerly, the duties of the chairman were executed by the members without any pay; and he now proposed, as there were plenty of members conversant with the business of the house, that the office should be filled in rotation by the members, whereby a considerable saving would accrue to the public.

A motion like this, which carried irresistible conviction with it, especially as it was a loyal echo of his majesty's message to parliament at its opening, met with no direct opposition; but lord Howick, in answer, is stated to have gotten rid of the proposal by one of those ministerial manœuvres which are so commonly practised when it is meant either to elude a question, or to postpone the *evil day*; for so we may justly term the reduction of an emolument always given to a supporter of the ministry. His lordship observed, that the *proper time* for agitating the matter would be at the close of the session, when the usual motion would be made for granting a compensation to the chairman for his assiduity; and that no salary was positively attached to the situation. In consequence of this remark, the question was dropped for the present; but Mr. Biddulph has pledged himself to bring the subject forward immediately. This is extremely proper; for, towards the end of a session, very few members attend their duty in parliament; and those who do attend, are composed principally of the most obedient humble servants of the ministers.

On the 5th inst. the papers relative to the negotiation with France were taken into consideration in the house of commons, when the same arguments were used on both sides, as those which have been already detailed in our second number. But, Mr. Whitbread, after a long speech, in which he appeared to think that ministers had mistaken their way in their attempts to obtain a peace, moved an amendment, the purport of which was, the resolution of the house to assist his majesty in calling forth all the resources of the nation, if necessary, to enable his majesty to prosecute the war with vigour; at the same time, exhorting his majesty to declare his readiness to afford every practicable facility towards the restoration of peace, on terms consistent with good faith to our allies, and with the honour and interests of the people.

According to Mr. Whitbread's arguments, the negotiation was conducted, while Mr. Fox lived; with frankness and simplicity, which evinced a sincere desire of a peace that should be honourable to both parties, and secure mutual tranquillity and satisfaction. Instead of examining the papers upon the grounds assumed by the ministerial and opposition parties, Mr. W. insisted, that during Mr. Fox's life, the *uti possidetis* never appeared in the whole correspondence. After the death of Mr. Fox, the correspondence was conducted upon different principles; and unimportant forms were pertinaciously insisted upon, which totally obstructed the progress of the negotiation. Upon the change in the aspect of affairs, owing to the Prussian armament, Talleyrand, with great *frankness*, told lord Yarmouth, that the changes which had occurred since their last interview, prevented the French government from acceding to the terms originally proposed; and, if this had not been the fact, the project of lord Yarmouth, that Naples and Sicily should be guaranteed to their legitimate sovereign, while he solemnly protested against the cession of any of our conquests in the West Indies, or elsewhere, was a positive declaration which justified the French minister in departing from the *uti possidetis*. If it be said that lord Yarmouth's expressions were uttered merely in conversation, so were the expressions of Talleyrand: and it was unfair to make use of so much special pleading relative to the enemy, and to relax so much in whatever related to ourselves. The recal of lord Yarmouth, on the allegation made by the French government, that some unfair advantage was sought for, by the appointment of two plenipotentiaries, was without precedent. All the time employed in the discussion respecting forms, was absolutely wasted. This was the more to be regretted, because the very principle contended for in these discussions, was virtually acceded to, in the conditions proposed on the 11th of August; because it was a time that could never be brought back; and because, had we availed ourselves of the opportunity which it afforded, we should, most probably, have procured such a treaty as might again be utterly unattainable. It was generally supposed, that the speech of Mr. Windham would have provoked a reply from the ministers, especially as it was upon a subject in which the honour and character of the country were deeply concerned: but they made no endeavour to vindicate their conduct against the attacks of their enemies abroad, and the inculpation of their friends at home. Mr. Whitbread's amendment was rejected without a division.

On the 12th, lord Folkstone revived the subject of the accusation of lord Wellesley, by giving notice of a motion for reprinting certain papers relative to the Oude charge; and his lordship observed, that if Mr. Paull should not be able to renew his accusations against lord Wellesley, he himself would prevent the subject from lying dormant. For my own part, I sincerely thank his lordship for this manifestation of his patriotism, and of his respect for the character of lord Wellesley, which will, by an impartial discussion, be vindicated in the opinion of his countrymen. Whenever, therefore, the subject shall be agitated, I shall feel it my duty, as an Englishman, to defend the *whole* of lord Wellesley's administration. I have perused, in the course of the summer, with the greatest attention, every document which has been before the public, and I feel no hesitation in declaring, that the result of an investigation, will illustrate the conduct of Lord Wellesley, not only as the saviour of India, but as the most eminent and consummate statesman, of whom this country could ever boast.

Mr. Fox's Private Correspondence with Talleyrand.

As the friends of Mr. Fox have not thought proper to lay before the public that gentleman's private correspondence with the French minister, it becomes necessary that I should redeem the pledge made to my readers upon the subject, in the first Number of my present Volume, by pointing out the dangerous principle such a correspondence tends to recognize.

Much as the character of the parties, the weakness of the one and the subtilty of the other, aggravate the present case, it is not upon that alone, but chiefly upon general grounds that I wish it to be considered. What then would any man in private life think of the agent to whose care he intrusted his concerns, were he to find him carrying on a confidential intercourse with his adversary, independent and apart from that which was necessary as his attorney? Would he not immediately doubt both his discretion and his integrity; and confide his business to honester hands? But if this would be our feeling as to individual matters, how much more forcibly does it apply to public affairs? The bureau of a minister, is the property of the nation. His successor ought to find in it every document which has ever passed relative to his department. A minister should not have his public and private dispatches. The affairs of a great empire are not like intercourses in trade, or questions in science, to be carried on among the chit-chat of common acquaintance. Will posterity believe, that the only ground for commencing a negotiation, which was to put an end to a war between the two greatest nations in the world, was only to be found in an accidental expression occurring in the extra-official coffee-cup correspondence of two rival ministers? or that the King of Great Britain was to be insulted with a garbled extract from a correspondence, the very existence of which, must have shaken his majesty's faith in the minister who dared to avow it? But such notions as these are highly illiberal, forsooth! Is it necessary, exclaim our modern illuminati, that the calamities of war should put an end to the common intercourses of society? Never were the honest mind, and all-powerful eloquence of the immortal Pitt more wanting than upon this occasion. His truly British heart would have spurned at the very thought of private intercourse with an enemy, and would have brought to light the low sophistry, and infantine weakness, which go to sacrifice at the shrine of a false liberality, the true interests of our country. But he, alas! is no more. Yet there was a time when lord Grenville would have disdained to give his tacit assent to such a correspondence. That noble lord, however, seems doomed to be the creature of those with whom it is his fate to associate.—With Pitt, his mind appeared to soar above the mind of his competitors: but with Fox, it sinks into littleness and submission.

But, it may be said, that I am attaching an importance to what I do not know the extent of, and am assuming a degree of blame to these private letters of Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, of which there is no proof. To this, I answer by asking, Why, then, are they not produced? Their production can alone do away the suspicion which, primâ facie, attaches itself to such a transaction: not that even that would make the principle, against which I am contending, less objectionable. I do not recollect that our history records any example which authorises such a practice: or, if it did, there would be found features, both in the times and parties, which would render this a case obnoxious to all example.

It is impossible that we can know how far the interests of the country have been thus committed: how far his ill-timed zeal for a nominal peace, may have led Mr. Fox to compliment France, at the expense of Great Britain; or to concede principles which are dearer to this country than territory. When, under different circumstances, and, I must be allowed to hope, under happier auspices, the intercourse between the two countries comes to be renewed, may not the then minister for foreign affairs, find himself entangled and beset with principles and quotations drawn from a correspondence, of which he finds no trace in his office? Nay, it is not at all improbable, but that the crafty Talleyrand, taking advantage of the death of Mr. Fox, may impute to him sentiments he never uttered. Above all, how can parliament and the public ever be enabled to judge fairly of the conduct of ministers in a negociation, if a minister suffer himself to be, by turns, Secretary of State and Mr. Fox?

I trust enough has been said to establish this principle, that public transactions should be conducted in public offices, and through channels which may ultimately be public. A minister of state ought never to lose sight of that character; nor can the habits of private life ever be substituted, with advantage, for the salutary forms of diplomacy. In one word, the transaction of which I am speaking, cannot be more aptly described, than in the language which has been so justly applied to the whole negociation, of which it forms a part, viz. that it displays cunning and duplicity on the one side, acting upon weakness and simplicity on the other. And as it is a circumstance new to the diplomatic history of this country, so I trust it is an example which will be buried with the statesman who introduced it.

Hampshire Election.

Five weeks of the session of parliament have elapsed, and the petition of the Hampshire Freeholders has not been presented to the house of commons. I entertain no doubt but that there are good reasons for the delay; among others, that many members are not yet come to town. As, however, there exists a strong report in the county *that it never will be presented*, if much longer delay takes place unaccounted for, I shall feel it my duty to address myself to the subject, in a way for which I sincerely hope there will not be any occasion.

On the Advantages of Regular Convoys.

By the arrival this day of H. M. S. Ramilies, to take charge of the West India fleet, a prospect has, at last, appeared of getting away from this place. The great loss and disappointment occasioned by the want of attention to the West India trade, both out and home, can only be calculated, in its full extent, by the merchants and planters, whose interests are but too often neglected. When it is considered, that, agreeable to the admiralty's own appointment, it is two months since a considerable part of this fleet, then collected with supplies for the colonies, ought to have sailed; no advocate for government can plead their excuse in being so dilatory.

To prevent, if possible, such evils happening in future, must be the desire of every well-wisher to his country; as, where the trade is neglected, the revenue must suffer proportionally. There is not the least doubt, were a proper plan of convoys established, the trade might be completely accommodated, and equally protected, to what we have been accustomed to; and even at a less expense to the navy than the present uncertain system.

The war we have long been and still are engaged in, has every appearance of being durable; and unless redress is applied for, and speedily granted, it is to be feared the trade will go to ruin. If you think the following outlines worthy of a place in your paper, I hope they will be acceptable to some of your readers and may fall into fitter hands to improve them.

By way of accommodating the trade, at the least possible expense to government, I would propose having but one general rendezvous for the ships of the metropolis and all the out ports. For this purpose, I think the port of Falmouth well adapted; letting the ships, by all possible means, take advantage of such coasting convoys as may offer to protect them on their way to the rendezvous. I propose the appointment of a resident naval officer to have the charge of this department; a boat or two with proper crews under his orders, would be of great use in getting a fleet dispatched; many of the merchant ships are unavoidably manned with crews that are not seamen, and when they get into difficulties in narrow water, (that with a little assistance might be avoided) they are often left behind.

I would propose a convoy to sail every month outwards; every second of these convoys to proceed to Jamaica, and to allow them to return in rotation. This would give a convoy homewards every two months from each station. A frigate or 44 gun ship, and a sloop of war, except in extraordinary cases, might be sufficient for the protection of each fleet. In this case there never could be a greater number employed in this service, at one time, than seven ships of each of these classes. If an additional sloop of war could be allowed to each fleet, it would be of great service in hauling to the southward, at a proper station, with the ships for Surinam, Berbice, and Demerara; and taking the ships (homeward bound) from these colonies to the

islands to join convoy. Even allowing this addition, it would only take seven frigates and fourteen sloops. When the number of this class in commission are looked at, so small a proportion may certainly be spared for the accommodation and protection of this valuable branch of our trade; and it is also to be taken into consideration, that ships of war thus employed may be as successful in destroying the enemy's privateers, as the ships that are out in quest of them.

From the system of regular convoys, we see the Baltic trade carried on in its season with as much dispatch as if we were at peace; and when it is considered that from the rendezvous of the Nore, Grimsby, Leith, and Long Hope, 50 to 60 convoys sail annually for the Baltic, the Elbe, and Weser, it cannot be thought unreasonable to calculate twelve for the Windward Island and Jamaica trade. This trade certainly raises a proportion of revenue from convoy and tonnage duty, greater than any other branch of our trade.

Were a regular system of convoys established, it would save to the navy the expense occasioned by the detention in port of ships of war appointed to act as partial convoy: in the present mode of conducting convoys this detention always takes place, less or more. One instance is just now in point. The Princess Charlotte, one of the finest frigates in his majesty's service, has been at Cork upwards of three months:—Had she been appointed in turn to take charge of the fleet, she might, by this time, have been on the passage home.

Frequent convoys would ease the minds of commanding officers having the charge of them, as they have it in their power to get to sea with a small fleet when it would be imprudent to attempt it with a large fleet. They would also have it in their power to tack or wear in the night, which cannot be done with a large fleet, without risk of damage to some, and destruction to others. It would also prevent the risk of separation, which, with a large fleet in a winter passage, is unavoidable: this separation is calculated on to such certainty by the enemy, that it is the cause of the swarm of privateers which cruize to windward of Barbadoes. At this season of the year in particular, they can have no inducement to remain there for the chance of any running ship they may capture. Preventing by every possible means separation, would be an incalculable saving to the underwriters; for this purpose, I would propose that when a fleet, from bad weather, or other causes, cannot get away at the time appointed, the men of war to have charge of the next division should fall in, that as the number of merchant men increases, the strength to protect and to keep them together may also increase: this would also keep the convoys homeward regular. A system of this kind would increase the revenue arising from convoy and tonnage duty, as many ships might make two voyages a year with as much ease as they now make one: it would also put it in the power of the concerned to pay something of income tax. A system of that kind would prevent the numerous cross applications made to the admiralty, and often from the same place, by one party to have a convoy dispatched, and by another to have it put off. It would keep the planters always regularly supplied, and prevent the necessity of having recourse to the American intercourse bill; at the same time, it would prevent a glut of market either at home, or in the colonies. At home, it is severely felt just now in the sale of produce from the great fleets that arrived together in October; and those concerned can calculate on nothing else abroad, when three fleets are going so nearly together, viz. St. George and convoy, from Portsmouth; Blonde and convoy, from Falmouth; and the Ramilies, and a convoy of *four months* collecting, from Cork. The above is part of what, in my opinion, might be expected from regular convoys. I shall mention one thing that I am certain would result from any plan that would give least delay in the West Indies. It would be the means of saving the lives of many brave fellows, who perish annually in the pestilential climes of Surinam, Berbice, and Demerara; exclusive of many of the islands that are also fatal to Europeans. Any person the least acquainted with these countries knows well the direful ravages made by contagion getting on board ships at any period of their stay there; and much more so when it gets on board a loaded ship, where there is no accommodation for the sick, where there is no hospital on shore, and where the existing Dutch laws will not allow seamen affected with fever to be landed. There are many instances of the crews of ships keeping perfectly healthy till the loading

is completed; then there is no place of comfort to avoid the hot sun and night dews; the consequence of such exposure is sickness; and, of those unfortunately attacked, death is the consequence to the greatest proportion; and their neighbours have not the least prospect of getting speedily away to cheer their drooping spirits, and must calculate on meeting a similar fate in their turn. What must we think when our country has an avowed naval superiority, that ships should be pent up in these rivers, waiting convoy for three or four months at a time? As it is a duty incumbent on the legislature to encourage, by every possible means, the increase of seamen, it must consequently be a *double duty*, to prevent, by every possible exertion, their decrease, particularly in this melancholy way.

I can see nothing against trying a system of this kind, unless it were possible for me to suppose myself an inhabitant of Cove; in which case, I should have good reason to exclaim against it, as the detention of fleets is the harvest of Cove. When it is considered that the fleet now collected have disbursed £8000 to £9000, and that one-third of this sum is extortion, it would no doubt be a bad business to lose any part of this branch of their trade. Beef, that may be purchased in the adjacent country, at 26s. per cwt. is at Cove, 40s. to 45s. and every thing in proportion. This is not all: if you are detained, and have consequently reduced your stock of provisions, you cannot land to replenish your stores, without paying the surveyors and their crew the extortionate demand of a guinea and a crown, for no other trouble than to put out their hands to receive them. This from every ship that calls in the course of the year, makes a very pretty sinecure.

Cove of Cork, Jan. 2, 1807. MIDDLE LATITUDE.

Mr. Bowles shall certainly appear next week, together with our old acquaintance, Alexander Davison, esq. of incorruptible fame.

American State Paper.—continued from page 48.

"Having received information, that in another part of the United States a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise; for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it; and for arresting, and bringing to justice, its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public, as well as in private, transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals, to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorised hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed.

"Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force will depend on the result of our negotiations with Spain. But, as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening to that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.

"The possession of both banks of the Mississippi, reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter, also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For, the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the legislature. *(To be continued.)*

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 5. Saturday, January 31, 1807. Price 10*d*.

POLITICAL.

SLAVE TRADE NON-IMPORTATION BILL.

The planters, mortagees, and others concerned in the island of Trinidad, presented, on the 21st instant, a petition to the house of lords, praying, that the slave trade abolition bill might not pass into a law, or, at least, that clauses might be introduced exempting the island of Trinidad from its operation, until its negro population should be upon a par with the other islands.

Now, although it was not to be expected that the subject of this petition should have provoked any discussion, at the time it was presented, yet I cannot resist the opportunity of offering a few observations upon the subject, more especially, as the important question, relative to the total abolition of the slave trade, will be discussed in the house of lords next Monday.

In the last number, I mentioned the circumstance of the importation of 200 Chinese into the island of Trinidad, as one of the wretched resources to which the West India planters have been obliged to resort for the cultivation of their lands. After the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the subsequent dispersion of the human race, men formed themselves into distinct nations, each nation speaking the same language; whence, according to some reasoners, wars were engendered among men who could not understand each other;* which is as much as to say, if they could have understood each other, they would not have gone to war. Now, the profound policy of ministers must be apparent to every one, who reflects upon the ultimate effects of their enlightened views. For it is now obvious, that it is their object to restore mankind to that happy state which they enjoyed before the confusion at Babel, by collecting together all the scattered tongues, as a preliminary to the revival of the primitive universal language. Accordingly, they have commenced their operations, by sanctioning the importation of the Chinese into the West Indies, *because* the language of the Chinese is the least complicated, the best understood, and the easiest to learn of any upon the face of the earth. Hence, what with the Chinese tongue, the various *dialects* of the African tongue, the semi-demi-quavers of the negroes already colonized, and transplanted to Trinidad; what with the English, Spanish, and Dutch tongues, spoken by the tribes of those different nations who have migrated to that colony, together with a spice of the French nasal slang, sifted through the nostrils of that detestable race of bipeds; I think there can be no doubt, but that a grand reformation will shortly take place in the West Indies; and that the light which the mother countries had communicated to their remote possessions, will be reflected back by them with additional lustre. Thus, universal peace will overspread the earth; our swords will be turned into pruning hooks, our gunpowder into molasses; and even the blessings of the new age will be extended to the brutal creation; for the kid will sleep in security beside the lion, the fox will play with the chicken, and we shall all be brothers.

It is impossible not to contemplate this dawn of an happier age, without feeling an extasy of joy: especially, as we were assured at the peace of Amiens, that Trinidad would, sooner or later, become the emporium of our colonial trade, and the wonder of the world. Every thing which was then asserted relative to the vast advantages of the colony, is now rapidly fulfilling; for all the nations of the earth will be gathered together therein, and then we may rest assured, *the judgment day will come*. Repent, therefore, ye West Indian planters, for the day of retribution is at hand!

Previous, however, to the consummation of this *blessed* event, there are a few little trifles which ministers, in their wisdom, will have to overcome. I shall, at present, confine myself to the specification of one only of them. Is it certain that the impor-

* *Goguet. Orig. des Lois.*

tation of so many non-descripts will compensate for the labour of negroes, so as to render sugar a saleable commodity? I know very well that a man and a hog are the only two animals that are able to live in any country, and under any climate; but the question is, whether there be not specific differences in the various classes of men, which give to hogs a manifest superiority over them in this respect? Experience demonstrates, that there are some species of men who cannot work and live so well in certain climates, as other species of men. Hence, wherever this is the case, there must arise either an increased demand for labourers to supply the diminishing population, or the risk of a stagnation in the culture of the soil; both of them evils of great magnitude. The expense of transporting these men, and of supporting them in the colonies, must enhance the price of commodities to such a degree, as to enable other states to undersell us; and the misfortune is aggravated by the consideration, that such expense will be quadrupled, in comparison with that of the present system, without having undergone the same advantage of experiment. An attempt of this kind was made in 1763, by the court of Versailles, for the cultivation of Guiana; and the result was, that, after having expended above one million sterling upon the speculation, *twelve thousand* human beings were the victims of its mistaken policy. If we separate morals from politics, the course which ministers have to pursue is sufficiently reconcileable to our feelings; but, if these be blended together, as they ought always to be, in matters of public polity, it would be worth while to consider, whether any experiment has yet been made, to ascertain the average increase and decrease of negro population in any one of our colonies, or upon any particular estates, in order that we may come at the *fact*, whether the planter's business can be conducted, so as to make it worth his toil, risk, and expense, without the intervention of the slave trade. If it should hereafter be found that it cannot, the legislature of this country will be involved in a very painful dilemma: for it must either relinquish every idea of extracting resources in support of the national opulence from the West Indies; or, what is worse, it must be compelled to resort again to the slave trade, the revival of which, after so much abuse of our ancestors, and of the present race of planters, will be incongruous with the enlightened philanthropy of *this* age. There is a manifest distinction between the toleration of a principle long established, and the revival of it, after it had been solemnly abolished on the alleged motives of justice, humanity, and policy. Some regard also should be had for the opinion which the subsequent revival of the trade would necessarily excite among the negroes of the colonies. All these reasonings shew forcibly, with what extreme delicacy our legislators should approach the subject; since calamity threatens the West Indian proprietors in either alternative, and through them, the commercial and maritime opulence of the nation must suffer also.

ALIENS.

Notwithstanding the frequent animadversions which have been made in various numbers of the preceding volume, upon the negligence and indifference of the police relative to foreigners in this country, I feel myself constrained to revive the subject, from the uncommon laxity which pervades this department of the government. Within the last two months the ministerial papers have thought proper to advert to the same topic, and have not failed to announce to their readers, that government had, *at length*, become extremely vigilant in this respect. But why become vigilant, *at length*? Why not vigilant *long ago*? Laws are enacted for the purpose of preserving the country from the intrigues and villainies of these incendiaries in sheep's clothing, and yet these laws are not enforced. I did hope, that the repeated letters which I formerly addressed to lord Spencer, concerning the aliens resident among us, would have met with as much attention as the importance of the facts detailed in them merited; and certain it is, that some energy has been displayed in the course of the last six or seven months. But of what advantage is the fugitive activity of a week or two weeks, when all the rest of the year a system of apathy and forbearance is pursued? The government ought not to wait for information respecting the conduct of aliens, before it proceeds to act against them; it ought to be its own informer; it ought to superintend the actions of all those persons, who, during the state of war, arrive in our island; and whose motives, however good, afford a reasonable ground for national jealousy. If their object in coming here be honourable,

the jealousy of government cannot be disapproved of by them; if it be bad, the vigilance of government ought to be so strong as to deter them from the execution of their projects. The police of this country, in relation to foreigners, is worse conducted than the police of any other state in Europe, and for this reason—we believe no man can be a rogue or a spy, except a Frenchman; and as we have not yet been able to swing a fellow of this description, we fancy that there are no spies in the land. Now, though it be perfectly natural, reasonable, just, and even commendable to consider every Frenchman as a rogue, until long experience may have convinced us to the contrary; yet, it shall be my business to explain, that men acting under the influence or corruption of France, though not Frenchmen, are as dangerous enemies to this country, as the French themselves. But it will be urged, that, some time ago, an order was issued from the home department, prohibiting the entry of every person into the kingdom, whose passport is not previously signed by the minister of the country from which he came. To this I answer, that the regulation is absurd, because it can be eluded with the greatest facility. If it be of importance to the French government to obtain intelligence of our proceedings, or to send its emissaries here to foment civil discord, a passport can be procured with ease, for any of its agents. Even the reluctant patriotism of our own ministers abroad, may be overcome, especially such choice spirits as those who compose the British diplomatic body, under a variety of plausible pretences. The zeal with which they press forward to gratify the wishes of a court parasite, who, for aught they know, may be a traitor to his country; to comply with the request of a fashionable court demi-rep, whose smile indicates the consequence of the man upon whom it is bestowed; have, *more than once*, been extremely serviceable to the travelling gentry who come to spy the nakedness of the land. Even an expert cringing valet-de-chambre, with a commodious lye in his mouth, is a person of no small importance upon these occasions.

But, though there be no pretext for Frenchmen to introduce themselves into this country, as the victims of persecution; though none of these fawning and treacherous sycophants can now deceive us with the shrug of the shoulders, and the grin of pious resignation upon their cadaverous faces; yet there are ways and means still open, by which they can insinuate themselves into this country, in defiance of the alien office and its regulations.

The safest, pleasantest, most convenient, and unsuspicious roads to England, are by way of Copenhagen, and by way of the United States of America. The Copenhagen road is certainly the nearest, but it is not quite so plain and easy as the American one. I should, therefore, recommend an agent of France to come by the latter route; and the course he should pursue is as follows: In the first place, he must obtain, through the interposition of Talleyrand, *under the rose*, good letters of introduction to a few respectable mercantile houses in Philadelphia and New York. These will pave his way into the society of the members of the government there; and, though England be his object, yet he will not neglect to trace *en passant*, every little useful piece of intelligence relative to America which he may conceive likely to prove acceptable at the bureau of Talleyrand. Having acquired in the United States a tolerable knowledge of the English language, our traveller next procures a certificate of citizenship from the magistracy of the United States; and, with this precious document in his pocket, he demands of the American secretary for foreign affairs, now become his *own* minister, a passport for England. Thus equipped, and fortified against the feeble impotence of our law of external police, the hero embarks in an American vessel, is spewed upon our shore; and, after having made London his head quarters, makes excursions over every part of the island, without experiencing the least interruption. But, it may be said, that the *right* of citizenship is not thus granted agreeably to the fundamental laws of America. This I am aware of; but there is a marvellous difference between *right* and *practice*. In some of the states an emigrant must go through a probation of seven years before he can be entitled to exercise the rights of an American citizen: in Maryland, the most tolerant and best regulated state of America, though founded originally by catholics, a year's residence is a sufficient qualification to entitle a person to the character of an American citizen; and, as soon as he has obtained a certificate there, he may pass into any other state; and, upon presenting it to the magistracy, he becomes invested with

the rights of a citizen in that state also. There may be no exception against this proceeding, in relation to the internal economy of the police of the United States; but I am here treating of the effect of the *practice* upon their external relations, as far as we are concerned. Upon this principle, I maintain, that a Frenchman can, with the greatest ease, and in a short space of time, procure a certificate as a citizen of America, and pass into this country without let or molestation. Indeed, we cannot prevent him without affronting the testy commonwealth: and we all know, by sad experience, that our ministers would rather encounter a thousand legions of devils than offer one look of insult at the majesty of the United States. After the plain, unvarnished statement which I made in the former volume of this work, when discussing the American intercourse bill, relative to the shameless perjuries committed in America by British marine deserters, to whom the magistrates, without hesitation, administer oaths which they must, at least, suspect to be false; after having seen that our seamen have suffered themselves to be rocked in a cradle, that they might swear they had been "rocked in their cradles" in America; after having seen huge seamen, as large as oxen, borne on the backs of American women, that they might swear before a magistrate they were *born* in America, for the sake of gaining protections against the impress of our navy*; I am not to be told that fundamental statutes are observed with peculiar veneration in America.

The French order these matters differently. No plea of American citizenship will obtain an Englishman admission into France, though it be manifest that pecuniary considerations alone carry him thither. Of this truth I can produce many vouchers; and one instance, which comes within my own immediate knowledge, I shall here mention. A gentleman, with whom I have long been acquainted, went, two years ago, to the United States, for the express purpose of becoming a citizen of America, in order that, as a neutral, he might recover his money which he had invested as an annuitant of *Old France*. After having obtained his certificate of citizenship, he applied to the French minister resident in America, for a passport to France, stating, at the same time, the object of his intended voyage. He was refused a passport, on the ground that he was originally an English subject; and, no doubt, in the opinion of the Frenchman, afflicted with the *maladie du pays*. To my great surprise, I met my friend about three weeks ago in London, just after his return from the United States, when he furnished me with the anecdote above mentioned.

It is evident, therefore, that our good nature, or stupidity, is continually imposed upon, since measures are practised towards us which the American government dare not attempt upon France, because it knows that France will not submit to them. When these French agents reach this country, their conversation turns perpetually upon agriculture, commerce, and America; and, as they generally come provided with letters of introduction from persons in the United States to their correspondents here, the deception is carried on with the greatest facility, and with scarcely a possibility of detection. This evil might be remedied, by informing our minister and consuls in the United States not to grant any passport upon the bare presentation of a certificate of citizenship, without other collateral evidences relative to the character, profession, and time of residence, of the party who solicits it.

The road to England by the way of Copenhagen is shorter, but not so easy. In order to come by this route, it is requisite to purchase, in the first instance, the right of burghership in Copenhagen, a right that may be obtained for three or four dollars. From that moment, our French, or Franco-German, or Franco-Batavian, becomes a Danish subject, and sets off for the land of promise with a Danish passport in his pocket. If any one doubt the efficacy of these morsels of civic legerdemain, let him attend our court of admiralty, or read the reports of its proceedings. Fortunately for this nation, the learned and able judge, sir William Scott, who presides in that court, is not to be duped by such documents of fraud. With intuitive sagacity, he penetrates into these fictitious and collusive grants of denizenship, and sees an enemy, notwithstanding all the varnish laid on to screen him, with as much ease as if his skin were made of glass. It were to be wished that the

* *All the facts enumerated above were mentioned to me by an eye witness of them.*

alien office were gifted with equal penetration. Upon our north-eastern shore, there is more attention paid to the entrance of Aliens, than elsewhere; consequently, the road is more unsafe for an agent of France. But this remark does not apply to Ireland, where, I am informed, a number of French agents have introduced themselves in the shape of Catholic priests; and are busied in fomenting the flames of disloyalty. The government cannot see these things; and how should they? They are too much occupied with their turtle feasts, and eat and drink, particularly of French wines, as is justly observed in another part of this paper by CIVIS, until they become *blind*.

Having thus shewn the facility with which these miscreants obtain admission among us, I shall proceed to animadvert upon the want of a proper superintendance over the Frenchmen who are *now here*. We have formerly seen, in the 15th number of the first volume of this work, with what perfidious ingratitude many of the base wretches, who had been succoured, fed, and protected by British generosity, conducted themselves towards their benefactors, after their return to their native sink of iniquity. We have seen these hypocritical parasites fawn upon the murderers of their families, and lick the dust from their feet, after their return to France. All this is natural to a Frenchman, and therefore we might pardon their conduct. But, can we pardon, can we forget, the example of those villains, who came here in the milk-white form of doves, and nestled in our bosoms, breathing venom, contagion, and the pestilence of their abandoned manners, against the native integrity of the British character? Can we forget, that all these violators of the sacred rights of hospitality, are, at this moment, perpetually engaged in traducing the British name, and are embarked in the service of that ferocious usurper, from whose vindictive fury we saved them some years ago? And is it not universally felt, and deplored, that the manners of this nation have undergone a visible alteration for the worse, since these men were permitted to seek for shelter where? They planted in this kingdom the root of a poisonous tree, which has grown up with prodigious swiftness, and its obnoxious branches have spread over every part of the realm. With the reserved manners of our forefathers, we have lost also their high sentiments of virtue and honour; and we are approaching, as rapidly as possible, towards that very precipice which has engulphed so many nations in irretrievable ruin. We have become a volatile, licentious, and corrupt people: not that corruption did not exist before the emigration of French bishops, nobles, courtiers, and other such miscreant refuse of human society; but, we are now more corrupt and depraved than we ever were before. A great part of this depravity of morals I attribute to our promiscuous intercourse with these despicable and debauched buffoons, who forsook their country, abandoned their king to the mercy of his rebellious subjects, and sought an asylum in Great Britain, that they might afterwards, and with the greater ease, make their peace with the usurper of their sovereign's throne — the murderer of his royal house.

During their residence in this country, their lives were passed in notorious acts of swindling; and when they perceived that they could no longer impose upon the credulity of Englishmen, they proceeded to cheat their own king, though a forsaken exile, poor, persecuted, and proscribed. This fact was disclosed to our ministry at the commencement of the present war, in consequence of a seasonable dispute between the abbé de la Marre, an agent of the French king, and the click of emigrant nobles who affected to transact that monarch's affairs with our government. "I am acquainted," says M. de la Marre, "with every one of their practices; I know all their perfidies, all their intrigues, and am even acquainted with the terms of their schemes, and the distribution of their booty." It was our industry, our cares, and labours, which these noble villains divided. "At every journey," continues the abbé, "that I made into England, on the service of my royal master, I witnessed the agitation which my presence occasioned them, as if they apprehended that the *fountain of gold* was to be shut against them. If I were admitted into the presence of a British minister, I should be able to say, that the king has been obliged to spare, out of his own very small income, wherewith to pay his agents and correspondents; and that he has never known, either the amount of the succours which Great Britain has given to his cause, nor the manner

in which they have been employed. I should be obliged to say, that the dispensers of those funds have constantly said to the agents of government, "we are obliged to conceal from the king all knowledge of projects the most useful, because he has no confidence in the British minister." The wretches! — while they wrote to the king, "that the ministry here were jealous of its agents, and would not permit them to communicate to him their designs." I would prove, that in only two instances, in one week, I saw the British government robbed of 7,500*l.* sterling."

After a denunciation so positive on the part of one of the confidential agents of the king of France, no doubt can remain on the minds of any Englishman relative to the character of these men. They are so completely detected and exposed, that they ought, not only to be driven out of this country, but scouted from society. Even Mr. Windham, the avowed panegyrist and patron of the French emigrants, can no longer countenance so vile a rabble; and it would not be amiss, if that gentleman were to authorize an immediate investigation of the various robberies, and other illegal transactions in those foreign corps, which were raised, and maintained, during the late war, through his recommendation. Of Mr. Windham's former predilection for the French emigrants, we have indubitable evidence recorded, in a letter written by one of his own agents to another on foreign service, who complained of the frauds practised in those corps. "In whatever reports you make hereafter, of the delinquency of your flock," says Mr. Gardiner, the principal clerk in Mr. Windham's office for the department of foreign corps, to Mr. Poole, a deputy inspector general, "*be as moderate as possible — though true, these reports are not well received, and though the honesty of them ought to recommend you, you may depend upon the truth of my assertion, that they will have a very contrary effect; three years experience has convinced me that certain predilections in favour of French foreigners are too strong to be combated by facts.*"* Now, that Mr. Windham has learnt, by experience, how to estimate the true character of the worthless beings whom he patronized, the public will naturally look, with considerable expectation, for an inquiry to be set on foot by him, relative to the lavish expenditure of the money of the people of England upon the foreign corps; and, should his military visions occupy too large a portion of his time to admit of his instigating the inquiry, it is to be hoped, that some public spirited member of parliament will not suffer the subject to die away unnoticed. The path is not so rough and briary as it was formerly; for these self-convicted and perfidious Frenchmen have shewn, by their subsequent behaviour, that they were unworthy of the bounty and confidence of the British nation.

But to return to the subject of a vigilant police over such Frenchmen as are now here. I would not confound with beings of this description such honourable names as the Montmorencies, the Mortemars, &c. but there is no point in which, with the exception of the antient and truly illustrious families of monarchical France, the secondary and middle classes of Frenchmen differ more from the English people than *the facility and dexterity with which they change their names.* Of this fact I have obtained the most unequivocal proofs. Without undertaking to assert that the alien office may not be in possession, as well of the names by which these men have formerly passed in their own country, as of those which they here assume; I do insist, that there are Frenchmen in this country who pass under different names from those they were known by in France. Although *some* emigrants have been settled in England for years, and, perhaps, *may* have conducted themselves as decently in it as it is possible for Frenchmen to do, yet they ought to be bound to give in their *real names*, or any names, which they have at any time assumed; and this regulation should extend more particularly to all foreigners who land in this country. For this purpose, the custom-house should be authorized to insist upon this point, *at the time of their landing;* and if they should be afterwards detected in having given a false account of themselves, they should be subjected to capital punishment. There are many Frenchmen in London who, to avoid the superintendance of the

* *The above epistle is dated from the war office, 2d May, 1797, Mr. Windham being secretary at war. Vid. Mr. Poole's "Narrative, exposing a variety of irregular transactions in one of the departments of foreign corps." p. 31.*

alien office, assume the names of, and describe themselves as, natives of the cantons of Swisserland.

These hints will suffice for the present. That she-pensioner of Buonaparte, madame Catalani, shall hear from me shortly.

PUBLIC DELINQUENCY.

Alexander Davison, of St. James's Square, Banker, Jobber, Contractor, Agent, convicted corruptor of the Public Morals, Treasurer of the Ordnance, Esquire.

At length, the public justice of our injured and abused country, hath overtaken this man; after an arduous pursuit, through the dark labyrinths of fraud and peculation. The commissioners of military inquiry have made their third report, on the office of the barrack-master-general, its stores and supplies, and this report is now before the public. A more odious and disgusting series of swindling transactions has never before been laid open to our view; justifying, I am sorry to add, the charge of degeneracy and corruption, which, in another part of this week's Review, I have imputed to certain classes of society in this kingdom.

In order that the most ample justice may be done to the subject, I shall, in the first place, analyze the report itself, and point out its immediate application to the delinquent, Davison; and next, I shall offer such remarks, upon the nature of the case, as may lead to a signal display of national justice, for the purpose of deterring henceforwards, by one severe example, all persons of mean, sordid minds, and of a peculating temperament, from considering the industry of the British people as a fund, which they are at liberty to rob with impunity.

First, *the analysis of the report, and its immediate application to the delinquent, Davison.*

The inquiry of the commissioners was made under two distinct heads:—1, The manner in which the articles used in the barracks were procured, their prices fixed and paid, and their quantity and quality ascertained and checked:—2, The mode of distributing them to the different barracks, and of contracting for and checking their use and consumption.

It appears, that, from the beginning of 1795, the culprit, Davison, undertook to supply, as *an agent on commission*, the principal articles used in the barracks. By collating dates, I find, that he entered upon this most profitable *job*, immediately after the breaking-up of lord Moira's army, to which, he had acted in the capacity of commissary-general, or purveyor; and from which, he had, no doubt, realized, by an excess of honesty, a sufficient capital wherewith to enter *singly* upon a new speculation upon the public purse, in the barrack department; for he supplied beds, bedding, sheets, blankets, towels, ironmongery utensils, coals, candles, beer, and forage. Hence, it is apparent, that Davison was never idle. But, it is somewhat extraordinary that this man's appointment to a situation, in which tens of thousands of pounds were to slip through his hands into and out of his pockets, was never confirmed or approved of, either by the lords of the treasury, or by the secretary at war. On the contrary, he commenced his operations, in virtue of a letter from lieutenant-general de Lancey, the barrack-master-general. For near ten years, Davison, carried on, without the least check, controul, or investigation into the regularity of his transactions, a flourishing trade, as *agent on commission* to the barracks. There was, however, one article of consumption supplied by the delinquent, which was excepted from the general agency, and for very substantial reasons; when we consider from what part of the country, Davison, *walked up* to London in search of employ. This was the article of coals, which, it was agreed, he was to furnish as a merchant. The report does not throw out the least insinuation *why* Davison preferred to be a coal-merchant; but we, who have tracked his progress through life, by the corrupt smell of his footsteps, know, that he came from the coal-country, north of the Humber.

The delinquent's commission upon the whole amount of the supply was two and-a-half per cent. including all per centages on making insurances, recovering losses, averages, &c. and replacing all damaged or unserviceable articles; so that *the commission alone* would have been a fortune to any other man but Davison; and, I am

sure, more than any one individual, however devoted to the lust of gain, ought to have sucked from the sweat of the people. This I shall demonstrate presently. But these enormous profits were not enough to satisfy the insatiable avarice and cupidity of this voracious cormorant: he must also abuse the trust reposed in him, and pilfer to an enormous amount, over and above the immense gains for which he stipulated. Without going into a long detail of the showers of gold which were perennially poured into the chest of this immaculate and patronized treasurer of the ordnance, I shall here give merely a view of his profits on commission, during the space of three years only, without including *the extraordinaries*, that convenient term for raising cash; and leave the reader to judge what were his regular profits on commission during the ten years of his *active services*, independently of the incidental "cheese-parings and candle-ends," which he pocketed. My vouchers cannot be questioned, for they are taken, my plucked readers! from the votes of supplies granted by our representatives in parliament. It should also be noticed, with what a sublime and majestic gradation, the necessities of the barracks rose, in a progressive ratio, with the economical and prudent *management* of the public money, by Alexander Davison, *esquire*, the coal-merchant.

Supplies granted by parliament for the forage to the troops, and other expenses attending the service of the barrack department for

	£		*Davison's Commission at 2½ per Cent.* £	s.	d.
1797	449,000		11,225	0	0
1798	526,717		13,017	18	6
1799	625,478		15,561	19	0
Total of supplies granted in three years	1692,195	Total of the *esquire's* profits on commission during the same period	39,804	17	6

It must not be forgotten that he "ran this rig" *for ten years*; so that we need not be at any great difficulty in coming at the knowledge of his *legitimate* gains, by the common operation of the Rule of Three; for, if three years give £39,804 17*s.* 6*d.* what will ten years give?—He could very well afford, the miscreant! to make an experiment to bribe men from their integrity, and to ruin their souls, after having been an expert practitioner in cheating the public of their money.

Even, if we make large reductions from the amount of the contributions which he raised upon his fellow-subjects; if we allow a great decrease in the estimates of the supplies for subsequent years, we shall nevertheless find, that this man must have become bloated with the public spoils. But, let us attend to the account given of his proceedings in the report of the commissioners. "It will appear," says this report, "that the *management* of this *most important concern* was left very much to Mr. Davison's *discretion*" (Davison's discretion!!!) "and we cannot find that the Barrack-office made use of any check to ascertain the reasonableness of the prices of the articles provided by him. Mr. Davison says, he did not procure the articles by open contract, but he got them where they could be had in the cheapest and most expeditious manner. He did not annex to the bills of parcels certificates of the reasonableness and fairness of the prices, because, he says, *they were not required of him*; and if they had, it would, from the magnitude of the concern, have been almost *impossible to have obtained them*." — S——, this is the first time, I believe, it was ever broached by any man of business, that the magnitude of his concerns prevented him from knowing the prices which he paid for articles which he afterwards sold. Thou art a banker, Alexander Davison, and thou knowest well, that there is not a penny which goeth from or cometh to thy till, without its being registered; how then didst thou dare to look the commissioners in the face, and with a flagrant lie in thy mouth, pronounce that to have been impossible, which every merchant in London, who conducts his business like an *honest* man, can not only disprove, but can also prove to be a matter of easy and simple operation! Is it natural to sup-

pose, that Davision, the *traiteur* of St. James's-square, whose table has been honoured by the presence of princes and nobles, should run from Monmouth-street to Rag-fair, and from Rag-fair to Wapping, in order to get beds, bedding, blankets, &c. "in the cheapest and most expeditious manner?" He bought them wholesale, and by contract to be sure, and therefore, he must have had bills of parcels affixed to the receipts of his payments. Where are these bills of parcels? Where are the certificates of the fairness of the prices? Does not every *honest* agent preserve such documents continually by him, as vouchers of his integrity? There are merchants in this great metropolis, who execute daily as much business as Davison executed in a month for the barrack-department; look into *their* books, and every item of expenditure will be found scrupulously and punctiliously recorded; how then can this man plead the magnitude of the concern? If the concern were too weighty and complex for his crooked mind, he ought not to have undertaken it; at least, he should have divided *the burthen* with others. No! no! it was not too much; for, at the very time it so pressed upon him, he found time enough to be a prize agent, a banker, a jobber, and a purchaser of men's consciences. His impudence therefore is equal to his frauds.

The report next animadverts upon the manner in which the money concerns were transacted between general De Lancy and our *accommodating* banker. Davison, as the agent, was to be furnished with cash and bills in time to make his payments, but not until they were wanted for the purpose. Notwithstanding this plain arrangement, Davison dexterously contrived to make requisitions for money on the foundation of estimates *proposed by himself*. These estimates were generally given in half-yearly, and the report observes, "It is obvious that this mode of advancing money to Mr. Davison on estimates so *incorrectly and loosely made*, and which did not include a statement of the balances in the hands of Mr. Davison, might *give him a command of money*, contrary to the limitation contained in lieutenant-general De Lancey's letter; in fact, on an examination of these half-yearly accounts, we find, that, at many periods, *very large sums have been prematurely advanced to him*." The report accordingly shews the amount of the sums which, by the delinquent's own admissions, he had in his hands, and *retained for a length of time beyond the actual supplies furnished*; and it states, that he was not entitled to this advantage, either according to the nature of his agreement, or to the usual course of business, when articles are furnished *on commission*; whence the commissioners think, that Davison ought to be accountable to the public for whatever benefit he may have derived from the cash balances in his hands, and that he should be called upon to state a cash account with the Barrack-office, in which he should take credit for all payments for stores, at the periods only when they were actually made, and allow such credit on the coals sold by him, as is the practice with the dealers when selling to inhabitants, and that upon the face of such accounts, interest shall be charged on both sides.

(To be resumed in my next.)

JOHN BOWLES, ESQ.

I turn with pleasure from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification. JUNIUS.

The circumstance of my having been compelled to postpone the consideration of the atrocious libels circulated against this gentleman, by Burdett and Cobbett, is extremely unfortunate for Alexander Davison; inasmuch as he is thus condemned to stand the test of public examination beside a person whose private worth endears him to every one who has the good fortune to be acquainted with him, and whose public spirit has been most usefully and eminently displayed for a series of years, in the exposure of vice, prophaneness, and turbulent factions; in the support of the British altar, and the British throne; and in one marked, continued, and unvaried reprehension of those baleful and pestiferous theories, which, for more than fifteen years, have shook to its foundations the antient fabric of society; and, in many instances, have demolished altogether the vestiges of civilized life. If there be any moment, in which detected guilt feels the anguish of a tormenting

conscience more than at any other time, it is, when contrasted with the pure and serene appearance of integrity — with the unruffled gladness which reigns in the heart, and the cheerful independence that sits on the brow of the HONEST MAN. Such a comparison may be odious; but, it is odious to the wicked only. In the one, we have seen triumphant vice rioting in the midst of the public spoils, and wallowing in the filth of its own corruptions; but, at length overtaken by the great national inquest, and finally sunk into a state of degradation below the beasts that perish: in the other, we shall find innocence flourishing in despight of malice and detraction and victorious over iniquity and falsehood. In the demonstation of this contrast, the portrait of Davison is unfinished; but, I shall exhibit Mr. Bowles at full length.

Burdett, with the same sweeping insolence, which prompted him to mention the constituted authorities of this kingdom as a body of "hired magistrates, kings, and parliaments," has not forgotten, in his ravings at Brentford, to implicate Mr. Bowles as "*an hired writer.*" The obvious tendency of this falsehood was, to impeach the integrity of the motives which induced Mr. Bowles to furnish the world with those sound and eloquent reasonings in the defence of social order, for which he has been universally and deservedly admired. If the integrity of the motives *could be* impeached, the natural inference of the mob would be, that such publications were unworthy of their perusal. Hence, the insidious demagogue availed himself of the ignorance and credulity of the rabble, to whom he addressed himself, in order to cast an odium upon the principles of the author, by traducing the moral honesty of the author himself. This circumstance is an unequivocal proof, that he never read the writings of Mr. Bowles; or, he never would have dared to have thus insulted an English gentleman in the face of an English populace, even at Brentford, for having pleaded the cause of the constitution, and of morality, with so much feeling, truth, and energy, that while the vulgar libertines and flagitious criminals tremble at his reproaches, even the voluptuary, endowed with talents, cannot but admire the force of his persuasive eloquence.

It is the uniform practice of all demagogues, when they wish, either to conceal or to distort facts, to deal largely in general assertions; and when they are called upon for *proofs*, they reply with *invectives*. The ignorant, who are easily misled, adopt, without reflection, the declamations which are addressed to their worst passions, and imbibe flattery by wholesale, when dealt out by a crafty leader, which, from its grossness, would nauseate even a court sycophant. To this I must add, that there is a scandal suited to the circles of fashion, and another suited to the conceptions of the vulgar. In both, the principal object is, to destroy reputation; but, there is a wide difference in the nature and extent of their effects. In high life, as it is foolishly termed, one person only is wounded, or, at most, killed, and there ends, for a time, the triumph of the assassin: but, when scandal is circulated amongst a populace, its poisoned arrows almost always recoil powerless from the heart of the person they are aimed at, and fall, alas! with mischievous effect, upon the principles that he inculcates. This is the case of Mr. Bowles. No man of honour felt wounded in consequence of the low scurrilities which Burdett levelled at Mr. Bowles, because every man of honour knew that they were false, and uttered with a malicious intent, by a disgraced demagogue, in order to draw a veil over truths, which placed the calumniator in a situation more deserving of contempt than of execration. But, the populace did not know this, or, if they *did* know it, they would not believe it. Hence, good principles are assailed when attempts are made to cry down the reputation of the man who promulgates them. To give additional validity to misrepresentation, Burdett introduced an anecdote respecting Mr. Bowles, which, by a tortuous construction, he strove to convert into an arraignment of the political consistency of that gentleman. He observed, with one of his hyæna smiles, that Mr. Bowles had not always entertained his present opinions, for that, "some years ago, he was so dissatisfied with the establishment of this country, that he had formed the design to remove to America." If the allegation *were true*, it ought to redound to Mr. Bowles's credit in remaining here; but the story is *not true*; and, as it excited, at the time, some surprise from the audacity with which it was broached, and the consequent appearance of truth which usually accompanies a

tale of private life, I shall here state the fact. When Mr. Bowles was called to the bar, some years ago, he certainly did turn his thoughts towards America, but upon *very different motives* from those which Burdett has assigned. Finding the extreme difficulty of any young practitioner rising early into eminence, at home, and being, as is natural to every gentleman embarked in a favourite profession, anxious to distinguish himself in the law, he entertained the notion, to which he had been prompted by the strong advice and recommendations of relatives and friends, of pursuing his profession in the United States of America. Politics made no part of his views; it was a mere point of personal consideration; which was abandoned almost as soon as it had been entertained. This is the fact; and I wish to know, whether there be the remotest ground for a charge of dissatisfaction at our establishment in any thing relative to the business? Further, was not the motive honourable and praise-worthy? It was cherished long before this country had witnessed those scenes of disturbance and sedition, against which Mr. Bowles has taken up his pen; long before the black and foul perjuries at the Middlesex election compelled Mr. Bowles to expose, before the public, the dangerous consequences to religion, morals, and society, from the toleration of such monstrous enormities; long before such a pest in the domestic economy of the state, as sir Francis Burdett, was heard of; and long before the real freeholders of the county were distinguished from a licentious rabble, assuming their rights, by the persevering industry and patriotic courage of Mr. Bowles, who, with the spear of Ithuriel, exhibited falshood in all its hateful deformity, and truth in the fullness of its sun-shine splendour.—Thus much respecting the allegations of the demagogue, whom I shall dismiss for the present, in order to make way for his man, that doughty squire, Mr. William Cobbett, who seems to have imported from *his adopted country*, America, a plentiful leaven of republicanism, with no less a quantity of the supercilious conceit, and coxcomical insolence of his *quondam* fellow-citizens, all of which he dispenses weekly, for the edification of his readers. This convert, from outrageous loyalty to rampant jacobinism, who writes in a tone and manner as if he alone absorbed all the knowledge and talents of the country, has likewise vented his impotent venom at Mr. Bowles, by publishing against him one of the most malicious libels which has ever been written upon paper. Alluding to the meeting of the electors of Middlesex, who assembled in London for the purpose of fixing upon a successor to Mr. Mainwaring, he mentions Mr. Bowles as a leading speaker, "*who, by fair deduction, at least, has most falsely represented the heir apparent as unfit to be trusted with the crown.*" *

To any of my readers, the least conversant with the jurisprudence of this country, I need not state, that, in the contemplation of law, the above passage is as flagitious a libel as ever was propagated; and if Mr. Cobbett have not yet been translated before the tribunal competent to take cognizance of it, it must be ascribed, not to any defect of legal opinion upon it, (for upon that head there could be no doubt) but entirely to the merciful advice of the friends of Mr. Bowles, and to the kind and lenient disposition of that gentleman himself. It is, however, the duty of a public writer, when the law is not allowed to act upon a defamer, to expose the infamy of the man who appears to exist solely on the abuse of the most honourable and respectable characters in society. Such brutal prophanations of character may not be unsuitable to the manners of an American *porcupine*, but they cannot be tolerated in England.

In order to ascertain, if possible, what part of Mr. Bowles's writings had furnished ground for the malevolent accusation mentioned above, I have read them through once more, and with renewed pleasure. The only passage at all allusive to the inheritance of the prince of Wales, and which stupidity itself cannot misconstrue into the least disrespect or irreverence of the illustrious personage, is to be found in the 106th page of Mr. Bowles's "Reflections, Political and Moral, at the Conclusion of the War;" being a sequel to "Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society, at the Close of the 18th Century." † In this passage, Mr. Bowles thus expresses himself, in the language of virtuous, and respectful loyalty:

---

* *Cobbett's Register, November* 15, 1800.

† *I cite from the fourth edition.*

"By the transcendantly excellent qualities that distinguish the great personage, who now fills that throne, he has been enabled to stand in the breach, which has been made in the ramparts of civilized society, and to avert the destruction which has menaced the venerable edifice. But while those qualities have shone with such attractive and powerful lustre—while they have been producing such beneficial effects—we have been making gigantic strides in our vicious career! What would become of us, if we should, suddenly, be deprived of the blessing which we have so much abused? What would be our fate, if, at a juncture like this, the throne were to exhibit an example of an opposite tendency? Heaven preserve us from such a misfortune! My attachment to the British monarchy, and to the reigning family, is rooted in my "heart's core."—My anxiety for the British throne, pending the dangers to which, in common with every other throne, it has lately been exposed, has embittered my choicest comforts. And I most solemnly vow, before Almighty God! to devote myself, to the end of my days, to the maintenance of that throne. With these feelings—with this determination—may I not venture to appeal to the accomplished prince, who is next in the order of royal succession, with the words of truth—so seldom heard by princes, though the most valuable offering that can be presented to them—and to assure him, that all his *real* friends are apprehensive of the most direful consequences to himself, to his house, and to his country, unless he imitate the bright pattern of religion and virtue which is displayed by his illustrious sire?"

Is there a paragraph, a syllable, or even a letter, in the above extract, which does not breathe the most pure loyalty, the most fervent patriotism, and also the most zealous interest, for the illustrious prince who is the object of these remarks? Every article should be inscribed in letters of gold, and might be hung up, with propriety, in the interiour of his royal highness's cabinet. Is it treason to suggest to the prince of Wales, that virtue is the best security of a throne, and that the example of his royal father is worthy of imitation? Is it treason for one whose attachment to the British monarchy, and, therefore, to the hereditary succession of the prince of Wales, are avowed, to forewarn his royal highness of the direful consequences which are apprehended by his *real* friends, from any neglect of that bright pattern of religion and virtue which is now displayed by the existing sovereign? I ask, whether there be any treasonable proposition in these respectful and decent admonitions, the observance of which are the only securities of a British throne? And, shall the loyalty of an individual be questioned because he speaks truth to princes, which princes are little accustomed to hear? Shall it be permitted to a renegade to promulgate weekly the factious doctrines of his base, grovelling, sordid, and vulgar mind, against the most sacred institutions of the realm, when a well-bred gentleman, of acknowledged talents and virtues, is denied the privilege of pointing out to the heir apparent of the throne the path that leads to the enjoyment of honour and tranquillity with the possession of a crown?—The sentiments of Mr. Bowles are fraught with the noblest principles of patriotism; and form a striking contrast with those of the vile sycophants, who, for purposes not less wicked than selfish, flatter the multitude to gratify their own ambition; or a prince, to advance their own interests; or, what is still worse, who write for the public, with a perfect indifference to the public welfare, and with a view only to gratify their avarice at the public expense. Notwithstanding these plain facts, Cobbett has attacked Mr. Bowles in terms which cannot, by any means, be justified; for, the obvious, direct, and unequivocal meaning of his accusation, is, that Mr. Bowles, by representing the heir apparent as unfit to be trusted with the crown, is guilty of TREASON! And we all know what attaches to the proof of that crime, as well as to the criminality of the wretch, who dare causelessly to accuse a fellow subject of it. Before I close this article, I cannot avoid remarking, that this important, self-conceited personage, Mr. William Cobbett, has rendered himself a *particeps criminis læsæ majestatis* upon this occasion. For, in reading over the title page of Mr. Bowles's work, I find that, besides the names of Messrs. Rivingtons, Richardsons, and Hatchard, who are publishers of it, the name of Cobbett is also subjoined as one of the booksellers who sold this treasonable production; and I find also, that this same Cobbett is the identical bookseller, who sold, at his shop, not only this publication of Mr. Bowles's, but almost every other work

which issued from the able pen of that gentleman. The bookseller has now taken it into his head to call himself, and to believe himself an esquire, though the progression of his manners in the latter capacity does not appear to have kept pace with the acquisition of fortune, which he erroneously fancies constitutes the character of a gentleman. The *brutum fulmina* of such a man as Cobbett, the virtuous and high-minded Mr. Bowles must despise; nothing *can* come from such a proffigate, prostituted, and hireling pen, that *can* affect *his* reputation. But, I owe to truth a public duty, and if I have here placed a man of honour, integrity, and splendid talents, in a proper light, and exposed the falsehood of his calumniator; the country will have reason to be grateful, because, a loyal subject, a virtuous man, an eloquent assertor of his country's rights and laws, and the formidable antagonist of political incendiaries, ought to be known and seen but as he is—AN HONEST MAN,—THE NOBLEST WORK OF GOD.

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.

LETTER VI.

Sir,—The committee of the house of commons, appointed to consider the expediency and practicability of permitting the use of sugar and molasses in the distilleries and breweries, for a time limited, under circumstances now affecting the trade of the British colonies in the West Indies, have hitherto made no report: but, from the nature of the evidence given, it is generally supposed that their report will be adverse to the measure. The distresses of the West India planters and merchants have been abundantly proved; but great objections have been raised against giving them relief, in the mode that has been suggested. A gentleman, high in office, in the excise department, is said to have declared, that if the use of sugar is permitted in the distilleries, that of corn must be altogether abandoned, (a concession which some of the landed gentlemen are not disposed to make in favour of the West India interest;) and also to have urged, that the revenue will be exposed to great frauds, if the use of sugar is at all permitted in the breweries.

Had his majesty's ministers declared that the public interest made it necessary to adopt this measure, and directed some of the most experienced officers of excise to make such arrangements as would protect the revenue from fraud, the task would have been performed; but it was not to be expected that men should volunteer, unasked, the framing a new system, which would probably, in the first instance, require much thought and pains to devise, and afterwards occasion considerable additional labour to themselves to execute.

If ministers did not mean to carry this measure through, they ought never to have brought it forward; for the consequences of such indecisive conduct will be mischievous in the extreme. Lord Temple has stated in parliament that the merchants have 160,000 hhds. of sugar on hand. Independent of the injurious effect this avowal has produced on the sugar-market, by deterring the buyers from purchasing a commodity with which they are thus officially informed the country is so overstocked, the impression it must necessarily make on the mind and conduct of Buonaparte is still more to be lamented. He will now have the satisfaction of knowing, that the West India merchants have an immense quantity of sugar on hand, for which they can find no vent; and, if the application is rejected, that, on their distressed situation being laid before parliament, the relief they requested has been denied them, and they are left to their fate; what a triumph to him must this be? It is an acknowledgment that his plans are now ripening into success, and that we are beginning to sink under the weight of our own imports. It gives him reason to believe, that as we are already overloaded with West India commodities, so we shall soon be with East India commodities and manufactures of every description; and teaches him that perseverance in his present system will accomplish the object he has so long had in view.

Indeed, I fear ministers will be playing the game into his hand, if, while our manufacturers are suffering from the privation of their intercourse with the continent, and the West India trade is so depressed as in a great degree to cut off that most

important branch of their exports, they chuse the very same moment for the abolition of the slave trade, too; the whole of the purchases in which are made with manufactured goods.

Amidst the gloomy prospects that surround us, I catch one ray of hope from the declaration of lord Howick, that "his majesty, in the late treaty with America, had certainly reserved to himself the power of treating neutrals trading to the ports of the enemy in the same manner that neutral nations permitted their vessels trading to our ports to be treated by the enemy." The exercise of this right will give the the West India interest that relief which will probably be denied them in another mode, and oblige the enemy to take the produce of our West India colonies, when he can no longer receive that of his own colonies in neutral vessels. Considerations of policy might induce timid ministers to hesitate in asserting this right, at the risk of hostilities with America; but, since she has admitted the justice of the principle, I trust it will immediately be put in practice.

It is impossible to reflect without mortification on the contrast between the decisive, energetic measures of Buonaparte, and the irresolute, feeble conduct of our own government. He, with scarcely a ship that dares shew its colours on the ocean, wages a successful war against the commerce of Great Britain, whose triumphant navy sweeps the seas. He declares the British isles in a state of blockade; and effectually keeps them so, as far as relates to the exclusion of our colonial produce and manufactures from the continent of Europe. He declares, that all neutrals, coming to or going from our ports, shall be confiscated. We, instead of retaliating his own measures upon him; order our cruizers to bring in neutral vessels carrying on the coasting trade from one port of his dominions to another; but indulge him with full liberty to continue his direct commerce with every neutral power; and thus leave him ample channels open, both for importing every article of necessity or convenience which he wishes to receive, and for exporting those staple commodities, the sale of which supports the agricultural, manufacturing, and financial interests of his empire. France dictates to neutrals; who tremble, and obey the mandate she has no power to enforce: while Great Britain, who possesses the power, hesitates to issue the mandate of which France has set the example. Incomprehensible and ruinous pusillanimity! Oh for the commanding genius of a Chatham, to direct the councils and wield the thunders of Britain; to re-assert the empire of the ocean; and teach our haughty foe, that, with all his boasted extent of empire, he is but a prisoner in a large cage!

In former wars, our enemies felt the force of our maritime superiority; their colonies were distressed, their commerce was intercepted, and we were enriched by their spoils. But now, as lords of the ocean, we hold a barren sceptre in our hands. The sea is become a dreary waste, over which our cruizers, indeed, may roam, but find no harvest to reward their toils. They have the mortification of seeing the property of the enemy uniformly masked under neutral colours, and screened from their pursuit by our own impolitic concessions. While the armies of France over-run neutral states, for the avowed purpose of cutting off their commercial relations with Great Britain, and confiscating British property, we suffer the shattered remnants of her navy to find a safe asylum in the waters of the Chesapeak, where our pursuing squadrons watch, but dare not seize, their prey. On what principle do we thus, in every way, allow the enemy the benefit of that neutrality whose laws he violates? Better would it be that we at once petitioned America to relieve our ship-owners from 20,000 sail of vessels, which are daily depreciating in value, for want of that commerce which we have relinquished to neutrals, and let them become our carriers altogether. Then might we, too, lay by those 700 ships of war which we maintain to so little purpose; and get rid of this costly, and now almost useless, incumbrance. We have weakly resigned that system of navigation laws, which was at once the boast and bulwark of Britain, to a power who threatened, without daring to strike; but who, finding our ministers tremble at her threat, followed up her advantage. We have, I fear, given up those invaluable maritime rights which our forefathers established with their blood, and would have maintained against the world in arms; to purchase the forbearance of America from hostilities, in which neither policy nor justice would have permitted her to engage.

Unless the observation, *quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, (that God infatuates those whom he dooms to destruction,) is about to be verified upon these fated kingdoms, the present system cannot long be continued: but ministers must awaken to the true interests of the country; retort those measures upon the enemy of which we now feel the pressure, and thus inflict such privations upon his subjects, and probably excite such discontent among them, as will oblige the tyrant to revoke his prohibitory decree; which we never can expect him to do, while we suffer him to enforce it against us without retaliation.

The progressive operation of the plan hitherto pursued will inevitably be fatal to the empire. The decay of our commercial, our manufacturing, and shipping interests, will be its first effects; and, as our growth of corn is less than our consumption, it requires no more argument to prove, that unless some measures are taken to husband that necessary of life, we shall soon want it, than it requires to prove that a man who expends more than his income must soon want money. Famine, therefore, will follow; and, to save ourselves from starving, we shall be obliged to make a peace; which, under such circumstances, must be purchased by such concessions as will give our enemy the consummation of all his wishes—ships, colonies, and commerce: and then the sun of Britain's glory will be set for ever.

Buonaparte has truly said, that "ships, colonies, and commerce," are all he wants; and, by the conduct of our ministers, it would really seem as if they meant to sacrifice those objects: perhaps, in imitation of the sagacity of that animal of whom we read in one of Æsop's fables, who, being chaced by the hunters, bit off those parts for which he knew they pursued him; that, by so doing, he might escape from further molestation. The moral of such conduct, I fear, might aptly be drawn from another fable, written by the same author, of the lion, who was prevailed upon to suffer his teeth and claws to be drawn; and then, very properly, had his brains knocked out for his folly.

If the use of sugar is not substituted for that of corn in the distilleries and breweries now, it must be hereafter, as it was five years ago, and under the pressure of a similar scarcity. Prevention is better than remedy; and the distress that will otherwise be felt by the West India planters and merchants, and those connected with them, might be prevented by adopting it at the present moment. Ministers invited opposition to this measure, by the lukewarm manner in which they brought it forward. Perhaps they were cautious of giving umbrage to the country gentlemen in the house of commons, who might consider it as inimical to their interests: perhaps a disposition is felt to lower something of that consideration which was paid to the mercantile interest during the administration of Mr. Pitt; and to restore the landed interest to what is considered their proper supremacy. It would be trespassing too much upon the limits of your paper to shew how all commercial profits raise the value of landed property, and to prove the fallacy of the idea that the mercantile interest is to be considered as opposed to the landed interest. Of this, however, I forewarn ministers, that if they crush the one to gratify the other, they will, like Sampson, when called in to make sport for the Philistines, pull down the pillars that support the temple of our national prosperity, and bury us all in one common ruin.

MERCATOR.

ON THE USE OF FRENCH COMMODITIES.

Sir,—My object in this letter is to make a few remarks on that culpable inattention to our national interests, which is so generally shewn in the use of articles of foreign growth or manufacture.

The indulgence of the too prevalent taste for French commodities is universally allowed to be an evil of the most pernicious tendency: but each individual is apt to think, that the little weight his single example can have in the great scale of national interest is scarcely felt. It should, however, be recollected, that it is by the accumulation of the smallest particles that the greatest bodies are composed; and that if every man acted upon proper and patriotic principles, this evil could no longer exist.

Every good subject should consider that he cannot empty a bottle of French wine,

without, in so doing, contributing to fill the military chest of Buonaparte: he should abstain from brandy and gin, as he would avoid encouraging the staple commodities of our enemies; he should give that preference to rum, which he owes to the support of the British colonies and British commerce; and apply the same idea to every article of his consumption.

Many of my fair countrywomen, I know, are smugglers in their hearts; and find French laces so elegant, French gloves so superior, and French articles of dress, in general, so tasty and becoming, that I almost despair of being able to prevail on them to renounce those advantages in which they see their rivals stand arrayed. But let them consider, that, in consequence of the exclusion of British goods from the continent, by the decree of Buonaparte, thousands of our manufacturers are in want both of occupation and of bread; that every article of French manufacture, worn in this country, is worn at the expense of British industry; and, that those who purchase them, support their enemies to starve their countrymen. Oh, let not vanity be fed by such costly sacrifices! Let the ladies remember, that, if this resolution becomes general, their comparative charms will still be the same; and that every true Englishman will scorn to surrender his heart to those who carry French colours!

I should have brought forward my observations on this subject much sooner, but, observing in the daily papers the incessant round of entertainments in which our cabinet ministers have been engaged since their first coming into office, I was apprehensive that I might do more harm than good, by prematurely interfering with their convivial indulgences; and, therefore, would not decry the use of French wines, without first waiting to ascertain how they operated on the heads of those who direct the councils of the nation. Had the sparkling burgundy exalted their imaginations; had the effervescence of champagne quickened their faculties into energetic action; the advantages which the enemy derives from the consumption of these articles would have been more than counterbalanced, and I should have remained silent. But his majesty's ministers have now had a fair trial: and, alas! sir, their measures are still as dull and spiritless as if they had never drank any thing more generous and enlivening than muddy port: I, therefore, no longer defer publishing my sentiments, which I trust will induce them to discontinue the use of French wines at their tables; and I hope shortly to see this patriotic resolution announced in all the daily papers that furnish us with accounts of the cabinet dinners. Hock, being the growth of a neutral country, they still may indulge in; and Mr. Sheridan, who loves a pun, may say, in quaffing his glass, *hoc euro, hoc rego, et omnis in hoc sum.* The highest examples have the strongest influence; and I doubt not but this resolution, thus sanctioned, will be generally adopted, with the most advantageous effect to the interests of Great Britain, and the consequent distress of the enemy.

When the deputation from the senate of Hamburgh lately waited upon Buonaparte, to obtain some relaxation of the rigour of his decree against the trade of Great Britain, he rejected their request with indignation, and told them that he would make any sacrifice to destroy the commercial relations between this country and the continent.

Let us not be outdone in patriotism; but, the "lesson he has taught us let us execute, and even better the instruction." His determination of enforcing this system against us has been uniform and uninterrupted. At no time, and under no circumstances, has he receded one step; and his advances, of late, have been rapid and alarming. We feel the pressure, and can only counteract it by retorting his own measures upon him. If ministers do this in their public, and individuals in their private, capacities; if they act with energy, and we support them with unanimity; we shall occasion that distress in the dominions of the enemy which he means to inflict upon us, and our united efforts cannot fail of being crowned with success.

CIVIS.

TO THE MARQUIS OF TITCHFIELD, &c. &c.

LETTER IV.

"*Utrum horum mavis, accipe.*"

My Lord—It was my intention, in the present letter, to have extended my re-

marks on the past conduct of the present administration; but other circumstances, of a recent date, point out to me a different object, as the subject of the present address. Through the medium of *some* of the public papers, I am informed that the wish which I had expressed, in a former letter, relative to the *house of Portland's* becoming a rallying point for all true friends of the king and constitution to resort to, is happily gratified. With this gratification I should have felt perfectly satisfied to have been silent, for the present, respecting the claim which your noble house has to the public confidence, had I not seen *other* papers treat such claims with unbecoming levity, while the ears of the public are continually stunned, "*usque ad nauseam*," with the fulsome praises of a deceased demagogue, and a deceased peer, who, it is believed, aimed at being the "Philip Egalité" of this country. In justification, therefore, of the hope which I have thus publicly expressed, it is incumbent upon me to give some reason why I have looked up to the *house of Portland* for support, at the present arduous crisis of our affairs. I do not know how I can better elucidate that reason, than by a comparison. I mean not a comparison between the political characters of the duke of Portland and lord Grenville, because that such has of late been the vacillating conduct of the latter nobleman, that no man can, at present, venture an attempt at delineating his character, without the risk of finding himself in an error before his opinion is published. I shall, therefore, by way of comparison, beg leave to introduce the [illegible] *of Bedford*, the old and ostensible leaders of the *Foxite* party, in the present *anomalous* administration. And here I find my labours most agreeably curtailed, by the refined improvements of *modern philosophism*. Like an antiquated fool, I had once imagined, that, in order to establish the claims of a family to the confidence of the country, it was necessary to trace their descent, "*ab ovo*," to prove that its present dignities were the merited rewards of public services; and that until it evinced a dereliction of those principles and practices which first raised it to such dignities, it was fairly entitled to public confidence. I had also foolishly imagined that the hereditary nobility and gentry of the country were the persons among whom we were to seek for leaders in the great council of the nation; and that those who had most to lose, in the general struggle, were the fittest persons to be trusted with the guardianship of the whole. But no—the revolutionary cant of the present day tells me, I am a superannuated fool.—*Burlet'* bawls out, "Tell me what the *present* men have done," and so did (with due submission to the *higher* powers) *all* the Foxites a few years back.* Under such a weight of authority, I must hide my "diminished head." Old Cadwallader and his pedigree may rot unnoticed in the dust together. The motto of the present generation is—

> "*Nam genus, et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi*
> *Vix ea nostra voco.*"

I must, therefore, leave unnoticed the Bentincks and the Russells of former days, and confine myself to those of modern times. Be it so; I accept the terms, and in order to be as brief as possible, I will confine my remarks to the occurrences of a few preceding years, sufficiently demonstrative of the political conduct and principles of each family; and of the consequent claim which each respectively has to the public confidence. I begin with the *house of Bedford*.

It is fresh in the recollection of every person who has paid any attention to the proceedings of the different parties which have agitated this country, that the late duke of Bedford began his political career under the auspices of the late Mr. Fox, to whose person, and principles, he was most enthusiastically devoted, and who continued to be his political "*Mentor*" until the last hour of his grace's existence. The deceased duke, therefore, embarked on the turbulent ocean of public life as a staunch whig.† The club, which chose to designate itself by that title, hailed a young no-

---

* *By the by, the wonderful aversion which some of the leading members in the state now feel to allow any retrospective merit, may be something like Old Doyley's in the farce, who could not bear to hear a man talk of his father, the judge, or his grandfather, the general, because he could not tell "whether he ever had a grandfather or not."*

† *A genuine whig I take to mean the same as "a patriot of the school; one who would wish to see a due equipoise preserved between the rational liberty of the subject on the one*

bleman of such high rank and immense wealth, as the very demigod of their society; and doubtless, if, after his death, they could have commanded a niche in the Panthæon (or rather *Pandæmonium*) of Paris, his grace would have been honoured with an *apotheosis*. Let me not, however, be misunderstood, as meaning to cast the most distant reflection upon the term "whig," in its *genuine* and *legitimate* sense. The name of "whig" has been justly dear to Englishmen since the memorable revolution of 1688, and will justly continue to be dear to them so long as one spirit of *real* patriotism remains unextinguished in the country. It is against the abuse, and not the use of the name, that I protest. I have therefore nothing to object to his grace on this head, until the years 1795 and 1796, &c. when the ever-to-be-lamented proceedings of the "corresponding and revolutionary societies," and the heroes of "Copenhagen House," had met with the support and approbation of the whig club. This eventful epoch was the true touchstone which brought to the test the *genuine whiggism* of that celebrated club. Those who, true to their original principles, viewed with fear and trembling the anarchical proceedings, which threatened to introduce a French revolution into this country—*withdrew*. Those who were determined to support Mr. Fox, through all the devious windings of his democratic plans—*remained*. Unfortunately for his country, and for himself, the duke of Bedford formed one of the latter number, and continued a distinguished member of that club until his death. His grace must, therefore, be considered as having sanctioned, with his approbation, the various proceedings, in all their different ramifications, of those societies which had so nearly brought this, then distracted country, to the brink of ruin. He must have approved of their sending a traiterous embassy to the French revolutionists; he must have re-echoed the plaudits of the British revolutionary rabble, who magnanimously huzzaed their premier duke's toast of "*our sovereign, the people*," and the more qualified one of "*the sovereignty of the people*," given by his wily coadjutor; he must have intimately associated with, and gloried in the principles of those truly respectable characters, who bore such favourable testimony to the general conduct of a self-convicted traitor at Maidstone; he must have been the secret admirer of the O'Connors, the O'Coigleys, and the Despards; and last, though not least, he must have connived, *at least*, at the frantic views of *Burdett*, the modern demagogue for obtaining "*supreme power*."† I trust that I have said "*de mortuo nil nisi* VERUM." With respect to his brother, the present duke, he approximates, as far as he can, to the example left him by his predecessor; and but from some circumstances, which it is not necessary to mention to your lordship, he is, and probably will continue to be, "*longo proximus intervallo*." If, however, it be true, as stated in the public papers, that a rebellion has existed for four months in Ireland, without any attempts on the part of government to suppress it; and that the *catholics* are the prime favourites at the vice-regal court; while the *protestants*, either appeal unjustifiably to arms, or sullenly retire, disgusted and dismayed; it must be confessed, that the present lord lieutenant of that kingdom is no *ordinary* proficient in the modern mysteries of mischief-making. But "*ad huc sub judice lis est*," and it will be more candid to try him hereafter by the test of his future conduct. It is, therefore, with satisfaction that I turn to a more pleasing subject—the political conduct (during the same period) of the *house of Portland*.

I am not now to inform the public, that the principles of this noble house have always been those of "*genuine* whiggism," and my review of the effects of those principles upon the conduct of your lordship, and your noble relatives, will be summed up in one short sentence, viz.—That, during the momentous period above alluded to, the line of conduct which your house has adopted has been *in every instance diametrically opposite to that which the house of Bedford has thought proper to pursue*. With a noble integrity of mind and principle, too seldom, alas! seen in these degenerate days, you scorned all the ties of private friendship, when brought into competition with the public good; and boldly dared to break through all the dearest connexions of your former years, in order to support, in the hour of need, that

---

hand, and the just prerogative of the sovereign on the other." *Vid. Review*, vol. 1, *col.* 868.

† *Vide Mr. D. O'Bryen's letter in the Morning Post, Nov.* 17, 1806.

throne, and that altar, which your ancestor had helped to rear. In order, however, that we may be enabled justly to appreciate the value of this sacrifice, which your noble father and yourself made at the shrine of loyalty, it will be necessary to call to mind, that both of you were, at this time, united to Mr. Fox by the strictest bonds of private friendship; that your attachment to his person was extreme; and that these powerful ties were drawn still closer by a long union of political principle and public conduct. As to your lordship individually, I can state, with truth, that I ever heard you speak of Mr. Fox, in terms of unbounded admiration; and that I have seen you, (at a time, when from your youth such grave attention could hardly have been expected) listen with rapturous feelings, for hours, to the blaze of his senatorial eloquence;

——— "And with a greedy ear
Devour up his discourse."†

Such was the friend, and such were the connexions which you were now called upon, by public duty, to forsake for ever, and to unite yourselves to those men who had been through life your political *enemies*. The struggle was of no ordinary nature, and must have been by far the most painful of your lives: but the triumph of public virtue, over private feelings was complete; and the consequences have been equally honourable to yourselves, and beneficial to your country. From that period to the present hour, the noble members of the *house of Portland* have continued to be distinguished supporters of the "*best of kings*," and the firm advocates of *rational liberty*. Where then, let me ask, can the true friends of the constitution look out for leaders of more consistent conduct and principles?

I have thus taken the liberty of sketching out a pair of portraits for the public examination; and the outlines will, I trust, be found to be correct. Let that public choose which of them it will—I have done my duty.—I have the honour to be, my lord, &c. &c.

January 13, 1807. EUGENIUS.

THE FRENCH, RUSSIAN, AND SEPOY TROOPS.

Nullus erit finis lacrymis?
——— *quo mens ignara nocendi,*
Quo sensus abiére pii?
Quid superest damnis? quæ sæva pericula restant?

CLAUDIAN.

Sir,—Were not the official documents and private letters, with which our daily prints abound, sufficient to confirm the dreadful condition to which the French army is reduced, the foreign journals alone would afford ample testimony of the noxious diseases now gradually annihilating the troops of Napoleon.—A French soldier is, at the first onset, according to the true spirit of his country, brisk and active: if the weather be favourable, and provisions tolerably well supplied, he can, for a short time, endure the fatigue of forced marches, and sudden engagements. But when his progress is continually impeded by forests and morasses, his health injured by the severity of the climate, his scanty ration of food unwholsome and precarious; when he sees his comrades dying around him, his officers giving way to despair, and his enemies pressing forwards on every side; (without prospect of relief:) in such a situation, his native vivacity can no longer cheer his despond-

† *From my being admitted the honours of a former acquaintance with your lordship, some cavillers may call my language that of private friendship, rather than of public justice. To such I will answer, that it is now nearly twenty years since that acquaintance has ceased; and that, as the writer of these letters, I am, and most probably ever will remain, totally unknown to your lordship, and the public. That I have ever been the warm admirer of your lordship's conduct, I am proud to admit; but I never was, and never will be, the parasite of any man*—Just *praise is not* adulation. *It will be observed, that I have confined my observations to the* public *measures of* public *men. Were I to extend the comparison to the* private *characters of your lordship, and the late duke of Bedford, the contrast would be infinitely stronger.*

ing heart, and he feels, in the extreme, how miserable is subservience to the will of a tyrant.

The Russian and the hardy Cossack, formed in nature's roughest mould, become a striking contrast to their feeble adversaries. "Autumnal suns," and gentle gales, afford THEM no satisfaction; but the coming of rude Boreas with frozen wings, braces their nerves, and fits their souls for action. Confiding in the superiority of their forces, and the justice of their cause, these intrepid warriours firmly advance to victory or death. Their venerable chieftain, whom they almost adore, like another Lucullus, takes advantage of the impetuosity of Buonaparte, our modern Mithridates, and like his predecessor of old, convinces his enemies, that he is "*no airy vain glorious foe, but one who, according to the proverb, makes the seat of war in their bellies.*"* The Cossacks, if we may rely upon the assertions of travellers, must be of infinite service in a war of this extensive nature. "So quick are their powers of perception," says a learned author, "that wherever footsteps are discernible, they can, in a few minutes, ascertain the number of the passengers, and the length of time elapsed since they passed;" and in scouring a country no horsemen can equal their diligence and celerity.

The Prussian monarch, tutored in the school of adversity, has learned to profit by her wholesome, though unpalatable, lessons. He has concentrated the relics of his shattered power, issued a royal proclamation calculated to animate his people, and, as a further proof of returning sense, has dismissed that arch traitor Haugwitz from his councils for ever. As the ally of Russia, our truest friend, we are inclined to commiserate the hapless fall of Prussia: but, laying aside all interested views, we cannot deny the justice of her overthrow. From the commencement of the French revolution to the present period, has this kingdom acted in a manner the most unjustifiable. By the forfeiture of her solemn vows has she set an evil example to inferiour states; by the violation of her treaties has she sacrificed the blood of thousands.† The day of retribution has, at length, arrived, and a dreadful day it is.

As military topics are the subject of our more immediate consideration, I will, with your permission, intrude a few moments longer on your patience. By the latest accounts from India, it appears, that some new regulations having been adopted, (at whose suggestion I know not) the native troops were so exasperated at these innovations, that they fell upon the Europeans, and put them to the sword. In consequence of this, a body of British cavalry was dispatched to punish the rioters, and to restore tranquillity.‡ The encounter of the soldiery was terrible, and the Sepoys were entirely destroyed.—What mortal man, I ask, endued with common humanity, would endeavour to gratify his own caprice by the enforcement of a plan, uncongenial to the feelings, and derogatory to the honour, of an useful and inoffensive people? The Indian tribes§ are more bigotted to their religious ceremonies, and to the manners of their ancestors, than any nation that overshadows the habitable world. Their form of worship, in many respects, the counterpart of Mahometanism, enjoins frequent ablution, and particular care of the beard. Like the antient Romans, they preserve it as an ornament, and a testimony of manhood. To attempt to deprive them of it would be as great an insult as to shorten the queue of a Chinese.‖ Of their prowess in war, the French have had indisputable proofs;

---

* *Plutarch's Lives.*

† *For a further illustration of Prussia's misconduct, I refer the reader to your Review of last year.*

‡ *The principal cause of discontent was requiring the Sepoys to trim their beards.*

§ *A captain of an Indiaman, a man of indisputable veracity and honour, who was deputed to carry native troops round to reinforce Lord Cornwallis, at the time his lordship commanded in India, assured me, that if a sailor's finger, or even a rope's end, accidentally touched their provision, they would instantly throw it overboard, lest, by partaking of it, they should lose their* CAST; *and that, in consequence of such rigorous observance, many of them lived for several days without a drop of water to cool their parched lips, under the burning heat of an Eastern sun.*

‖ *At the siege of Pondicherry, an important station being occupied by a British regi-*

of their meek and quiet disposition, we are ourselves convinced by daily experience. If, then, they are our friends, why abuse their friendship? If they are willing and submissive, why thus wantonly offend them? If they are intrepid in the field of battle, why provoke their indignation? That it is our interest, at this critical period, when we are at variance with so many states, to conciliate the affections of our contemporaries by every concession, which does not militate against reason and national honour, no sensible man can, for a moment, doubt; and I defy the most ingenious sophist to invent a colourable pretext for embroiling an happy race in the horrors of contention, in order to gratify the frivolous imagination of an individual.

The warmest constituent of LIBERTY is TOLERATION; and the increasing wealth and power of this nation may, I am convinced, be, in a great measure, attributed to the labours of the numerous sects, who, notwithstanding their diversity of opinion, are permitted to reside here without molestation.

Since, therefore, this is a point out of dispute, that men do one another both the greatest good and the greatest hurt, I lay down this to be the principal business of virtue, to gain the affections of men, and to engage them to our service. Therefore, for the benefits accruing to human life, from things inanimate, and from the use and ordering of beasts, these properly belong to mechanical and laborious arts: but, an industry, and a readiness of inclination in people to promote our interest, is excited by the WISDOM AND VIRTUE OF EXTRAORDINARY MEN.

ANGLICUS.

THE PICTONIAN CONTROVERSY.

To the Right Honourable John Sullivan, late Under Secretary of State to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, one of the Members of the Board of Controul, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

Sir,—As it is my intention to continue the correspondence which I now take the liberty of commencing with you, upon a very grave and important subject, until I shall have accomplished the object that I have in view, I think it right, that, if I do not satisfy your curiosity so far as to let you know *who* I am, at least to inform you *what* I am, and what are the reasons which induce me to take the trouble of addressing these letters to a person with whom I have no connexion but a public one. This information can be of no consequence to the public; but to you, sir, I have reasons for thinking, it must be material. Give me leave, then, to tell you, that I am an officer, not as the celebrated Irish barrister, said, "an officer and no soldier," but one bearing his majesty's commission in his pocket; wearing the king's cloth on his back; and the honour of his sovereign in his heart: so much for myself. With respect of my motives, I am induced to address you for the following reasons: first, I am in winter quarters; which, unfortunately, I fear, for you, Mr. Sullivan, are at present very dull; I have, therefore, sufficient leisure, and great inclination, to read whatever new or old works, relating to my profession, may come well recommended to me; and, having heard a great deal of a book published by lieutenant-colonel Draper, of the 3d regiment of guards, addressed to the British public, on the case of colonel Picton, I sent to request a loan of it from a brother officer, as I found it could not at present be sold. He obligingly sent it to me; and I saw attached to the title, "With Observations on the Conduct of William Fullarton, Esq. F.R.S. and the Right Honourable John Sullivan." By way of digression, sir, I must tell you, that this is one of those sort of publications, the reading of which enchains you to your seat. I lost a good dinner; and, what is more extraordinary and unusual with a subaltern now-a-days, notwithstanding the *large* additional pay, I lost a *hot* supper, by the book. I could not, for the life of me, put it out of my hand until I had got through it: I admired, I wondered! Sir, I cannot explain to you one half of the

---

ment, a party of French was sent to dislodge them. The Europeans, through timidity, or some other cogent reason, deserted their post, and sought safety in flight; at this moment, a gallant young officer, (now no more) rushed forward with a battalion of Sepoys, and throwing himself into the defile, repulsed the French, and retrieved the honour of the day. Of this heroic band, like the brave sons of Sparta, scarce a third of the number remained to see the light of heaven.

ing heart, and he feels, in the extreme, how miserable is subservience to the will of a tyrant.

The Russian and the hardy Cossack, formed in nature's roughest mould, become a striking contrast to their feeble adversaries. "Autumnal suns," and gentle gales, afford THEM no satisfaction; but the coming of rude Boreas with frozen wings, braces their nerves, and fits their souls for action. Confiding in the superiority of their forces, and the justice of their cause, these intrepid warriours firmly advance to victory or death. Their venerable chieftain, whom they almost adore, like another Lucullus, takes advantage of the impetuosity of Buonaparte, our modern Mithridates, and like his predecessor of old, convinces his enemies, that he is "*so airy vain glorious foe, but one who, according to the proverb, makes the seat of war in their bellies.*" * The Cossacks, if we may rely upon the assertions of travellers, must be of infinite service in a war of this extensive nature. "So quick are their powers of perception," says a learned author, "that wherever footsteps are discernible, they can, in a few minutes, ascertain the number of the passengers, and the length of time elapsed since they passed;" and in scouring a country no horsemen can equal their diligence and celerity.

The Prussian monarch, tutored in the school of adversity, has learned to profit by her wholesome, though unpalatable, lessons. He has concentrated the relics of his shattered power, issued a royal proclamation calculated to animate his people, and, as a further proof of returning sense, has dismissed that arch traitor Haugwitz from his councils for ever. As the ally of Russia, our truest friend, we are inclined to commiserate the hapless fall of Prussia: but, laying aside all interested views, we cannot deny the justice of her overthrow. From the commencement of the French revolution to the present period, has this kingdom acted in a manner the most unjustifiable. By the forfeiture of her solemn vows has she set an evil example to inferiour states; by the violation of her treaties has she sacrificed the blood of thousands.† The day of retribution has, at length, arrived, and a dreadful day it is.

As military topics are the subject of our more immediate consideration, I will, with your permission, intrude a few moments longer on your patience. By the latest accounts from India, it appears, that some new regulations having been adopted, (at whose suggestion I know not) the native troops were so exasperated at these innovations, that they fell upon the Europeans, and put them to the sword. In consequence of this, a body of British cavalry was dispatched to punish the rioters, and to restore tranquillity.‡ The encounter of the soldiery was terrible, and the Sepoys were entirely destroyed.—What mortal man, I ask, endued with common humanity, would endeavour to gratify his own caprice by the enforcement of a plan, uncongenial to the feelings, and derogatory to the honour, of an useful and inoffensive people? The Indian tribes§ are more bigotted to their religious ceremonies, and to the manners of their ancestors, than any nation that overshadows the habitable world. Their form of worship, in many respects, the counterpart of Mahometanism, enjoins frequent ablution, and particular care of the beard. Like the antient Romans, they preserve it as an ornament, and a testimony of manhood. To attempt to deprive them of it would be as great an insult as to shorten the queue of a Chinese.‖ Of their prowess in war, the French have had indisputable proofs;

---

* *Plutarch's Lives.*

† *For a further illustration of Prussia's misconduct, I refer the reader to your Review of last year.*

‡ *The principal cause of discontent was requiring the Sepoys to trim their beards.*

§ *A captain of an Indiaman, a man of indisputable veracity and honour, who was deputed to carry native troops round to reinforce Lord Cornwallis, at the time his lordship commanded in India, assured me, that if a sailor's finger, or even a rope's end, accidentally touched their provision, they would instantly throw it overboard, lest, by partaking of it, they should lose their* CAST; *and that, in consequence of such rigorous observance, many of them lived for several days without a drop of water to cool their parched lips, under the burning heat of an Eastern sun.*

‖ *At the siege of Pondicherry, an important station being occupied by a British regi-*

of their meek and quiet disposition, we are ourselves convinced by daily experience. If, then, they are our friends, why abuse their friendship? If they are willing and submissive, why thus wantonly offend them? If they are intrepid in the field of battle, why provoke their indignation? That it is our interest, at this critical period, when we are at variance with so many states, to conciliate the affections of our contemporaries by every concession, which does not militate against reason and national honour, no sensible man can, for a moment, doubt; and I defy the most ingenious sophist to invent a colourable pretext for embroiling an happy race in the horrors of contention, in order to gratify the frivolous imagination of an individual.

The warmest constituent of LIBERTY is TOLERATION; and the increasing wealth and power of this nation may, I am convinced, be, in a great measure, attributed to the labours of the numerous sects, who, notwithstanding their diversity of opinion, are permitted to reside here without molestation.

Since, therefore, this is a point out of dispute, that men do one another both the greatest good and the greatest hurt, I lay down this to be the principal business of virtue, to gain the affections of men, and to engage them to our service. Therefore, for the benefits accruing to human life, from things inanimate, and from the use and ordering of beasts, these properly belong to mechanical and laborious arts: but, an industry, and a readiness of inclination in people to promote our interest, is excited by the WISDOM AND VIRTUE OF EXTRAORDINARY MEN.

ANGLICUS.

THE PICTONIAN CONTROVERSY.

To the Right Honourable John Sullivan, late Under Secretary of State to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, one of the Members of the Board of Controul, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

Sir,—As it is my intention to continue the correspondence which I now take the liberty of commencing with you, upon a very grave and important subject, until I shall have accomplished the object that I have in view, I think it right, that, if I do not satisfy your curiosity so far as to let you know *who* I am, at least to inform you *what* I am, and what are the reasons which induce me to take the trouble of addressing these letters to a person with whom I have no connexion but a public one. This information can be of no consequence to the public; but to you, sir, I have reasons for thinking, it must be material. Give me leave, then, to tell you, that I am an officer, not as the celebrated Irish barrister, said, "an officer and no soldier," but one bearing his majesty's commission in his pocket; wearing the king's cloth on his back; and the honour of his sovereign in his heart: so much for myself. With respect of my motives, I am induced to address you for the following reasons: first, I am in winter quarters; which, unfortunately, I fear, for you, Mr. Sullivan, are at present very dull; I have, therefore, sufficient leisure, and great inclination, to read whatever new or old works, relating to my profession, may come well recommended to me; and, having heard a great deal of a book published by lieutenant-colonel Draper, of the 3d regiment of guards, addressed to the British public, on the case of colonel Picton, I sent to request a loan of it from a brother officer, as I found it could not at present be sold. He obligingly sent it to me; and I saw attached to the title, "With Observations on the Conduct of William Fullarton, Esq. F.R.S. and the Right Honourable John Sullivan." By way of digression, sir, I must tell you, that this is one of those sort of publications, the reading of which enchains you to your seat. I lost a good dinner; and, what is more extraordinary and unusual with a subaltern now-a-days, notwithstanding the *large* additional pay, I lost a *hot* supper, by the book. I could not, for the life of me, put it out of my hand until I had got through it: I admired, I wondered! Sir, I cannot explain to you one half of the

---

ment, a party of French was sent to dislodge them. The Europeans, through timidity, or some other cogent reason, deserted their post, and sought safety in flight; at this moment, a gallant young officer, (now no more) rushed forward with a battalion of Sepoys, and throwing himself into the defile, repulsed the French, and retrieved the honour of the day. Of this heroic band, like the brave sons of Sparta, scarce a third of the number remained to see the light of heaven.

various emotions which alternately agitated me during its perusal. It reminded me of the sensations which formerly possessed me when I first read Shakespeare's tragedy of Macbeth: there was a new incident and a new horror in every leaf I turned. The extraordinary drama concluded with you; and certainly, sir, never did poet drop the curtain to an astonished and applauding audience with a fuller impression of the force, beauty, and truth, of the narration, than this accomplished writer has done upon the different subjects which he has so admirably discussed. This book, sir, has almost ever since been the subject of my conversation, and the theme of my commendation. I did, as Tacitus says, was customary with the old Germans: I held two consultations upon it, one drunk and the other sober: the first, that the judgment which I should pronounce upon it might not want spirit; the second, that the steps which I should afterwards take might not want judgment: and now I have the folly to think, that both in my present and future attempts to fill up the chasm which colonel Draper has, I conclude intentionally, left in his publication, I shall give you some specimens of the one and the other. This, I know, is the language of an unexperienced officer, or rather of a raw recruit, and is, no doubt, a very unbecoming and impudent preface to my investigation; but, sir, there are two sorts of confidence, and you and the public will judge which of them it is that belongs to me. Before I proceed further, let me assure you, upon my honour, that I have never communicated with colonel Draper on the contents of this letter, nor with any of his friends, either directly or indirectly.

Pardon, sir, I beseech you, this digression, from the enumeration of my motives for addressing you, to a critique, or rather character, of the colonel's work; I am unused to methodical writing; and, what I feel most, I generally express first. After reading this book, I endeavoured to procure every thing which appeared to be connected with the subject. Some months ago I learned that a criminal information had been filed by you against colonel Draper, on account of some strong observations which he had made in his work, on a passage in an affidavit made by a Dr. Lynch (a physician in the island of Trinidad), in which he made oath, before the chief justice and judge of that island, amongst other things, that you informed him, in a conversation which passed between you and him at the office of his majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department, about the month of November, 1802, "*That, in all probability, general Picton would be ordered to return to England before six months, as colonel Fullarton was instructed to investigate the then past conduct of general Picton in Trinidad.*" Colonel Draper, after first *proving*, from the written declarations of colonel Fullarton himself, of the colonial secretary, lord Hobart, and of the commander in chief in the West Indies, general Grinfield, that they knew nothing whatever of such instructions having been given, calls upon *you* to come forward and avow the author of those *secret* instructions; and tells you, "that nothing but an open, manly, unqualified avowal of the author of those private instructions will satisfy the nation." The colonel does not accuse you of having *acted* on this declaration; but, fully believing the solemn oath of a professional gentleman, of whom he speaks in high terms of commendation, he asserts that you must have made this declaration to the doctor; and certainly inveighs powerfully, and, in my humble opinion, with perfect justice, against you, for having, as he eloquently expresses it, "*attempted to undermine, and destroy for ever, the root and source of all military honour and reputation, by secretly, insidiously, and without any just cause, presuming to circulate a report, for which you had no right or legitimate authority, no honest or honourable pretext, for circulating or insinuating: and this,* (he says,) *Mr. Sullivan, is my charge against you; and you will now clear yourself, as well as you can, before God and your country.*" Before you could proceed to obtain leave to file a criminal information against the colonel, on account of his observations, it was necessary that you should make oath that what you were charged with having said, was not true; and, accordingly, you did, to the surprise of many, come forward, and make a solemn oath that no such interview or conversation ever took place or passed between you and Dr. Lynch; and, of course, upon the application of your counsel, you obtained leave to file a criminal information. Now, sir, the question at issue is, undoubtedly, one of the highest magnitude. Colonel Draper has exposed the baneful consequences which must attend such a proceeding, in any department of the government of

the country, with so much force and truth, that I shall not attempt to add one word to what he has said on the subject. He has said, truly, "there is not an officer in the service, from the lowest subaltern to the highest upwards, that is not deeply and vitally concerned in this declaration of yours to Dr. Lynch." The question, then, is not whether colonel Draper has said any thing which the law of the land deems libellous; this being a simple point of law, of comparatively very little importance; for, in the unintelligible and completely-undefined state in which the doctrine of libel remains, at present, no man pretends to know what it is, or what it is not. You, sir, have no doubt endeavoured to make it appear that *this* is really the question at issue between you: one part of my duty is to remove that cloud from the public mind, and to make them see it in the true point of view; and, therefore, I am to inform that public, that the *real* question is this: Have you, Mr. Sullivan, by the rebutting affidavit which you placed on record against Dr. Lynch's oath, so completely disproved the serious charge brought against you, as to put it beyond all doubt, whether, in your official situation, as under secretary of state, and without the knowledge and consent of the government under which you acted, you attempted to injure the character and destroy the reputation of an officer of high rank and excellent character, by circulating an unfounded report, for which, as colonel Draper says, you had no legitimate authority, no honest or honourable pretext? *This* is the *real* question at issue. You have, in the teeth of Dr. Lynch's solemn affidavit, sworn that no such interview or conversation ever took place between you and him. As an officer, therefore, feeling the highest concern, the greatest anxiety, in this paramount question, I have presumed to come forward, and to question your pretensions to the challenge that you have thus thrown down. On such a simple, uncomplicated matter of fact, there can be no difficulty. One of you, undoubtedly, must have sworn false. God alone can see into your hearts, and knows which of you is the just man. All that *we* can do, is, to examine your separate pretensions to credibility; to inquire which of you, from an examination of your actions and conduct in life, gives the fairest grounds for belief that your oaths should be credited. Here is a complete alibi: and all that the most learned and sagacious judge could say to a jury, on such an occasion, would be this: "Gentlemen, you will take the testimonies and characters of both the evidences into your serious consideration, and you will decide according as you see cause for a preponderance of credit and belief on either side."

However the law part of the question between you and colonel Draper may terminate, is very little to *my* purpose: you, sir, have, I conclude, for good reasons, taken that proceeding which precludes him from offering a *justification* on *that* score. The sum total of *your* charge against him is for a breach of the peace: you have not at all entered into the *truth* or *untruth* of his assertions, which one would think the most natural, simple, and obvious way of deciding the matter; but you have made his language a breach of the peace, which is, I believe, the most compendious description of a libel. This course naturally led (I shall not say fortunately, or unfortunately, for you, Mr. Sullivan) to the present, and indeed the only, discussion which could grow out of it; I mean the ground of credit on which you and Dr. Lynch rest your pretensions. If you had sued by way of *action*, then this discussion would have been rendered unnecessary: the question *then* would simply be, are your assertions or observations true? This would be judged by twelve impartial men, and would have precluded the sad necessity of your vindicatory oath. Col. Draper would then stand absolved or condemned by a jury, on the *truth* or *untruth* of his remarks; instead of the very different turn which your suing, by way of information, gives it, and which, I have before said, is a constructive breach of the peace. You have, no doubt, sir, for the best reasons, adopted this plan; and as you have determined to decide the question in this way, you shall have the full benefit of your selection; and, therefore, I shall consider it my duty, in these letters, to examine your superior pretensions to public credit in this affair; and these, not from hearsay report, not from idle opinion, or vain conjecture; but from what we know, and know to be *proved*, by evidence, which *you* will acknowledge to be unanswerable. If I wished to give my reader any additional motive for writing these letters, I would say that it is my intention to do what the law cannot do in this case. The law will

not examine whether you, Mr. Sullivan, are entitled to greater credit in what you have sworn than Dr. Lynch. You are on the spot, and amenable for the consequences: Dr. Lynch is not. This is all that can, at present, be in the eye of the law. The law will pronounce whether what the colonel has said be a breach of the peace or not: but *my* examination goes to prove how far you are entitled, from your former conduct, as a man of honour and integrity, to public credit or belief, in the business between you and Dr. Lynch. *My* investigation goes to shew how far it is credible that you disgraced your situation, as under secretary, by this communication to Dr. Lynch: it will go further, and even tend also to adjust the scale in the affair between you and the colonel; I mean as to the *truth* or *untruth* of his *observations* upon your conduct. These are the objects of these letters: and in my next I shall proceed to lay before you and the public the circumstances of a transaction, in which you had a very particular concern, while you filled a situation in India. I shall state it from documents beyond the reach of your or any man's cavil, and then proceed to an examination of another, not less important, transaction, in which you took a leading part, in another quarter of the world. In the interim I have the honour to remain, sir, with assurances of my high consideration,

Yours, MILES.

American State Paper.—continued from page 64.

The gun-boats, authorised by an act of the last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year.

A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea-port towns, or their remaining before them.

In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprise on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishment for these crimes, when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprise is meditated by private individuals against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprise preparing is against the United States?—While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprises meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the juridiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.

The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed, at present, to respect peace and friendship. With Tunis alone, some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall shew it to be unnecessary. We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere con-

tern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge those high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.

The expedition of Messrs, Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained, with accuracy, the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learnt the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants, and, it is but justice to say, that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.

The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return, without completing their work.

Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Misisssippi, by Lieutenant Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both houses of congress. Those of Messrs. Lewis, Clarke and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important serveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississipi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorisation of congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.

I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe.—Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.

The receipts of the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and, in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and an half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and an half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of 23 millions of principal.

The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time; after which, that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation.

When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of monies in the Treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects. Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other object shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes

of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprize, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but by a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation.

The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the state legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall have passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary; because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public monies to be applied.

The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them.

This, fellow citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such too the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defence of our seaport towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of the country; a militia so organized, that its effective portions can be called to any point in the union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may also be ready, yet never preying upon our resources, until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

The result of our negociations, or such incidents in their course, as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also on our western frontier as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negociation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess, or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

Dec. 2, 1806. THOS. JEFFERSON

House of Representatives, Dec. 3.—Special Message from the President of the United States.—Referred to Messrs. John Randolph, Marion, Van Conandt, M'Creery, and Chandlers.

To the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America.—I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the negociation depending between the United States and the government of Great Britain, is proceeding in a spirit of friendship and accommodation, which promises a result of mutual advantage. Delays, indeed, have taken place, occasioned by the long illness and subsequent death of the British minister charged with that duty. But the commissioners appointed by that government to resume the negociation, have shewn every disposition to hasten its progress; it is, however, a work of time; as many arrangements are necessary to place our future harmony on stable grounds. In the mean time, we find, by the communications of our plenipotentiaries, that a temporary suspension of the act of the last session, prohibiting certain importations, would, as a mark of candid disposition on our part, and of confidence in the temper and views with which they have been met, have a happy effect on its course.

A step so friendly will afford further evidence, that all our proceedings have flowed from views of justice and conciliation, and that we give them willingly that form which may best meet corresponding dispositions.

Add to this, that the same motives which produced the postponement of the act till the 15th of November last, are in favour of its further suspension: and as we have reason to hope that it may soon yield to arrangements of mutual consent and convenience, justice seems to require that the same measure may be dealt out to the few cases which may fall within its short course, as to all others preceding and following it. I cannot, therefore, but recommend the suspension of this act for a reasonable time, on considerations of justice, amity, and the public interests.

Dec. 3, 1806. THOS. JEFFERSON.

Proclamation of the king of Prussia, concerning the abolishing several duties in the armies.—In consequence of the unfortunate and almost total dissolution of several corps of the army, sent into the field against the French, it has been impossible for his Prussian majesty, on account of a total want of authentic information, to distinguish truth from falsehood, rumours from facts, to reward merit, or to inflict punishment. His majesty therefore *must* postpone drawing any conclusions until that period when his majesty shall be enabled to do so with more certainty and precision. His majesty is far from the idea of ascribing to his brave armies all the calamities and misfortunes which he himself, and his dominions have experienced. It is, on the contrary, very satisfactory to his majesty, that many of his soldiers, from the highest to the lowest rank, have distinguished themselves by a steady courage, continued perseverance, and a true sense of honour. But, unfortunately, instances have occurred (proved by facts, that speak for themselves) of such a nature as not to be passed over any longer in silence: on the contrary, they ought most severely and most publicly to be animadverted on as an example for the future. Amongst those whose conduct is most highly reprehensible, are—1st, All those officers who have more or less participated in the unheard of conduct of the surrender to the enemy of the fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, Spandau, and Magdeburg.—2. All those officers who, not being present at the capitulation of their respective corps, nevertheless offered themselves voluntarily to surrender, as belonging to such corps, nay, even persuaded their comrades, and their subalterns, to take a similar scandalous resolution.—3. Lastly, all those who, without having received any furlough, or having been made prisoners, have absented themselves from the armies, and went either home or elsewhere, &c.

His majesty has dismissed his service, with disgrace, for ever, the major and commander at Erfurth, Von Pruschenck, because, though the city of Erfurth surrendered, there was no necessity to deliver up the forts of Petersberg and Cirianberg, if the commandant had taken the necessary precautions. At Stettin, the lieutenant-general and governor, Von Romberg, is cashiered, as well as the major-general Von Knobelsdorff, major-general Von Rauch, as commander in second, is dismissed with disgrace, and for ever. The major and fort engineer of Stettin, Von Harenberg, is

broke. In Custrin, the colonel and commander, Von Ingersleben, is condemned to be shot. In Spandau, the major and commander, Von Renkendorff, is dismissed with disgrace. In Magdeburgh, the general of infantry, Von Kleist, and the commander, colonel Du Trossel, are dismissed with disgrace. All the remaining generals who were at Magdeburgh at the time, and who, in the council of war, voted for the surrender of the fortress, are likewise dismissed with disgrace; as also all those officers who have signed any of the above-mentioned capitulations. All the officers of the corps of Hohenlohe, who belonged to it at the affairs of Pasenwalk and Prestzlow, who arrived at Stettin before the capitulation of that place, and who joined those that were included in that capitulation, are also dismissed the service for ever. All officers who, previous to the capitulation concluded at Anclam, had passed that town, but returned in order to surrender themselves prisoners, are also dismissed the service. All officers who, during the retreat of their corps, left them without having a furlough, or without having been taken prisoners, and shall have returned home or elsewhere; and all officers not belonging to any corps that was obliged to capitulate, and who have gone over to the enemy in order to get passports, that they might return home without molestation, are dismissed the service for ever. Further, his majesty reserves to himself to bring to account all those officers, high and low, particularly those in the commissary department, whose actions still remain doubtful, or who in the eyes of the army have shewn themselves unworthy of the trust reposed in them; and, if upon the future investigation of their conduct, the above-stated facts are found to be more criminal than at present appears, then, and in that case, the punishment will be proportionably severe; but in order to prevent future dereliction from duty, his majesty has thought proper to publish the following ordinances:—1. All governors and commandants who in future, from fear of a bombardment, or under the pretext of a want of the necessary requisites for supporting a siege, or under any groundless pretence whatever, be it what it may, shall neglect, or refuse to defend, with whatever resources they possess, the fortresses entrusted to their charge, shall be shot without any mercy. Every commander or governor of fortresses, who shall consent to any secret articles (in the capitulation which the enemy may force them to conclude), for their own benefit or that of any of their subalterns, as has been the case at Magdeburgh, shall be cashiered.—2. Every regiment which does not obey the orders received to attack, or without orders leaves the field of battle, after it has been made known to his majesty, shall be cashiered and drafted into other regiments.—3. Every officer who in future shall be guilty of the misdemeanours, first above described in Nos. 2 and 3, or shall leave the field of battle without being wounded, shall be cashiered with infamy: each soldier, who in running away throws away his arms, shall be immediately shot.—4. Every officer who shall meet with any dispersed soldiers, shall rally them, and lead them to the first corps, or to another place of rendezvous. If he does not perform this duty, he shall be accountable for his conduct.—5. The regimental and company surgeons are to be as near their respective corps on the day of battle as possible, and they must be provided with all the requisites of their profession, under pain of being dismissed with disgrace.—6. The ammunition-waggons of each corps ought always to be attended by a staff officer or captain, to preserve regularity in the march. Those officers commanded to attend this duty shall be cashiered in case of neglecting the same. Whoever wantonly fires a musket to create a false alarm, shall be immediately shot. Any waggon-driver who shall unyoke his horses from his waggon, in order to run away with them, shall be shot. But as it is absolutely necessary to produce a serious alteration in the commissary department of the army, the plan of reform to be adopted, shall be communicated as soon as possible to the different corps.—7. On any unforeseen occurrences—for example, on extraordinary forced marches, retreats, &c.—every commanding officer of a corps shall be entitled to make a requisition upon the inhabitants for the necessary quantity of provisions and forage, for the men and horses under his command, giving his receipt for the same; but if he exceeds the necessary quantity in his requisition, he shall be shot.—8. The officers of the general staff, with their adjutants, are to take charge of conducting the several corps, and are never to leave their respective commands. The pioneers are to be at the head of each column, that they may be ready to repair the roads, or to

cut out new communications. The officers of the general staff must take care of every thing that can facilitate or accelerate the march of the respective corps. If the army is to form before the enemy, those officers must reconnoitre and discover the best ways of retreat, as also carefully mark out the ground.—9. As long as the war continue the subalterns as well as the privates, if they distinguish themselves for courage and presence of mind, shall be equally entitled to promotion, as any prince or nobleman in the Prussian dominions. He alone who has committed crimes, shall be excluded from being an officer.—10. The widow of every soldier who has distinguished himself, and dies in the field of battle, shall receive a pension proportionate to the rank of her husband.—11. It is hardly necessary to say, that every act of insubordination is severely punishable. Every one is already well acquainted with the regulations of the army on this subject. Yet as experience has lately shewn the contrary on several occasions, it is now brought to the serious recollection of the army, that every one may be completely aware of the punishment attending insubordination.—12. Extortion of money from, or plundering and ill-usage of the inhabitants, and such-like outrageous conduct, shall be punished with death.—13. All Prussian subjects who are found serving the enemy, and taken with arms in their hands, shall be shot without mercy. This proclamation, which it is intended shall be made known to every individual in the army, shall not only be read at the head of every regiment, but every individual shall take a copy thereof, for the better regulation of his conduct.

An abstract shall be made of this proclamation, so far as regards the subalterns, privates, and waggon-drivers, which shall be read to them in their native language; and the reading thereof shall be repeated every week or fourteen days: as also the same measures shall be taken with our former proclamation, respecting the distribution of medals of merit.

Ortelsburg, Dec. 1, 1806. FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Russian Manifesto.—" The events which have spread over Europe the horrors of bloodshed and desolation from an insatiable thirst of conquest and aggrandisement in the present *usurped government* of France, are manifest to the whole world. Our endeavours to set bounds to this evil, and to preserve the tranquillity and integrity of powers in alliance with us by pacific measures, all proved ineffectual. *The perfidy with which the common enemy violates the sanctity of treaties and the rights of nations, threatening Europe with universal devastation*, incited us at last to take up arms in support of neighbouring kingdoms. The series of disasters that befel the Austrian armies, obliged that monarchy to conclude a disadvantageous peace, on terms dictated by the ambition of the conqueror, and the dire necessity of circumstances. After this, Prussia, vainly attempting to check the mischief by the establishment of general and solid peace, through the means of negociation, notwithstanding all her sacrifices for the sake of preserving an alliance with France, notwithstanding all her compliances with the demands of this *common enemy*, could not long remain exempt from the calamities of war. *Lulled into a state of delusive security by the prospect of a peace, which she vainly hoped to enjoy, and the mistaken confidence she reposed in a treacherous ally, she was suddenly plunged into the very abyss of ruin.* The armies of Napoleon, falling on the Prussian troops, before they had been able to unite, defeated them, made an easy conquest of the defenceless capital, and seized the greatest part of the provinces of that kingdom.

In such a situation of affairs, seeing this neighbouring power, which divided the western borders of our empire from France, destitute of all means of defence, it became indispensably necessary for us to advance our armies, under the command of field-marshal count Kamensky, for the defence of our territories, menaced on that side with an hostile invasion; and, having implored the protection of the Almighty, who ever espouses the cause of the just, we ordered every effort to be made for the defeat of this dangerous assailant, who, in the proclamation he has published, carries his audacity so far, as openly to threaten that he will extend his triumph even over our dominions.

At the commencement of this inevitable war, the whole burden of which, after the total overthrow of our allies, devolves upon our country, we consider it our

first duty, to redouble our unceasing efforts for the preservation of the tranquillity and integrity of our empire, by augmenting and collecting the armed force of a faithful, brave, and magnanimous people, intrusted to our administration by Almighty Providence. The miseries which have so rapidly overtaken the neighbouring powers, *evince the present necessity of recourse to unusual means, to great and vigorous measures, which can only be carried into effect by a zealous attachment to our country, by a manly firmness of spirit, and a true sense of national honour. A people really inspired and actuated by sentiments of that description, arming in a body, may raise an insurmountable rampart against every hostile attack, however formidable. Neglect in providing for their internal security, by such general armaments, during the present contest with France, in opposition to her system of plunder and rapine, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences to Austria, and not a little contributed to hasten the downfall of Prussia. Their fate was determined by the loss of a few battles; after which the enemy meeting no obstacle, and dreading no opposition from an unarmed populace, suddenly forced his way through the interior provinces, spread devastation and terror by his rapid and violent depredation, destroyed the scattered remains of a routed army, and effected a total overthrow of their empires.* The bravery of the Russian troops, and the victories which their unexampled firmness, for the course of a century past, has gained over every foreign foe, to the remotest corners of the earth, the trophies still existing in various parts of these realms which have been extended by their atchievements, and the recollection of the glory they have thus acquired, affords us the strongest ground to hope that on the present occasion, under the dispensations of Providence, whose blessings attend the arms of the just, all the machinations of our enemies may be confounded, and *that the only traces they leave behind them upon our soil will be their own graves.*

" The immense tract of country upon which these armies must act occasioning many difficulties in the way of their speedy and mutual co-operation for the defence of an extensive frontier, the evident danger which would arise in case (which God forbid should ever be the case) the enemy might penetrate into the interior of our empire, compel us to adopt the most efficacious measures to avert it, by the establishment of a general temporary armament militia, which may be ready in all quarters at a moment's notice, to support the regular troops, and able to oppose to the enemy at every step the invincible force of the true sons of their country, united for the preservation of their most valuable enjoyments.

" In such arduous circumstances we refer with the fullest confidence to the distinguished order of the hereditary nobility of our empire, by whose faithful services in the field of battle, and extensive sacrifices both of life and property, Russia has been elevated to her present greatness, to that order which, by examples of heroism has on all occasions animated and assisted the subordinate members of the empire to participate in the salvation, defence, and glory of our country. The memorable proofs of patriotism and of loyalty displayed in antient and modern times by the nobility of Russia, and their well-known readiness on every occasion, where the common good requires their exertion, to obey the summons of their sovereign, and to meet with spirit every toil, and every danger for the service of the empire, convince us how cordially, zealously, and efficaciously, it will co-operate with us for the speedy and successful completion of such a provisional armament or militia, as is indispensibly required, and now ordained for public security, according to the regulations annexed hereto.

" We are likewise well assured that our faithful corporations, and every class of citizens, as well as the crown peasants, and free boors through the country, will unite their efforts to bear the common burden of this important public duty for the defence of our holy faith, and for individual preservation.

" May the servants of the church of God offer up in concert with ourselves, and all our faithful subjects, the most fervent prayers towards the Supreme Disposer of Events, that he may shed his divine favour on our efforts to avert the common danger, to vanquish, and exterminate the foe, and to restore the blessings of peace and tranquillity in the heart of our empire.

" The formation of the national troops, or militia, to exist only during the time of public danger, is to be carried into effect on the following plan :—

I. *The incorporation of the provisional troops of militia.*—1. Each government, both on the frontiers and in the interior, shall arm such a number of its inhabitants, for its proportion of the provincial force, or militia, as is specified in the annexed table. 2. The several governments joined in the table, compose a district, and the united provincial troops of those respective governments compose the army or militia of that district.—3. The numbers of the armies of district is fixed at seven.—4. The commander in chief of the armies of districts, are to be appointed by the sovereign, out of persons whose known fidelity, services, and merits, entitle them to public confidence.—5. The commanders of the government or provincial troops are to be chosen by the nobility of each government, out of persons who have distinguished themselves in military service, and, if possible, residents in the same government. In case the nobility should not elect, the commander in chief is to nominate them.—6. The subordinate officers of the provincial troops, that is of the various divisions, consisting of a thousand, five hundred, and so on, are likewise to be chosen by the nobility of the government out of their own body; if practicable, out of persons who have served with honour in the field, or in default of them out of such as have not served, and out of other classes. In case of non-appointment by the nobility, the commander of the provincial troops appoints.—7. After the publication of this manifesto, the civil governors shall, without delay, make up lists and reports of the inhabitants of every class, in their respective governments, and furnish the most accurate copies of the same, according to forms prescribed, with all expedition to the commanders in chief of districts, and to the commanders of the provincial troops who shall be appointed.

II. *The Levy and Equipment of the Militia.*

8. The civil governors, with the heads of the nobility, determine according to these lists and the registers of the peasants belonging to the crown, and to land-holders, with those of inhabitants of towns, what proportion of peasants of each description, and of citizens, is to be levied to fill up the number specified in the paper.—9. The assemblies of the nobility being furnished by their respective heads with notice of the number of men required for this provisional public service, determine according to their several enrolments how many each is to furnish. When this specification is made up, every land-holder, or owner of serfs, must provide, in the space of two weeks, his quota of men, completely equipped, as far as practicable, armed with fire-arms, and consisting, where such can be found, of people accustomed to the use of them; that is, jagers, game-keepers, &c. clothing them suitably to the season, and furnishing each man with three rubles in money; they are also to prepare provisions sufficient to maintain them all for three months.—10. At the same time, the crown villages, and all other towns, must provide, without delay, their respective quotas of men for the provincial corps out of such as are fit to bear arms, equip them in the same proportion with clothes and money, and furnish also three months provisions.—11. The corporations in cities, at their meetings, immediately after the publication of this manifesto, and the enrolment of the provincial troops in their respective governments, must require, in proportion to their means, circumstances, and zeal, for the public good of every citizen, contributions of money, food, or other articles necessary for the clothing and equipment of soldiers. Reports of these public contributions will be given into the civil governors, to the commanders of provincial troops, and to the commanders in chief of the army of the district, and by them immediately presented to the sovereign.—12. For the safe custody of such offers and contributions, whether from the order of nobility, or from the corporation of cities, the most convenient and effectual means are left to their own disposal to arrange. Proper places for the purpose will be allotted by the commanders of provinces, and the commander in chief of the district.—13. Free persons of every class, whom a regard to their country may induce to engage as volunteers in its service, and to join, without delay, these corps of provincial troops, will be received into them by the provincial governor.—14. Every inhabitant in the several governments, who may have in his house muskets, cutlasses, sabres, pikes, or arms of any other description, over and above what each may require for the equipment of the militia, or for his own individual use, is required to deliver them up for the public service;

in country places, to the heads of the nobility and commanders of the troops belonging to the divisions where they reside; and, in cities, to the (dyub) and to the magistrates. Such donations will be accepted with suitable acknowledgments; and, on the receipt of them, those who take them will give a proper certificate, and report the same to the commanders of the provincial troops.—15. Powder, cannon, ball, and all other military stores, which cannot be provided by individuals, shall be furnished out of the imperial arsenals or government magazines. The commander in chief, and the provincial commander, will use their utmost endeavours to procure every thing necessary within their respective governments, and the civil officers are bound to render them every assistance.—16. *To form and strengthen this body of militia, an adequate number of regular troops will be allotted, under the direction of the provincial commander.*

III. *Of the Regulation of the Militia.*

17. The commander in chief of the armies of districts shall carry into effect, according to the instructions given him, all the measures tending to the public security: the orders he gives are to be fulfilled by subordinate officers in the places under his controul, with the same exactitude, fidelity, and expedition, as the commands of the sovereign. *Persons who distinguish themselves by particular proofs of zeal, are to be immediately reported to us, that they may receive promotion proportionate to their merits.*—18. Under his controul are placed the commanders of the provincial troops, and the civil governors as far as relates to the superintendance of the corps of provincial troops.—19. To the commander of the provincial troops are subjected in all respects the heads of the nobility in their several governments and ridings, and they are to fulfil his orders. To him likewise are subjected the civil officers and magistrates of all descriptions, as far as relates to the completion of measures tending to the public security; all subaltern officers of the militia are likewise under his controul.—20. That all these measures may be carried into effect with the utmost promptitude, the strictest submission, and good order are required, and the slightest instances of disobedience to superiors, injurious to the public welfare, must meet with speedy and severe punishment. To provide, therefore, against an evil pregnant with such imminent danger to the empire, the commander-in-chief is hereby invested with power to arrest and deliver up to a court-martial, every person guilty of disobedience, and of breach of fidelity (or of the special oath of which will be administered to these militia troops), and the sentences of the court-martial will be put into instant execution, though they extend to the deprivation of life. When, by the blessing of the Almighty, our efforts, in conjunction with those of our faithful subjects, for the defence of our country, and the defeat of its haughty enemies, shall have been crowned with wished-for success, and the danger with which we are now threatened shall pass away, then with hearts full of gratitude towards the providence that protects us, these our troops shall lay down their arms, and return to their homes and families, saved by their courage, there to enjoy the fruits of peace so gloriously acquired. We likewise solemnly pledge our imperial word, and impose upon ourselves the sacred obligation, as the representative of a greatful country, to bestow graces and favours, and to reward with honour, and those marks of distinction due to eminent merit and services, all the true-born sons of Russia, who, on the present occasion, may display their zeal by acts of personal courage, by the sacrifices of their property, or by other deeds essentially conducive to the public good. The names of all such champions, in their country's service, will be celebrated with just admiration by posterity, and enrolled in the annals of immortal fame.

Petersburgh, 30th Nov. 1806. (Signed) ALEXANDER.

(Here follows a specification of the numbers to be supplied by the different governments of the seven districts. The whole number is 612,000 men, and the governments or provinces not enumerated for supplying men, are to supply contributions of provisions, arms, ammunition, &c.)

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°6. Saturday, February 7, 1807. Price 10*d*.

POLITICAL.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

As the present secretary at war does not happen to possess either the clearest head or voice in the United Kingdom, it is no wonder that his speech, on moving the army estimates, has been in some instances misrepresented; and this appears to have been particularly the case in that part of it which related to the volunteers.

On this subject he expressed himself with great exultation, that so small a diminution had taken place in their numbers, though the saving to the country had been upwards of £200,000, which, he added, would have amounted to above £300,000 had not circumstances rendered it necessary to keep a great proportion of the volunteers of Ireland on permanent duty. I do not think that the warmest opponent of ministers could have passed a stronger satire upon Mr. Windham's conduct towards the volunteers, than is implied in this assertion; which distinctly admits, that, wherever circumstances of necessity appear, the volunteers are indispensible to government; that their measures towards them are incompatible with their services, and must, in that case, be suspended.

With regard to the diminution of their numbers, general Fitzpatrick is represented to have said, that out of 300,000 volunteers, only 11,000 had absolutely resigned in consequence of the new regulations. The writer of this, understood him to say that the corps which had been actually disbanded, included only that number. It would require a more than Spartan effrontery to make the first assertion: for any man, whose avocations have led him into different parts of the kingdom, must know, that Mr. Windham's measures have had the most paralysing effect upon the whole body of the volunteers; that there is hardly a corps, throughout the kingdom, that ever musters one-half of its original force; and that, instead of being actuated by that zeal for military improvement, which distinguished them as long as they were allowed to consider their services as useful to their country, and acceptable to government; at least nine-tenths of those which remain embodied, only assemble the number of days necessary to entitle them to the exemptions attached to their so doing.

But general Fitzpatrick says, that were a danger of invasion again to occur, the volunteers would again flock to their standards. I hope and trust that this would be the case: but it would be with the loss of intermediate experience. I believe it is out of the power of any ministry to damp the ardor with which the whole country (except its few jacobin traitors) would unite for the defence of this last asylum of all that is dear to men in society. But general Fitzpatrick has no right to claim merit for the virtues of his countrymen.—They are not of ministerial creation. They form, in the hands of government, a great portion of their means for the defence of the country; and it is only for his use or abuse of those means that a minister is entitled to applause or condemnation.

That there were faults in the volunteer system every one knows. Some of them have been dwelt upon in former numbers of this Review. But of Mr. Windham's grand objection, that the volunteer system interfered with the recruiting for the regular army, the best refutation is to be found in the miserable falling off both in the recruiting and volunteers since his measures have been adopted. The volunteer system never robbed the regular army of a single recruit; but, on the contrary, has, in some degree, promoted recruiting: for the volunteers being originally composed of persons not likely to enter into the line, yet their service as such may have given some of them a military turn, and induced them to adopt the army as a profession.

General Fitzpatrick is said to have remarked, with much sarcasm, that none of Mr. Windham's attacks upon the volunteers were so offensive as that of his oppo-

nents, which imputed to them the avaricious principle of serving for the sake of the allowances, and of resigning when they were taken away. There may be a great deal of apparent shrewdness in this remark; but it has no solidity. Some of the allowances to the volunteers were two large, especially those which related to pomp and finery; but without others they could not remain embodied: for it does not follow, because men have the physical means of serving their country, that they are therefore able to be at the expense of bringing those means into action. And, arguing by a very forced analogy, without any slur upon their patriotism, we may perhaps have reason to fear, that were the salaries of their offices withdrawn, the country might run the risk, of being deprived of the valuable services of the general himself and many of his friends.

In short, never has a country so trifled with a cheap and valuable mode of defence, as is instanced in our conduct to the volunteers: and though it be true that the ardent spirit of British patriotism may prompt most, if not the whole of them, to repair again to their standards in the hour of peril, it cannot be doubted but that the vacillating conduct of the last parliament towards them, must have a powerful effect in abridging the extent and utility of their future services.

The Borough of Malton.

In the month of May, 1786, the county of York went mad, on account of the birth of a son to the noble family of Fitzwilliam. The congratulations which then passed amongst the friends of the *whig* interest were general. Festivities at Wentworth castle, carousals in the dependent towns, and Yorkshire stingo amongst the peasantry, were the order of the day. All these things savour of the good times of old; and so far from aught being said against them, they evince the munificence of the noble *tenant* (for so I call him, under favour of sir Francis Burdett) the earl Fitzwilliam. So far then, so good. But, I observe, that a *lord Milton* is returned member for the *free* and *independent* borough of Malton. Now, I wish to know, who is this lord Milton? I never heard but of *two* lords of the name of Milton, to wit, George Damer, lord viscount Milton, now earl of Dorchester, a peer of the realm, and a most respectable peer too, who represented, before the death of his father, the late earl of Dorchester, this identical borough of Malton. His lordship cannot be the representative of the worthy borough, because, he is in the lords. Who then is the lord Milton chosen? It cannot be the son of earl Fitzwilliam, because, being *under age*, of course, he cannot sit in the house of commons, without a most impudent and barefaced violation of the laws and customs of parliament; and it is well-known, that his noble father as a *whig*, is so tenacious of the rights and liberties of the people, that he would rather lose Wentworth castle itself, and all its demesnes, than wink at one infraction of the national privileges. Who then can this lord Milton be?—I have shewn, that lord viscount Milton, is now earl of Dorchester, a peer of the realm; and I have also shewn, that lord Milton, the son and heir of earl Fitzwilliam, *(a member of the cabinet-council)* was born in May, 1786, consequently, *is under age*, and is not qualified to sit as a representative of the people, being incompetent, according to law, to form any contract, except for food, education, and clothing, and being, in the contemplation of law, AN INFANT—therefore, as it is impossible, this infant can be the person returned, I shall feel much indebted to any of my better-informed readers to make me acquainted, through the medium of my Review, with the name, rank, and age, of this *third* lord Milton, who represents the free and worthy borough of Malton.

A STROKE OF POWER IN THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

By the last mail, which arrived from Jamaica, I have received a packet, containing as curious morsels of legislative authority as ever were exhibited to the eyes of the public; and that the people of England may be made acquainted with what lenity the inhabitants of that island are treated by their representatives, when the subject of *the expenditure of money* is discussed by them, I shall here present them with the documents, and then offer such remarks upon them, as they appear to merit.

To render the nature of the transaction intelligible to my readers, it will be first necessary to give a short sketch of the political constitution of Jamaica. The legis-

lature is composed of the captain-general or commander in chief, of a council nominated by the crown, consisting of twelve gentlemen; and an house of assembly, containing forty-three members, who are elected by the freeholders, viz. three for the several towns and parishes of St. Jago-de-la-Vega, Kingston, and Port-Royal, and two for each of the other parishes. The qualification required in the elector, is a freehold of ten pounds per annum in the parish where the election is made; and in the representative, a land freehold of three hundred pounds per annum, in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In the proceedings of the general assembly, *they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the legislature of Great Britain;* and all their bills, (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. The power of rejection, however, is still reserved in the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is signified, the laws are valid. *

According to this constitution, the house of assembly in Jamaica, may be said to assimilate with the house of commons in England, and, consequently, to be governed by the same rules of proceeding. We now enter upon the business.

In the course of the last two years, the house of assembly have passed repeated resolutions, in which the island has been represented to be in the most alarming state of distress. Notwithstanding these resolutions, the assembly voted a sum of *three thousand guineas*, for the purchase of a service of plate, to be presented to Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, for the victory he obtained over the French squadron on the 6th of February, 1806. The freeholders assembled, in consequence of this vote, to mark their dissatisfaction, not at any token of gratitude towards Admiral Duckworth, but, at the inconsistency of the conduct of their representatives, in thus blowing hot and cold at the same time; in passing resolutions significative of the pecuniary distress of the island, while, at the same moment, the assembly, in the vote of so large a sum, made a wanton and improvident expenditure of the public money; and they justly observe, that, by so doing, their representatives have forfeited the confidence of their constituents. These proceedings of the inhabitants, I here insert, upon the authority of the vouchers which I have received.

City and Parish of Kingston, Dec. 4, 1806.—At a very numerous meeting of the freeholders of this city and parish, convened this day, agreeably to advertisement of the 1st instant, to consider of the propriety of the conduct of our representatives in the hon. house of assembly, in voting with the majority on a late division.

Daniel Moore, Esq. Senior Alderman in the Chair,

Resolved, That the voting a sum of three thousand guineas, for the purchase of a service of plate, to be presented by the hon. house of assembly, to sir John T. Duckworth, is a wanton and improvident expenditure of the public money.

Resolved, That the honourable John Jaques, Richard Lake, and William Holgate, Esquires, in supporting this vote, have acted most inconsistently, when, according to many resolutions of the house, the island is in an alarming state of distress; that they have thereby justly forfeited the confidence of their constituents, and merited the decided censure of this meeting.

Resolved, That an address and petition be presented in humble and constitutional terms, to his majesty's representative, praying that he may be pleased to dissolve the present assembly, which has forfeited every claim to the confidence of the good people of the island, by its inconsistent, extravagant, and unconstitutional conduct in respect to the disposal of the public money; and that the chairman, with Messrs. Hamilton, Molony, Hule, Chamberlain, Meek, and Evans, or any three of them, be a committee for preparing such humble address and petition.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. George Minot, Mr. Vidal, Mr. Stewart, (of Trelawny,) Mr. Allwood, Mr. Munro, Mr. Stewart, (of Westmoreland), Mr. Grant, Mr. J. S. Minot, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Henry, Mr. Whitehorn, Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Finlayson, the thirteen independent members who formed the minority on the division of the house, on the vote in question.

Resolved, That it is not the intention of the freeholders composing this meeting,

* *Vide Hist. of the West Indies, by Bryan Edwards, Esq. of the Island of Jamaica, vol. 1. p. 214. book 2, chap. 5.*

to detract from, or deny, in the smallest degree, the merit of sir John T. Duckworth, of whose exertions, together with those of the gallant officers and men under his command, in achieving the signal victory of the 6th February last, they are fully sensible. But they feel assured, that his honourable and independent spirit, receives more satisfaction from the well earned applauses of his country, than from any acknowledgment or token of gratitude to be obtained, by raising money upon a community already taxed to their utmost ability.

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to sign the above resolutions, and that they be inserted in all the papers throughout the island, for one month.

DANIEL MOORE, Chairman.

The chairman having left the chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to him, for his impartial conduct in the chair.

St. Andrew, Jamaica, ss.—At a meeting of the freeholders of this parish, held at the Court-House, at Halfway-Tree, this 6th day of December, 1806, in pursuance of a public advertisement, signed by Alexander Ector, Esq. senior acting magistrate.

Mr. Ector, in the Chair.

Resolved, That the recent grant of three thousand guineas, for the purchase of a service of plate, to be presented by the hon. house of assembly, to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, is a shameful profusion of the public money; and that our representative, Edward Marshall, esq. in voting with the majority on that occasion, abused the trust reposed in him by his constituents.

Resolved, That Mr. Ector, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Donald Ronald Campbell, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Robert Smith, Mr. James Smith, and Mr. Daly, or any three of them, be a committee to draw up a petition to the representative of our sovereign, praying that he will immediately dissolve the present assembly, in order that we may have an opportunity of choosing a person to represent us, who will not sacrifice his public trust to private friendship.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting, are justly due to the worthy minority, Mr. G. Minot, Mr. Vidal, Mr. Stewart, (of Trelawny,) Mr. Allwood, Mr. Munro, Mr. Stewart, (of Westmoreland,) Mr. J. S. Minot, Mr. Grant, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Henry, Mr. Whitehorne, Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Finlayson, who stood forth in opposition to this scandalous waste of public property.

Resolved, That the intention of this meeting is not to derogate, or take from, the merit of sir John Thomas Duckworth, or any of those brave officers and men, who served under him on the 6th of February last, but solely to express our sense of the extravagance and partial expenditure of the property of a people, already overburthened with taxes.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and be published in all the papers of the island, for one month. A. ECTOR, *Chairman.*

The chairman having left the chair:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to him, for his impartial conduct on this occasion.

These lawful and just animadversions on the conduct of the representatives of the people, aroused the resentment of the members of the house of assembly, who authorized a committee of their house to make a report, whether its privileges were not invaded by the conduct of their constituents. Accordingly, on the 6th of last December, Mr. Taylor, the chairman of the committee, made the following report to the house, which was instantly succeeded by the events hereafter detailed.

Mr. Speaker,—I am directed by the committee of privileges to report to the house that, in their opinion, a breach of the privileges of the house has been committed by a publication, purporting to be certain resolutions which have been adopted at a meeting of the freeholders of the city and parish of Kingston, on the 4th of December, 1806, and signed "Daniel Moore, Chairman," and by the insertion of the same in the respective newspapers, entitled the "Daily Advertiser," "The Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser," and "The Courant."

After the report was read, a motion was made to amend the said report by inserting after the word "publication," the following words, "one of several resolu-

tions," which was negatived after debate, and the report was immediately agreed to, and ordered to be referred to the committee on the state of the island. The house then resolved itself into such committee, and Mr. Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Murphy, the chairman of the committee, reported the four resolutions, which follow, on each of which there was a debate and division:

Resolved, That any set of individuals, presuming to censure the proceedings of this house, is a breach of the privileges, and destructive of the freedom of this house:

That the editors of the respective newspapers, entitled, "The Daily Advertiser," "The Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser," and "The Courant," for having inserted in their several newspapers of Friday, Dec. 5, 1806, certain resolutions, signed "Daniel Moore, Chairman, are guilty of a breach of the privileges of this house:

That it tends to the subversion of the constitution of this house to call any part of its proceedings a wanton and improvident expenditure of the public money.

That it is a breach of the privileges of this house for any set of individuals to say, that this honourable house has forfeited every claim to the confidence of the good people of this island, by its inconsistent, extravagant, and unconstitutional conduct, in respect to the disposal of the public money.

A motion was then made that Daniel Moore, and the editors of the respective newspapers, should attend at the bar of the house on Tuesday. On this motion an amendment was moved to strike out the name of Daniel Moore, which, on debate and division, was carried by the speaker's vote. Another motion was then made, instead of their attending on Tuesday next, it should be this day three months, which last motion was, on debate and division, negatived, and the first was passed with the first amendment, and notices were immediately signed, ordering the attendance of the printers at the bar of the house.

On Monday, the 8th, Alexander Aikman, sen. esq. (member for the parish of St. George,) and Mr. Alexander Aikman, jun. (printer to the house,) editors of of this paper, were ordered to attend the house, the former in his place, and the latter at the bar.

On Tuesday, the 9th, Mr. Aikman, according to order, attending in his place, was shewn, by Mr. Speaker, the Royal Gazette newspaper, of the 6th December, containing certain resolutions, at a meeting in Kingston, on the 4th of December, and being asked by Mr. Speaker if *he* was the editor of the said paper? Mr. Aikman said he was one of them.

Being asked if he knew of the publication of the said resolutions in his paper:

Answered, only by seeing them after insertion.

Mr. Speaker then read to Mr. Aikman the report of the committee of privileges.

Mr. Aikman said, that, having voted with the majority on the occasion in question, it could not reasonably be supposed he would countenance any publication censuring their conduct; that several members present could testify his previous anxiety, that the resolutions should not appear in his paper; but which he had not time to prevent, they being inserted in his absence, and while attending his duty in this house.

Mr. Aikman then withdrew.

Mr. Taylor then moved, that Alexander Aikman, esquire, a member of the house, be taken into the custody of the Sergeant at Arms, and that the Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly; which, on debate and division, was resolved in the affirmative.

Alexander Aikman, junior, attending, was ordered to the bar, and was shewn the Royal Gazette of the 6th of December, and asked if he was printer and publisher thereof?

A. He was one of them.

Q. Do you know of the insertion in that paper of the above-mentioned resolutions?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of the report of the committee of privileges?—A. No.

Q. How did you come to insert the said resolutions?—A. That he was in Spanish-Town on Thursday, when they were offered and left at his office in Kingston.

Q. When is your paper printed?—A. On Saturday morning.

Q. Did you know of the insertion of the resolutions?—A. He inserted them himself, but did not know they were a breach of the privileges of the house, and was very sorry for what he had done.

Mr. Aikman was ordered to withdraw, when

Mr. Taylor moved, that Mr. Alex. Aikman, jun. the printer of the house, be taken into the custody of the sergeant at arms, and be by him committed to the common gaol of St. Jago de la Vega, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly.

An amendment thereto being moved, by striking out the whole after the first word "that," and instead thereof to insert "Mr. Alexander Aikman, printer to the house, be severely reprimanded at the bar for his indiscretion in printing, in the Royal Gazette, certain resolutions, declared a breach of the privileges of the house," which, on debate and division, was negatived, and the original motion put and carried; and Mr. Aikman, jun. was conveyed to gaol by the sergeant at arms, under the speaker's warrant.

Mr. Strupar attending, was ordered to the bar; on being asked what was his name?—A. George Warren Strupar.

Shewn the Jamaica Courant newspaper, of the 5th December, and asked if he was the editor thereof?—A. He was one of them.

Q. Were you conscious that the insertion of the above-mentioned resolutions was a breach of the privileges of the house?—A. He did not think so, because he had seen, in an old collection of newspapers, similar resolutions without offence.

A motion was made to ask the following question, which, on debate, was negatived: "Before you published the resolutions, did you know of the resolutions of the house, of 24th October, 1787."

A motion to read the examination of Alex. Aikman, jun. was also negatived.

The following question was moved to be asked Mr. Strupar, and likewise negatived: What would have been the consequence if you had refused to publish the resolutions in question; would you not have been very much injured in your profession, as a printer of a public paper?"

Mr. Strupar was asked if he knew who signed the resolutions, and answered, "He did not know; he did not see them signed."

Q. Was he present at the meeting?—A. Yes.

Q. Who was in the chair at the said meeting?—A. Daniel Moore.

Q. What have you to say in answer?—A. If we had not published the resolutions we might as well have shut up our office altogether.

Then Mr. Strupar was ordered to withdraw, and it was ordered that Mr. George Warren Strupar, one of the editors of the Jamaica Courant newspaper, be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms, and that Mr. Speaker do sign his warrant accordingly.

Mr. Andrew Lunan attending, was ordered to the bar, and being shewn the newspaper called the Kingston Chronicle and City Advertiser of 5th December, containing the resolutions, and asked if he printed and published the same, he answered—Yes.

Q. Was he present at the meeting in Kingston?—A. Part of the time.

Q. Who was in the chair?—A. Mr. Moore.

Q. Did you not know that the publishing of the resolutions was a breach of the privileges of the house?—A. He did not.

Being asked what he had to say in answer. He had only to mention to the house that the resolutions having been agreed to by a parochial meeting, called by the senior magistrate of the parish, he could not conceive they were a breach of the privileges of the house, and that, coming from so respectable a body, to have refused their insertion would have been the ruin of his business.

Mr. Lunan was then ordered to withdraw, and to be taken into custody of the serjeant at arms.

Mr. Robert Hamilton attending, was ordered to the bar, and being shewn the newspaper, called the Daily Advertiser, of the 5th December, and asked if he was the printer or publisher thereof, he answered in a loud voice, No.

Q. Who was the proprietor of it?—A. The widow of the late Mr. J. T. W. Bennett, and his family.

Q. Are you the editor of it?—A. He was not; Mr. J. J. Itter is editor and was so at the publication of the paper, in which he, Mr. Hamilton, had no interest.

Mr. Hamilton was discharged.

Mr. Speaker was then ordered to issue his warrant for taking Mr. Jackson, one of the editors of the Courant, for his failure to attend the house; and Mr. J. J. Itter was ordered to attend on Thursday next.

Mr. Taylor read, from the Jamaica Courant of the 8th December, certain resolutions passed at a meeting in the parish of St. Andrew on the 6th December, signed A. Ector, chairman, reflecting on the proceedings of this house; and Mr. Marshall stating he was present, and saw Mr. Ector in the chair, Mr. Ector was ordered to attend on Thursday next.

On Wednesday Alexander Aikman, esq. attending in custody of the serjeant at arms, according to order, was called to the bar, and having made his excuse, was discharged, paying his fees. After which Mr. Aikman immediately resumed his seat in the house.

Daniel Moore, esq. was afterwards put to the bar, and in his examination acknowledged he was chairman of the meeting, and that he had authorised his name to be signed to the resolutions. In answer to a question, he said he had himself proposed the resolution concerning admiral Duckworth. In his defence he stated, in substance, that he had been applied to in the court of common council to call the meeting, which he did against his own opinion. That he had attended the meeting, when he was put in the chair, and that he objected to all the resolutions, except the one thanking the minority, and the other concerning admiral Duckworth, that his great reason for attending the meeting, and taking the chair was to moderate the expected violence of the resolutions, which he had pointed out to the meeting as a breach of the privilege of the house. On motion Mr. Moore was immediately discharged.

Mr. Alexander Aikman, jun. was called to the bar of the house on Thursday, and after being severely reprimanded for having published the resolutions of the late meeting of the freeholders of this city, was discharged out of custody, paying his fees.

It is stated, in my correspondent's letter, that Messrs. Lunan and Strupar were detained in custody from the 9th to the 14th of December, when they were liberated upon their entering into a stipulation not to insert again the obnoxious resolutions mentioned above. If they had not made this engagement, they would have been committed to prison until the end of the session, and afterwards prosecuted for a libel.

The conduct of the house of assembly, in this affair, has been, not only unwarrantable, and illegal, but indecent also; for, by their former resolutions, they were perpetually crying out their poverty, and deprecating the heavy burdens imposed upon the produce of the island, by the mother country; and, a short time ago, refused to grant the petition of the corporate body of Kingston, who solicited relief towards assisting in the maintenance of the poor, who, from the want of poor laws, are burdened upon Kingston, not only from every parish in the island, but from almost every island in the West Indies.

Notwithstanding this loud groaning, and refusal to acquiesce in a reasonable proposal, of which every individual, much more a body of men, must have seen the necessity as well as propriety; the house of assembly lavished away the three thousand guineas on Admiral Duckworth, in addition to one thousand guineas, before tendered to the admiral, for the purchase of a sword! Nothing has been done for the Admirals Cochrane, and Louis, though it be well known, that the former, in the Northumberland, bore the brunt of the action. Neither has any attempt been made to perpetuate the memory of the late lord Nelson, who was the saviour of Jamaica as well as of all her sister colonies. We may, therefore, ask, why such a splendid testimony of public approbation should have been conferred on admiral Duckworth,

when no notice whatever has been taken of the officers above-named? My correspondent thus resolves the question.—"The fact is, *the members who supported the vote, were intimate friends, and pot-companions, of Admiral Duckworth, and often partook of the festivities of his table.*"

If this explication be just, as it appears to be, both from the singular nature of the case, and the manifest inconsistency between the poverty expressly avowed by the former resolutions of the assembly, and the vote of 3000 guineas, I cannot see with what decency or justice, the power of that house could have been so abused. Surely, the members will not pretend to allege, that the remonstrances of their burdened constituents, constituted a breach of their privileges; nor can they maintain, that this bare-faced act, by which they rescinded their former resolutions, or, at least, falsified them in the eyes of the parent country, was not of a description calculated to call down upon their heads the reproaches of the people whom they represented.

After all, this is a matter which comes home to the bosom of every Briton, in whatever light we may view it. By the laws and usages of this country, which the legislature of Jamaica assumes that it imitates, the subjects enjoy indisputably the right of addressing the sovereign for the removal of his ministers, or for the dissolution of a parliament, when they discover that their representatives have abused the trust reposed in them. Within the experience of many of my readers, similar circumstances have occurred. The freeholders of Jamaica have, therefore, exercised no other than the right appertaining to every British subject, viz to resolve that an address should be presented to his majesty's representative, for dissolving an assembly, which, by a profuse and lavish waste of the public money, and by the most palpable contradiction of their former resolutions, have become self-convicted, and unworthy of public confidence. To call the conduct of men acting under this impression of the improper conduct of their representatives, and appealing with loyalty and reverence to the judgment and justice of their sovereign, a breach of privilege, is a stretch of power, wholly unwarranted by precedent, and unjustifiable upon the received maxims of British policy. If a British house of commons were to offer such violence to the subjects, as to cause to be arrested for publishing proposals for a petition to the sovereign, on account of the wasteful prodigality of that house, without the consent of the other branches of the legislature, I am persuaded, that it would not only exceed the limits of privilege justly allowed to it, but it would also make it impossible for men to define in what privilege of parliament consisted; and wherein it differed from a capricious and wanton exercise of authority. It is to be hoped, therefore, as we are entering upon the age of liberty, that parliament will not overlook this abuse of power on the part of one of its dependent colonial legislatures; and that some inquiry will be instituted relative to the arrests of British subjects, living under the protection of British laws; which arrests, as I am informed, were not only contrary to usage, but even to the example of similar transactions, as recorded in the journals of the house of assembly in Jamaica itself.

MR. BOWLES AND COBBETT.

One word more upon this subject, and I shall have done. An extract from one of Cobbett's letters to a friend reached me too late for insertion in the article which appeared in the last Review, respecting the calumnies which this man has vented against Mr. Bowles. As it shews the malignity of the defamer's heart, together with the inestimably high opinion he entertained of Mr. Bowles, whom he has since traduced, I here insert it without a comment.

"I have read our friend Bowles's pamphlet with great attention. I disagree with him on a very material point. Indeed I am clearly convinced he is mistaken; but his intentions are so good, his views are so truly patriotic, his heart is so perfectly sound, and his mind is so perfectly virtuous, that *I am resolved never to utter, much less to write, (I mean in print) a single word calculated to give him pain.*

His moral reflections would not have disgraced the pen of a Johnson. This is his fort."

SIR HOME POPHAM AND GENERAL BERESFORD.

SIR,—The dispatches received from sir Home Popham respecting the re-capture of Buenos Ayres, are couched in a style of reserve, if not of contradiction, which excites a strong impatience for an account from general Beresford himself, of the circumstances which preceded that disastrous event.

Sir Home Popham says, "that the liberal and beneficent principles upon which the government of general Beresford was conducted do more honour to his majesty's arms, and the character of Great Britain, than if he had resorted to expedients completely within his power, which would have effectually annihilated all the efforts of the enemy, and wrested, probably for ever, these countries from the crown of Spain." What these liberal and beneficent principles of government were, or what those expedients which would effectually have annihilated the efforts of the enemy, we are not told; but in reasoning upon this declaration, we may fairly assume it as an acknowledged principle, to be the duty of an officer to maintain his post by every lawful expedient, so long as it is tenable. For some reasons, however, hitherto unexplained, certain expedients, also unexplained, by which it could have been maintained, were not used; and sir Home Popham feels confident, "that he shall be able to satisfy the lords commissioners of the admiralty," as before stated, "that the liberal and beneficent principles upon which the government of general Beresford was conducted, do more honour to his majesty's arms, and the character of Great Britain, than if he had resorted to such expedients completely within his power."

After having revolved these words over and over in my mind, I can only account for what has happened upon one principle. But to enable your readers to judge how far my ideas are well founded, I shall recapitulate the circumstances from which they are drawn.

Sir Home Popham tells us, that he was on shore at Buenos Ayres so late as the 11th of August, the day preceding the capitulation; of course I consider his communication with general Beresford, and his knowledge of all the events which had taken place up to that period, to have been uninterrupted. He informs us, that on the 31st of July, he learned, by a dispatch from the general, that he was apprehensive of an insurrection. That Pueridon, one of the municipality, appears to have been its greatest organ; that the disaffected assembled every night, and attended to his instructions. That colonel Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service, and on his parole, successfully employed himself in collecting people at Colonia. That terror was established; and every person who refused to contribute his assistance to this conspiracy was threatened with immediate death.

Notwithstanding these previous indications, sir Home Popham relates no precautionary measures, no countervailing efforts against this system of terror, no means of preventing these plots from ripening into effect, between the 31st of July and the 12th of August. I therefore take it for granted that none were used; but that the enemy matured his insurrection at leisure, collected his forces, and attacked us at length with a superiority, all farther resistance to which would have been inevitable destruction; and this sir Home Popham vindicates, as doing more honour to his majesty's arms and the character of Great Britain, than if general Beresford had resorted to expedients completely within his power, which would effectually have annihilated all the efforts of the enemy.

In elucidating this subject, I shall begin by premising, that officers in his majesty's service take their impressions of the line of conduct they ought to pursue, from the sentiments of approbation or disapprobation manifested by his majesty's ministers towards their brother officers, under the circumstanees in which they may happen to be placed. General Beresford and sir Home Popham, had both recently been in England; where they had no doubt witnessed, with the same interest as

every other officer in the service, the proceeding against colonel Picton. They had seen him, for having resorted to expedients within his power, which did effectually annihilate all the efforts of the enemy; and did wrest, for ever, the colony which he commanded from the crown of Spain; accused of having put men to death without a trial, and branded with the exercise of every horrid cruelty that could stain his character as an officer, or degrade him as a man in the estimation of his fellow subjects. They had seen him taken into custody by a king's messenger; examined by the privy council; tried in the court of king's bench; found guilty; placarded as a monster of torture and oppression; and in danger of being torn to pieces by an exasperated populace.

Before I comment on the impressions which these scenes must naturally have made on the mind of general Beresford, I shall compare the situation in which he stood at Buenos Ayres, with that in which colonel Picton was placed at Trinidad. Colonel Picton was left in command of that colony by general Abercrombie, with a garrison of less than 500 men. Among the population which he had to keep in awe, were all the republicans sent away from Martinique and Guadaloupe after we had taken possession of those islands, and all the disaffected subjects banished after the insurrections in St. Vincent's and Grenada. In fact, he had all the revolutionary spirits of the West Indies to deal with, concentered there, as it were, in one focus. They were not long quiet. Hand-bills were distributed among his garrison, offering a large reward to every soldier who deserted; emissaries were constantly employed to inveigle them away, and a camp was formed in the woods for their reception. The reign of terror, too, was established; and conspiracies were hatching in every quarter of the island. Under these circumstances, having detected some of Hompesch's corps, a foreign regiment of which his garrison partly consisted, going over to the enemy with their arms in their hands, he immediately hung them up in the market-place, together with the emissaries who were conducting them. The captain of a Spanish launch, carrying off deserters to the Spanish main, shared the same fate. He issued orders to apprehend every man, white or black, who went from one part of the island to another without an order regularly signed by the commandants of the quarters, whom he himself appointed. He prevented all nocturnal meetings in the capital, by a rigorous police; and thus cut off every possibility of communication among the disaffected, and to use the emphatic words of the commander in chief in the West Indies, "overawed the factious, and saved the colony."

Had general Beresford pursued the same line of conduct; had he immediately hung up that rascal, Puerdon, who was the great organ of the revolution, and who harangued the discontented every night without interruption; had he hanged colonel Liniers by his side, who so successfully employed himself in collecting people at Colloma, and made some other signal and salutary examples, the system of terror would have been counteracted by terror, and the conspiracy have been crushed in the bud.

Unfortunately, general Beresford probably reflected, that if he had resorted to these expedients completely within his power, some specious philanthropic gentleman, versed in the arts of intrigue, and supported by powerful interest, might, when he returned to England, have charged him with murder, of putting men to death without a trial; might have fattened upon these accusations, had lucrative appointments continued to him while they were pending, and his law expenses paid out of the treasury purse, while he was left to pine, the victim of accumulated expense, disgrace, and obloquy. Under these impressions, general Beresford might think it more adviseable to surrender to his open enemy abroad, than to expose himself to the more ruinous attacks of such insidious enemies at home.

Such are the fruits of the system of intrigue and calumny, by which a gallant officer has been persecuted, to whom we owe the salvation of another Spanish colony, under circumstances which commanded the admiration of every man, who knew the situation in which he was there placed. It has often excited my astonishment, that the ingenuity of his calumniator could so far succeed, as to keep the privy council in suspense for three years on the charges before them, and obtain a

verdict of guilty against him in the court of king's bench, because a mulatto thief and prostitute, who would have been hanged by the laws of Great Britain, and was sentenced to be tortured by the judge of the colony, in conformity to the laws of Spain, was, by order of colonel Picton, put on the picquet; a punishment used in our own cavalry for slight offences, when whipping is used for serious offences, and this too, in perfect conformity with the instructions he received from general Abercrombie, to govern according to the laws of Spain, modified in some degree by the milder laws of Great Britain. Tardy justice has at length indeed been done him, by the privy council having dismissed all the charges against him; but the impression his case has made on the minds of military men, will not be effaced till he has received ample reparation for all his suff rings. Then, every officer will again confide in that support from his majesty's ministers, which those who exercise a vigour even beyond the law, when the exigencies of their situations, and the public good require it, are entitled to expect; and by the timely use of which, the British flag might still have been flying on the fort of Buenos Ayres, and the lives of its gallant defenders have been saved. But till then, we must expect no officer to expose himself by stepping one inch beyond the strict line of his duty; to hear of more capitulations; and to be continually complimented on the liberal and beneficent principles which led to them, as doing more honour to his majesty's arms, and the character of Great Britain, than the resorting to expedients which would effectually have annihilated the efforts of the enemy. MANLIUS.

MR. PITT AND THE NEW PLAN OF FINANCE.

Sir,—The new measures of finance opened to the house of commons by lord Henry Petty, on the 29th ult. may be considered the first efficient act of the present administration, and I think, call for our unqualified approbation: for though it is probable that events may falsify some of the noble lord's prospects in detail, the system is itself one of consummate wisdom and prudence, and cannot essentially suffer so long as parliament and government continue firm in their adherence to it. The plan was brought forward by the noble lord, in a speech of equal eloquence and perspicuity; and confirms the report that he had bestowed many hours of the midnight taper upon the formation and correct understanding of the whole. This, sir, you will record with the more pleasure when you call to mind the former opinions you have, in common with the country, held upon the noble lord's talents. But though the noble lord has, in some measure, redeemed himself by his conduct upon this occasion, let not his friends be too sanguine in their expectations, or presume to call him a great financier. To originality, this plan can lay no claim, nor does it require any vast powers of genius to deliver a long set speech upon any given subject, provided time enough is allowed to prepare it in. The only real merit the noble lord is intitled to upon the occasion is the clear and successful application of those "dilapidated means and resources" which were left by his illustrious predecessor;—left him, by that very Mr. Pitt whom this same noble lord, and eighty-eight other members of the last parliament, only twelve months ago, thought wholly unworthy of funeral or monumental honours. What a triumph, sir, is it to us, who, in common with nine-tenths of the nation, saw, and gratefully acknowledged, the matchless patriotism, integrity, and talents of that great man, to behold his bitterest enemies so soon rendered his encomiasts, and themselves constrained to erect to his memory, the most imperishable monument his glorious character can receive! And our triumph does not rest here; for the noble lord, in addition to his ingenuous and manly praise of Mr. Pitt, claimed for Mr. Fox the merit of having supported his great rival in that measure which forms the groundwork of the present plan, I mean the sinking fund. Let it be remembered too, that not only the sinking fund, but the other feature of the plan, the great extent of the war taxes, is also wholly of Mr. Pitt's creation:—so that I am fully justified in repeating, that the noble lord and his

---

* *The division on Mr. H. Lascelles's motion, on the 27th January, 1806, for a public funeral and monument to Mr. Pitt, was ayes 258, noes 89.*

colleagues in office, are intitled to no other credit than that of the successful application of the means left them by Mr. Pitt. At the same time, I am ready to allow that this is praise enough; we want no more from the noble lord;—the country asks no more from the present administration than a liberal and firm practice of the principles of Mr. Pitt; of which line of conduct we hail this measure as an earnest.

How ends then all parliamentary clamour against Mr. Pitt? The memory of few men has been so soon rescued from detraction; and that by the very persons who produced it. The prosperity and glory of the country are now irrevocably blended with the recollection of Mr. Pitt; and future ages, when they behold Great Britain retaining her wonted rank among the nations of the world, will know, that it was by an adherence to his plans that that station was so retained.

Feb. 2, 1807. I am, sir, &c.

PUBLIUS.

REAL ESTATE BILL.

Sir,—The bill about to be brought into parliament, for subjecting real estates to the payment of simple contract debts, though stated by its author, the solicitor-general, as one, the justice and propriety of which can admit of no dispute, will not, I trust, be viewed in that light by parliament or the country: nor can I allow much candour to an assertion, which claims such intuitive merit to a plan which has already been rejected by the grave wisdom of a former parliament.

—It certainly appears extremely plausible at first sight, that all property should be subject to the payment of just debts; and equally unjust that that very property should be protected from responsibility, upon the faith perhaps of which the debt has been contracted. But, sir, it is equally important that some protection should be afforded to posterity against the improvidence of ancestors; that some chance should be given to old families, of surviving the difficulties, as well as the new-fangled doctrines of the times; and above all, that some legal restraint should exist upon that mischievous system of credit, by means of which, the young, the inexperienced, and profuse, are continually rendered the dupes of artful and dishonest tradesmen. And where, let me ask, is the mighty evil produced by the law as it now stands, when every man can in a moment make his landed estate liable, by converting a simple contract into a bond debt? And how few men are there who would rather die in a gaol than resort to this alternative? Yet it is only to extreme cases of this sort that the measure in question can be strictly said to apply.

By the law as it now stands, it may now and then happen that an honest creditor loses a just debt; but this can very rarely happen to those who give (as every honest tradesman ought to do) short credit, and that with proper caution: but by its alteration, many estates of old families would be anticipated, before the possessor can be said to have attained the use of his reason; the next heir would be reduced to beggary; and the system of credit carried to an indefinite extent. Those who have (and who is there that has not?) witnessed the frauds and impositions practised upon young men of fortune by tradesmen, will be inclined to agree with me, that these frauds and impositions rather call for legal restraints, than for the encouragement this measure will afford them. At present, any swindler in a good coat can obtain credit to any amount: nor have I the least doubt, but that the persons so defrauded, contrive to make themselves whole again, in the manner which I remember to have been avowed by a tradesman in one of the universities, who bringing a bill to a young man, containing many articles never ordered by him, coolly replied, that it might be very true, but that there were so many who never paid at all, that those who did, must pay for those who did not.

Having thus briefly noticed some of the objections to this measure, allow me, sir, to add a word or two respecting its source. Of its author, sir Samuel Romilly, it is impossible to think or speak without feeling all that respect which is due to the great talents by which alone he has raised himself to the rank he holds in his profession. But it generally happens that the same seclusion from the world, which can alone qualify a man to obtain the highest honours of the law in this country, unfits him to judge very correctly upon general practical subjects. A lawyer sees every thing

through a very clouded focus, and with a very jaundiced eye; for to judge of mankind or their concerns through the medium of their law suits, were as just as to condemn religion, because of the persecution and bloodshed it has occasioned. A lawyer pities his client, the tradesman who loses his debt; but he has not the means of knowing the utility which a moderate entailment of landed property is of to the country at large; nor is he, perhaps, very unfriendly to that system of credit which fills the coffers of our pleaders. These I know, sir, are the same sentiments which gave so much umbrage to that excellent man, and upright judge, the late lord Keryon: but convinced of their truth, I must go one step farther. Lawyers too, sir, are generally found to have a mighty itch for legislation. The grievances they find stated in their briefs, they charitably suppose attach to all mankind; and we seldom find them safely seated in parliament, before they kindly volunteer their aid to new-model some musty obsolete statute. I trust, however, that the age of innovation is not yet sufficiently ripened, to lead our legislators to condemn a thing merely because it is old, or to adopt its opposite merely because it is new. And looking upon the measure in agitation as one of very questionable propriety, I trust it will be opposed in every stage of its progress, more especially should it reach the upper house, to which its consequences will be found most generally and fatally to apply.—I am, sir, &c.

Feb. 3, 1807. TERRÆ FILIUS.

REMARRS UPON COBBETT'S ATTACK UPON THE TWO UNIVERSITIES.

Sir,—I cannot refrain from noticing an attack, which has been made in Mr. Cobbett's Political Register, upon our two universities, and that too, upon a plea, which will appear to many persons not a little extraordinary—I mean their attachment to literature. After advancing an assertion, which he threatens to prove, "that, *in general*, the time spent in the learning of Latin and Greek, could be more advantageously employed, and that, as a part of *general* education, those languages are worse than useless;" Mr. Cobbett proceeds to menace the two learned bodies with little short of penury and ruin; an effect to be accomplished by the thunder of his eloquence, I believe, about next Lady-day. "Unless," says he, "my proposition can be overset, I shall question the justice, and the policy, of leaving so large a portion of those means, which are so much wanted for the maintenance of our starving parish priests to be wasted at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere;" and he intimates, with malignant satisfaction, what terror will be spread through our collegiate establishments, by the dreadful catastrophe which at present awaits them. "They will find this to be no *jesting*."—But supposing for a moment that the author of the proposition alluded to will hereafter be able to prove the truth of his allegement (and for this we have only his own *affirmation* at present, which few, very few, will be inclined to accept); supposing he can prove, that "the time would be more advantageously employed, if the Latin and Greek languages were not so *generally* taught;" how, after *granting* this position, would it follow from thence that the learned languages ought not to be cultivated, even at *the two universities*? Mr. Cobbett must be well aware, that the majority of those, who enter at college, are designed for one *particular* profession, that of *the church*; and yet still he passes sentence against those honourable societies to which they belong, with all the plenitude of self-complacency, on account of their zeal for erudition. Perhaps *Mr. Cobbett* may suppose, that the cultivation of letters is utterly useless, even to the *clergy*; but I doubt not that every person, who is competent to form a proper judgment upon the subject, will venture to maintain, in *opposition* to Mr. Cobbett, that the cultivation of learning is indispensably necessary, even to the very existence of christianity itself. The evidences in support of our religion are, for the most part, of an historical nature, and must be looked for in the writings of antiquity. We have no reason to expect a repetition of miracles for the confirmation of our faith; and instead, therefore, of looking for *new ones*, we must be content to establish the reality of the *old*. Should literature be discarded from among the bulk of the clergy, by whom it has been supported and fostered, even in the darkest ages, the defenders of our religion would be utterly

unable to repel the assaults of professed unbelievers, or to detect the more insidious subterfuges of those subtle opponents, who, while they profess a regard for the sacred scriptures, endeavour, by their critical *emendations*, to pervert the fundamental doctrines of the christian faith.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Cobbett may reply, that he by no means wishes the study of Latin and Greek to be *altogether* laid aside by the clergy; for, in the hundred and seventeeth page of his last number, he acknowledges, that "*many* of the Latin and Greek authors were really learned men, and he is far from supposing that their works are *never* to be read in their original with advantage." If this be the case, it is to be hoped that he will suspend, for a while the execution of his plenipotent decree, nor doom our two universities to penury, until *he, the author of the Political Register*, shall have favoured those learned societies with a list of such and such books, as may safely be perused by the young academicians, without fear of incurring the pain of his displeasure. At the same time, however, let it not be forgotten that Mr. Cobbett himself is confessedly *ignorant* of the learned languages altogether.*

It appears that the author has been tempted to declaim against the two universities from a motive of the *purest benevolence* towards the poor "starving paris'-priests." Yet, I cannot help remarking, that the head of his fraternity, sir Francis Burdett, has betrayed a disposition not quite so benevolent towards either the parish-priests, or the clergy in general. It will be remembered, that this great and upright statesman, the reformer of wrongs, and the foe to "*peculation*," when he had a seat in the house of commons, proposed a sequestration of the revenues of the church, that he might save his own pocket, by lightening, in some measure, the burthen of taxation. Mr. Cobbett, who is accustomed to speak of his worthy master's sentiments in terms of almost unbounded approbation, and who may, therefore, be supposed to coincide with him in opinion, upon the present occasion, goes to work with a little more prudence; and, instead of openly declaiming against the possession of all ecclesiastical property, he commences hostilities with an attack upon the two universities; for he is well aware, that the interests of our collegiate establishments, are intimately connected with those of the national church. He may, perhaps, be aware too, that, for the most part, the political principles, both of the English church and the English universities, form a perfect contrast to the maxims of certain modern "ruffian reformers." *Hinc illæ lachrymæ:* hence, his abuse of academical establishments; abuse, which, to some of the more illiterate and vulgar of his readers, may, perhaps, appear unanswerable. Yet others, no doubt, of a more liberal and intelligent sort, will be influenced by our author's invectives (if influenced *at all*) in a manner directly the reverse of what he has intended. To *these* it will appear that, by assailing the universities through the medium of literature, he has paid them a far higher compliment than he could possibly have done by the most elaborate encomium.—He has shewn that he is conscious of the mutual support and assistance which they derive from, and lend to each other.

——— Alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicè.

---

* *It were well if Mr. C. would also acknowledge his* political *ignorance, when he ventures to stigmatize our late lamented premier with the titles of the "shallow-pated" and "shallow-brained" minister. Not only the* friends *of that immortal statesman, but even his opponents, and especially* Mr. Fox, *bore abundant testimony to the astonishing depth of his political knowledge. Yet, according to* Mr. Cobbett, *he was destitute even of common sense! From whence then arises this wonderful difference between the testimony of the* author, *and that of* the politician? *It will surely be allowed that the pate and the brains of the one, or the other of these gentlemen, must indeed have been unconscionably shallow, to have given birth (upon the part of* one *of them) to so egregious a blunder! If, however, Mr. Cobbett be prudent, he will beware of provoking the public to drawing comparison betwixt the judgment of Mr. Fox and himself. If this be weighed in the balance together, the appearance of the latter will be almost as ludicrous as the one which he makes when he attempts to prescribe to the two universities how far they shall proceed in the cultivation of literature.*

A correspondent of the author's, who subscribes himself J. B. and who appears ambitious of equalling Mr. Cobbett *himself* in scurrility, makes the following assertion: "It will not, I believe, be disputed, that among all the academics, the clergy are the most infected with *supercilious arrogance*." Since, however, upon an occasion of *this* sort, the affirmation of one man is just as good as that of another, I take the liberty of assuring J. B. esq. (though I have not the honour to be engaged in the clerical profession) that his assertion is not only disputed, but denied altogether. As to an accusation, which he has brought against *all* who have received an academical education, that "they affect to look with contempt upon other men," I shall beg leave to remark, that this is far more generally the case with those *self*-instructed scholars, who, like Mr. Cobbett, have acquired a certain portion of knowledge by the laudable exertions of their own unaided industry, or genius. An academical education is connected with a variety of circumstances, which tend rather to check than to foster self-complacency. By mixing with men, who are equal in merit to himself, and by attending habitually to the instructions of those who are accustomed to shew him his errors, a young man at college is compelled to retain a proper sense of his own imperfections. But, the self-instructed *amateur*, who is indebted solely to his own assiduity for his attainments in knowledge, and who is rarely accustomed to converse with his equals, too frequently becomes unconscious, in process of time, that such a man as his equal exists in the universe. He looks around him as it were from the top of a mole-hill, and believes that he has arrived at the summit of knowledge, when, perhaps, he is but groveling at the foot of the mountain.

Allow me, sir, to request your attention a little longer, while I make a few remarks upon the patriotic fund, against the managers of which Mr. Cobbett has likewise vollied forth an invective, as well as against the clergy, who permitted collections to be raised in their churches, and whom he taxes with "*hypocritical cant*" * —against the newspaper writers who have defended the constitution, and who are charged by him with ignorance, insolence, and impudence † —and, last of all, against all those persons who are *connected* with it, and who, like their spiritual pastors, are pronounced to have been guilty of "*hypocrisy*," or else of "unthinking folly."

In Mr. Cobbett's opinion, it is unjust and impolitic in any set of *individuals* to take upon themselves the task "of *rewarding* or of *honouring*" ‡ the successful achievements of patriotic valour. Permit me, therefore, to offer a few observations upon each of these topics.

1. If it be illegal in any subject to confer a public reward upon one whom he holds in esteem, Mr. Cobbett will doubtless agree with me in censuring that flagrant violation of the law, which *Lord Howick* and the rest of his party were guilty of, when they made a *public contribution* to relieve the distresses of their great man, Mr. Fox, who had reduced himself to penury by his excesses in gaming. Surely, a very great share of blame must be due to Mr. Pitt, since he used no exertions to prevent the establishment of so dangerous a precedent. It may be presumed, that if a similar contribution were proposed with a view to defray the electioneering expenses of Sir Francis Burdett, there would be no lack of zeal on the part of Mr. Cobbett in exhorting *Lord Howick* and the rest of the ministers to interfere, with their authority, for preventing the success of the measure. It was confidently asserted in the newspapers, a short time ago, that a very large sum was already subscribed for the purpose just mentioned, by a friend of Sir Francis Burdett's. Surely, Mr. Cobbett will not attempt to justify the prudence or the lawfulness of this ill-judged mark of respect to Sir Francis. Little should I envy his humanity, or his patriotism, if, while he affects to be shocked at the illegality of raising voluntary subscriptions, (although they be destined, in a great measure, for the relief of the widows and orphans of warriours who have bled for their country), he could venture to stand forward in defence of such a proposal; provided only it were instituted with a view to remunerate a wretch, who has declared that we have nothing worth fighting for. Such a mode of procedure as this would be no example of "*unthinking folly*," but of something much worse; for it would be a specimen of "*hypocritical cant*."

2. Those who object to the patriotic fund, upon the plea that the *king* is the only

---

* *Page* 105 *of his last number.* † *Page* 102. ‡ *Page* 104.

source of *honour*, found their argument upon a mere quibble, the fallacy of which would at once be apparent, if they would define the signification in which they mean the word honour to be taken. If by honour they mean *titles and privileges of rank*, no one can deny the justice of their remark: and their own *assertion* is sufficient to prove that such titles and privileges never *can* be conferred by the committee at Lloyd's, since they are altogether out of their *reach*. If, however, they who make the assertion alluded to, would have the word honour to signify *mark of respect*, the falseness of their statement is, in *that case*, demonstrated by daily and even hourly experience; for *marks of respect* are perpetually conferred both by public bodies * and by private individuals, upon those whom they esteem; nor is it in the power of the most absolute despot to prevent them from doing so. "Man praises man." If Mr. Cobbett be inclined to dispute the reality of so plain an assertion, I beg leave to refer him to the instances brought forward in the sixth book of Cowper's Task. *One* of these instances I cannot refrain from producing; since it may serve to remind Mr. Cobbett of certain circumstances which have occasionally happened at Brentford, and upon which he has often descanted with peculiar satisfaction.

"——— Man praises man. The rabble, all alive
From tippling benches, cellars, stalls, and styes,
Swarm in the streets. The statesman of the day,
A pompous and slow-moving pageant, comes.
Some shout him, and some hang upon his car,
To gaze in 's eyes, and bless him. Maidens wave
Their 'kerchiefs, and old women weep for joy:
While others, not so satisfied, unhorse
The gilded equipage, and, turning loose
His steeds, usurp a place they well deserve."

Surely, when the worthy baronet to whom I at present allude, was conducted to his house by the rabble "*in triumph*," † their design was no other than to confer a mark of *honour*, and a very *public* one too, upon the man whom they had chosen to idolize. Whether their design was *accomplished*, is quite another matter; but, at all events, *Mr. Cobbett* will allow that it was, whatever may be thought by the rest of the nation. *He*, I doubt not, would be well contented to reserve for his *triumphant* fraternity, the right of exercising themselves abundantly in those delectable practices, by which applause may be exemplified in so emphatic and engaging a manner; though he would willingly doom to vengeance every other set of men in the kingdom, and (by parity of reasoning) our representatives in parliament themselves, should they ever hereafter aspire to the privilege of "rewarding or of honouring" merit. But who is the man that shall censure Mr. Cobbett's decree? By assuming such a privilege, they would incur the guilt of usurping an authority which is not truly their own; and, beyond a doubt, they are all far inferior to *their majesties the rabble*, with regard both to power and to prudence. I have the honour to remain your most obedient servant,

A PLAIN ENGLISHMAN.

* *As, for instance, by* Lord Howick *and the rest of our representatives, who are accustomed, upon various occasions, to pass votes of thanks in their collective capacity.*

† *Mr. C.'s own expression.*

NOTICE.

The letter of an admirer of the illustrious William Pitt has been received. He is requested to mention, whether he will allow the excellent inscription to be inserted in the Review.

Alexander Davison must wait until next week, and even longer, should he be sent to trial, as I conceive it to be inconsistent with the principles of justice entertained in a free country, that any man's fate should be prejudicated *before trial*.

MILES will receive a letter from me on Monday; and Albert will find one at the office on that day.

Observations on the present system of military law, as enforced in this country, in the next number.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°7. Saturday, February 14, 1807. Price 10*d*.

TO MY READERS.

I HAVE been diverted from the subjects which I had intended to discuss this week by an unforeseen, and, certainly, a very unexpected circumstance. I have uniformly observed one rule of conduct since the commencement of this work, namely, to abstain from all reflections upon private character. This has been so often repeated in former numbers, that it is not necessary to expatiate upon it in the present instance. However, it is proper to inform you, that on Saturday last I was served with a rule from the Court of King's Bench, to shew cause why a criminal information should not be filed against me, at the suit of the right honourable John Sullivan, for the article which appeared in the Review of February 1st. entitled "the Pictonian Controversy." Since that moment, I can safely allege, that I have been perpetually occupied in the pursuit of those legal measures, which every one of you must know are necessary to rebut a charge of this description: consequently, I have had no time to think of my duties as a public writer. I am, therefore, constrained to postpone until the next week the remarks which I had intended to insert in this number. That my writings are strong and warm I do not pretend to deny; and I trust their strength and warmth have never deviated from the love I bear, and the duty which I owe, to my king and country. It is an unfortunate business; but it is an ordeal which I must *now* pass. The same motives of public justice which have led me to expunge, or rather to suppress, the promised article concerning Alexander Davison, shall now govern my conduct, when I myself am implicated. Mr. Sullivan will be heard, and so shall I: and though I have hitherto taken no interest in the transactions between that gentleman and colonel Draper, in relation to the conduct of general Picton, yet, immediately upon the close of this article, I shall sit myself down, and calmly read over the book of colonel Draper, said to be libellous, and every publication which has appeared on either side of the question. The result of my reflections you shall know hereafter: and I trust my character is too well established in your opinion, and in the opinion of the world, for it to be entertained, that the judgment which I may form thereon shall not be manfully and boldly detailed.

SIR HOME POPHAM AND GENERAL BERESFORD.

Sir,—I am not a very obtrusive man, and am therefore little inclined to give dogmatical opinions on any subject either in private society or in public. I have lived long in the world, and every day's experience convinces me more and more of the truth and propriety of two things, which, after a matured consideration of sixty-five years, I have now laid down as axioms, at least, with respect to my own conduct. The first is, sir, that having never known an instance but one, of a great talker in private society who ever *executed* any great public measure, I am now very much predisposed to look upon all such men as inefficient for any purpose but talking and making a noise. The second is, that, notwithstanding my lord Henry Petty's assertion in the house of commons, on Monday last, of the great use and public utility of reiterating subjects in the same session, I am disposed, on the ground of experience, to differ with his lordship on the principle; that is to say, that the continued discussion of any public measure, either in the parliament or among the people, has the smallest good effect on the question itself, I mean as to illiciting truth the sole legitimate object of every investigation; and for substantiating this opinion, I could, if it were necessary, adduce the greater part of all the popular subjects which

have agitated parliament and the people for these last fifty years, without even being in the least dismayed by the fate of the slave trade bill; it is, therefore, on this ground that I have laid down the second axiom, which is, never to obtrude my opinion on any public measure, in a coffee house, reading-room, or any public meeting, nor even in any large circle of persons for whatever purposes they may have met. But, sir, though I am thus seemingly passive and quiescent in public, my curiosity is not a whit diminished; I attend to all those discussions with as much attention as if I were preparing myself for giving a public opinion; I read all the daily newspapers, the monthly and weekly publications, and among a few of my old cronies who listen to me, I am considered a man of free opinions, and possessing a good budget of anecdote, which they say I give sufficiently well in my own peculiar way. A few of us to whom in our joking club way we have given the name of *shelf men*, met the other evening; and as recent military transactions never fail to set our tongues going, the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the French colonel Liniers became the subject of our conversation. It was among my old friends, and the flattery that steady attention always gives to a speaker, induced me (who do not profess to be more than mortal) to open out a little more on that subject than I am habituated to do. My friends, I believe, saw that I was a little more animated than they had ever before seen me, and I suspect that they conspired with their usual sly knavery and waggishness to encourage me; one proposed a doubt, another a difficulty; one stated a principle, another offered an exception; but these they cunningly contrived to veil under such an air of modesty and self diffidence, as led me insensibly into an argument of considerable length, and very much protracted our usual evening's sitting. When I returned home, I was revolving the subject in my mind, I felt how unwittingly I had been deluded from my habits and resolutions, but reflecting on the importance of the subject, and running over again in my mind the train of reasoning which was made use of that night, I felt a desire the last wet day, Monday, when I could not stir out to take my usual walk, to commit it to paper; and immediately afterwards taking up your Review of Saturday, I saw a letter on the same subject, signed Manlius, which induced me to send you *our* thoughts upon it, which have some coincidence with the sentiments of that acute writer. After we had conversed upon the subject generally, that part I mean which has been the common topic in every circle, viz. whether sir Home Popham and sir David Baird had any private instructions for ordering the expedition against Buenos Ayres; how far they might be borne out in this act of authority by the place being within the circle of their command, supposing that they actually had no public or private instructions; how far they were under any circumstances countenanced in sending so small a force against it, &c. after we had given our opinions upon them and different other parts, I believe, sir, you will hardly believe that a set of *shelf men* could separate without a minute investigation of the conduct and comparative talents of those who conducted the enterprize. The misfortune (perhaps I should say the good fortune) of age is, that it is always sending us even more back than forward; this may appear a paradox, but it is not the less true; our march at a certain period of life is as much retrogade as progressive; for, in the proportion as our bodies move on to dissolution, our minds go back to the past, and thus produce a complete struggle between contraries. I spoke of some of the actions of my old friends in the seven years war, one of our club, who to our general regret now seldom comes amongst us, but who yet possesses all the intellectual vigour of youth, and as good a stock of health as ever was permitted to eighty-three, was mentioned by me in the terms of praise which I thought due to his talents and zeal. My companions were not wanting to their favourites, and, in short, sir, we became perfect *fogies*: upon this, a member who sat by and seemed to take very little interest in any part of our conversation, until my friend who sat next to me, pulling the newspaper which contained sir Home Popham's dispatches out of his pocket, and putting on his spectacles, began to read the second paragraph of that dispatch by way of illustrating what he had just advanced on the subject; and as the great question of our night's discussion turned upon the points contained in that paragraph, I shall extract it for the information of your readers. He says, "*I feel* CONFIDENT *that I shall be able to* SATISFY *the lords commissioners of the admiralty that the liberal and beneficent principles upon which the government of*

general Beresford was conducted, do more honour to his majesty's arms and the character of Great Britain, than if he had resorted to expedients completely within his power, which would have effectually annihilated all the efforts of the enemy, and wrested probably for ever these countries from the crown of Spain." "Pueridon".....My friend was proceeding to read the second paragraph, which begins with this word or name, but suddenly, we saw, to our general great surprise, our hitherto silent companion angrily threw his pipe, which he had almost uninterruptedly smoked all the evening, into the fire, and turning a little in his chair sideways, he crossed his legs, and with some indignation which seemed at first intent on interrupting my reading friend, he hemmed aloud; but, as instantly recollecting himself, and raising his majestic figure, he, in a tone of mildness, and with the greatest urbanity, apologized to the company for this involuntary act of rudeness, by saying that the emotions produced in his mind when first he read those dispatches, particularly the paragraph just alluded to, were so strong, that he had not been able to efface, or even to weaken the impressions that had thus involuntarily caused the disturbance which he had now produced, and for which he was extremely sorry, and asked our pardons. Every member present was conscious of his worth, and though with difficulty brought to engage in conversation; we had, notwithstanding, felt the force of his intellectual power, and, at times, admired his colloquial ability. My friend understood him well, and as a mark of deference, took off his spectacles, folded up his paper, and put it into his pocket. There was a general and profound silence for some time; he saw that we were anxious to hear more from him; and, as no man feels more keenly than he does, he felt, I believe, that he owed something to the society for the partial interruption which he had given to the harmony of the evening; and, as he found that my friend did not resume his subject after he had put the newspaper into his pocket, in a tone of voice, and in a manner peculiarly impressive, he addressed himself to the society nearly as follows:—There is not a single member of this club, who has not known more or less of me, or with whom I am not connected now for upwards of forty-five years. Some of us have served together, and there are few incidents of our lives that are not known to each other. It is not with presumption I speak, but with a conviction of the truth of what I say, when I assert that there is not one individual amongst ye, that ever heard me utter an expression contrary to the honour, reputation, or character, of any man in or out of the service, naval or military; the indignation that I felt on hearing that sentence read by my old friend, and the improper interruption which I gave him by the involuntary emotion which unguardedly followed, were not on account of any irritation which the sentiments themselves produced, much less of any hostility to the officer who penned them. Those expressions taken abstractedly are excellent, and do honour to the mind of any man who feels and knows the true value of "liberal and beneficent principles," acting in their due place, operating in their proper sphere, and regulating, correcting, and restraining, the vices, errors, or luxuriancies of a morbid state of society. But, sir; says he, raising his voice, and directing his piercing eye at me, stable as the principles of justice and humanity are, eternal as God himself, justice, sir, is distributive, and humanity is yet circumstantial. General Beresford, or any man circumstanced as general Beresford was, had two great objects to pursue; either of which he was not for a single instant to lose sight of. He had 1500 British soldiers to protect by his vigilance, exertion, and talent, against an opposing force of many thousands. He had their lives, their welfare, in every point of view to look to, and guard with all the circumspection of a parent; he had what in another sense is perhaps a paramount object to this in his conservation; he had the national character as far as it could be concerned by military prowess, in his custody; he had those two concerns of infinite magnitude both to manage and preserve. He had yet more, sir, turning his face round to the different individuals, he had a superadded delicacy annexed to his charge, because if he was at all aware of the tender ground on which those who directed the expedition stood, he had their reputations and fortunes more particularly in his keeping, knowing as we all well do, that success like charity covers a multitude of errors. General Beresford may not have been prepared for the whole of the dangers that awaited him; because, if the difficulties foreseen were of this extent, there can be no excuse, no palliation whatever, no extenuation offered in fa-

vour of the two commanders sending so inadequate a force; but of this there is no proof or appearance whatever. The town soon capitulated, and the army was made prisoners; the general had, therefore, a full opportunity of surveying the objects of his defence, and of understanding completely the entire latitude of his situation, and of his ways and means. My old friends, all of you know without wearying your patience with circumstances, that *his* was a critical situation when nothing but extraordinary vigour, singular and unceasing activity, joined to the most unwinking vigilance could command success; all was at stake; on one side, all the horrors of insurrection, assassination, murders and massacres, cruel captivity, loss of life, loss of honour, loss of every thing national or personal. Need I load the dark side of this picture more; my friends will forgive me; my blood runs cold on the consideration of it. I have said, and I hope my old comrades, says the old gentleman, (his features all assuming the most benevolent appearance) believe what I have said, that justice is distributive, and that humanity is circumstantial. Shall I insult the good sense of my friends by asking, were the lives and fortunes, the personal conduct, and national character of British subjects to be put in jeopardy by the treasonable conduct of a French sans culottes officer? were the future horrible consequences which every man of common sense and understanding must have foreseen from a compromise or capitulation with such fellows as Pueridon and Liniers to be put in competition with the lives of two men who had completely and bonâ fide, according to the established laws of war, forfeited all right to safety and protection? I see it raises a smile, humiliating and sickening, as the bare mention of it is on the countenances of my friends. Where are the instances of vigour and exertion shewn in any part or place of general Beresford's defence? Sir Home Popham's dispatches are long, and in some parts minute and circumstantial; but on this part there is a dead silence. He enumerated, with the greatest distinctness of information, all the plots and plans of those conspirators, but not a single act of prevention. And all this he says he will be able, he *feels confident* that he will be able to convince the English nation, was a conduct more just, more honourable to that nation and his majesty's arms, than if he had, by the greatest display of all the qualities which legitimately constitute a great man or a great officer, effectually annihilated all the effects of the enemy, and wrested for ever these countries from the crown of Spain."—Why my friends (still rising in animation and eloquence) why did I express my indignation in a manner so unbecoming? Can I listen to those things unmoved, like a stick or a stone? Can I hear such nonsense, such rank and contemptible nonsense from the pen of any officer of any name or character, without giving way to the feelings which agitate my whole frame? What! to have it trumpeted to us in a public dispatch, that an officer, under such circumstance, had it "*completely within his power fully to perform the* object of his expedition, *to have effectually annihilated all the* efforts of the enemy!!"—Good God, what do we hear? annihilate, I say again, all the efforts of the enemy, only by having recourse to the expedients, which all the established laws of war, the insidiousness and treachery of his prisoners, so fully entitled him to!! The old gentleman's animation was so great, and his exertions so inadequate to his strength, that he could not proceed, and a general murmur running through the room, the old man still on his legs; after a few minutes of profound silence, which followed the buz, our old friend said—I am exhausted, and fell back into his chair.

We were all solicitously attentive to our old companion. Some of us drew nearer to him; he waved his hand, as much as to say, don't press on, and taking out his pocket handkerchief, he wiped the drops of perspiration that flowed down his forehead. We were all yet silent, and the old man, yet weak and enervated by his exertion, faulteringly resumed. My friends, I do not wish that I should leave your company with your minds full of those impressions which the unusual warmth of my language may have created; I may have implied censure on general Beresford, but it is a duty which I owe to that officer, and to my own character, to explain (while yet I have any remaining strength,) myself more fully on that question. General Beresford's reputation is at issue, every thing that a man or a soldier values is at take. Let me not therefore be misunderstood. Let me not be supposed to imply, that while I said that he left undone those things which in my opinion he should have

done, that his conduct is to be attributed to ignorance, to negligence, to inactivity to a wanton abuse of those opportunities, or those expedients, which sir Home Popham says, were completely within his power, and would have preserved his post and maintained the honor of the British arms. My friends, I hold that it is totally impossible, without considering general Beresford an arrant fool, or a rogue, to assert that he did not act on these grounds. With the fullest conviction of the contrary, I believe that his conduct was, in a certain point of view, or according to the principles and natures which I take the liberty to assign, irreproachable, or at least, that if that conduct may still be exposed to censure, that the great weight of odium or unpopularity, which always attaches to an unsuccessful officer or minister, must be removed from it. We are all pretty constant sojourners in London. We take our daily walks in the streets, and we hear and know what is passing, both from papers and the communications of our friends. I have sat here many a day to hear the extraordinary stories that were every day propagated respecting an officer, of whom many, who from local knowledge, and personal acquaintance, ought to be competent to understand the subject itself, and the chief actor himself; I say such persons have spoken highly of the officer to whom I allude, and whom you will anticipate before I name, Colonel Picton.—The peculiar situation of this officer when he was appointed to the government of the island of Trinidad, I have no doubt every one is acquainted with. We have all heard, and we have all read the authenticated documents which have been printed and published. We all remember the dreadful situation of the West Indies, in the year 1797, and the preceding years. We all know what a situation Trinidad must have been in, from its being the asylum for all the murderers, robbers, and seditious persons, who had escaped from the other insurged islands. We are perfectly acquainted with its population, which, if I recollect rightly, was 20,000 of all nations, colours, and descriptions. We know that 498 miserably ill disposed soldiers, part French negroes, and part German deserters, constituted the whole of the force. Every one of us, I think, has read sir Ralph Abercromby's instructions. Our sovereign's instructions to him how to regulate his conduct have also been published. All these, as I said, authenticated papers are before the public. And yet my friends, what have we not seen? What have we not heard? What, alas, have I not frequently heard reiterated in this room, at this fire-side? His character, as a man, vilified to the very lowest degree, charged with every species of tyranny and brutality. At first we all wondered; the most cautious and sceptical amongst us was beginninng to waver, until at last, when a rigorous examination was entered upon, both by the privy council and the courts of law, we find it proved, by the most irrefragable evidence, that his conduct as a soldier was the most active, just, and vigilant, and that in every circumstance and situation he conducted himself like an honest upright able man—preseved the colony, and resigned it over to his successor in peace, opulence, and general content. All the active and energetic measures, which, as an officer, he was completely justified in making use of, were construed into acts of wanton murder. The execution of spies and suborners of his troops, the acts of justice enforced by the Spanish law, all these things distorted into wicked and cruel vindictive oppressions. Three years, as far as I remember, has he remained in that state, walking the streets of this city, pointed at by every one, as the murderer, the torturer, caricatured in all the picture shops, his fortune wasted to nothing in supporting his defence, assailed by a host of Spanish informers, hangmen, slave-drivers, perjurers, rogues, and whores, of all descriptions, brought from that island and the Spanish main.

And my good friends for what? for doing precisely what you conceive I have so strongly and harshly arraigned general Beresford for having left undone,—"*for having resorted to expedients completely within his power, which did effectually annihilate all the efforts of his enemies, and did wrest, and I trust for ever wrest, the colony of Trinidad from the crown of Spain.*" The laws of his country have now pronounced that these expedients were just, were lawful expedients. But let me ask you, my friends, at what a penalty were all those arduous things done by colonel Picton? Loss of time, total loss of fortune, worse than all, *loss of confidence*. My friends, we know what actual service is. We know the peculiar and extraordinary situations into which actual service often throws a man—where all is at stake. Let

those persons who in this happy country go to their beds every night in perfect security, and rise up protected by the vigilant, steady arm of the law; let those persons, I say, enjoy their fortunate situations without alloy. Let them not go to scenes of murder, of anarchy, and devastation. They know nothing of them; long may this boasted land continue so—let them not rashly condemn men who are every hour exposing their life and health to confirm and secure their peace and their prosperity. But I am becoming loquacious, let me hasten to the conclusion,—general Beresford was in this country as well as we. He had frequent opportunities perhaps of having colonel Picton pointed out to him, and hearing, no doubt, his atrocities painted in their highest colours. Let me ask you, when he found himself in pretty nearly a similar situation, what must have been his reflection? let us examine our own hearts. Driven from the presence of his sovereign, persecuted by the very men from whom he had received the highest encomiums for his able conduct; shall we not allow that this iniquitous and ungrateful return must have some little effect upon general Beresford's mind? I say it is impossible but it must.—I say that upon no other ground can I account for his conduct; no my friends, annex the greater belief to those motives which I think were the sole governing sources of his conduct, when I find that the complection even of his majesty's present government seems, as far as we can infer from their actions, still inimical to colonel Picton. I have not heard, that, notwithstanding his acquittal by the privy council, on the invariable opinion which every man now seems to entertain of his conduct, that any mark of attention has been shewn to him, that no one retributory offer, as far as I can learn, has been made; that he is obliged to sit down, with his bundle of virtues on his back, content that he was not sent to the scaffold. I believe, in short, as the author of the letter in Mr. Yorke's Review, which I have read with attention, that general Beresford preferred an *open foe* to a secret domestic enemy, or, that under the strong conviction, that he should meet a similar reward to colonel Picton, had he resorted to the same means, he chose that line of conduct which he thought would be most approved by his sovereign and his confidential servants." Our old friend here bowed to us, and the night advancing far beyond our accustomed hour of sitting, we arose and retired contemplative to our respective homes.

AN OLD FIELD OFFICER.

THE MILITARY PLAN.

To the right hon. Mr. Windham.—Jan. 30.

Sir,—As every well-wisher to his country is now called upon for his most strenuous exertions towards the salvation of it, I take the liberty (as I am old and infirm) of offering my services in the manner I am capable of, in giving you a few hints upon your present military measures. Do not suppose I am a mere opposition man; I candidly confess, I am hostile to every thing subversive of the interests of my poor devoted country.

I suppose you have read, or heard of a letter in the Morning Post of the 27th inst. signed Candidus,—the subject, *your military system*. If you have had resolution enough to deny yourself that satisfaction, I dare say, some "d—d good-natured friend or other" will explain its contents to you. Candidus is both your friend and flatterer: he gives the most accurate and alarming proofs of the pernicious and certain destructive effects of every thing you have hitherto proposed; that no increase can arise from it, except in expense, which, in the lives of the present generation, will amount to much more than a counterbalance to the sinking fund. By thus giving you warning, he is your friend.

By his comparative statement of men enlisted under Mr. Pitt's system and yours, though greatly to the advantage of the former, in point of numbers, still he flatters you, by calling them, "*men enlisted under Mr. Windham's plan*," when it is well known to every officer in his majesty's service, that every one of those men would have enlisted if you and your plan had never existed,—that not one recruit in a thousand ever asks a single question about *time* or *place*, but merely the bounty and regiment, that no difference has as yet appeared in the description of recruit of the present day and two years ago; that all you have urged in favour of enticing *decent*

men into the service, will prove to be fallocious, unfil you can check the improper interference of our merchants, manufacturers, artizans, &c. &c. &c. If you offer bounty, pay, and pension, and a speech into the bargain, they maliciously and wantonly destroy the effect of all your philanthrophy and patriotism by that infallible charm, *increase of wages and their own fire-side*, to those men who ought to be *defending* their country, instead of enriching it. Military men will tell you, that none but the *idle*, *dissolute*, *unfortunate* run-away apprentices and deserters, fill up our recruiting columns. They will tell you, that the returns laid before the house of commons are erroneous, *if not worse;* and if some one of the most capable members was *really* to investigate them, your countenance, hitherto the index of honesty and integrity, would be covered with shame and confusion. Take a hint in time; assert your natural detestation of duplicity, by acknowledging and amending your error. Let me ask whether the men who now volunteer from the garrison battalions, are not included in the weekly recruiting returns? I hope, and believe not; though confidently asserted by numbers of the most respectable characters. Is it true, that those men are the refuse of the late *despised* additional force? Men whose offers for general service were rejected at the time by the commanding officers of the first battalions, for various good reasons, such as being *too old*, or *under size*, but who nevertheless, in the great dearth of men, might do very well for home service! Are these the *recruits* we have now to boast of as owing to the *ameliorated condition* of the soldier? I cannot, I will not believe it.—One question more, are there not ten times as many half-pay officers employed on the recruiting service, with an advance of 40*l.* to each, as they have altogether raised recruits since the 25th October, notwithstanding the encouragement held out to this *legalized crimping*, to the great injury of the regular recruiting? Those officers, and even men not in the service, receive five guineas for every recruit, clear profit; the regular parties have only *three*. The former is paid almost the whole at the time of intermediate approval; the latter must wait until his recruits is finally approved, perhaps in Scotland or Ireland. If this is the case, it will not occasion any increase in the number of recruits raised, but only an alteration in the mode of procuring them.

The whole fraternity of crimps is now honorably and legally introduced into the recruiting service; a set of the most infamous, hardened, and impudent rascals that ever injured or disgraced a country; and this under the auspices of Mr. Windham!!! the man who has so often charmed the attentive and admiring commons, by his invectives against their diabolical practices. You have, sir, been grossly imposed upon, or you wink at the imposition. Rouse yourself once more; vindicate the opinion of your friends and admirers, by a candid confession and retraction of your error. Do not let your judgment be any longer imposed upon by the opinion of a few military emperics; seek for others more capable and less parasitical: demand the truth, and you will obtain it. Thousands, then, who are sensible of your talents and private excellence, will joyfully support you in your endeavours to rescue the country from its present disgracefully defenceless state. I am, sir,

Your sincere well-wisher,
A HALF-PAY OFFICER.

IMPORTATION OF THE CHINESE INTO TRINIDAD.

Sir,—Amongst the endless variety of political speculations, which exceed the visions of the celebrated knight of La Mancha in absurdity, and without any interesting or amusing circumstance to apologize for the distortion of human genius, is the curious scheme of populating the island of Trinidad with a new race from the Antipodes, and of propagating the religion of Confucius in the neighbourhood of the Oronoque.

Two hundred Chinese, picked up at the Portugueze settlement of Macao, the scum and refuse of that extraordinary people, have lately been transported to Trinidad: and, as if it were intended, by the planners of the enterprize, to increase propensities and dispositions contrary to nature, which are known to obtain, to a most lamentable extent, amongst that corrupt people (even in their native country), the cargo was composed wholly of males, without a single female;—a most curious foundation for a new colony.

On the arrival of this happy selection at Trinidad, where no previous arrangement had been made for their employment or support, the governor and council, after serious and long deliberation, at length came to a resolution (the wisest, under the circumstances of the case, that they could have adopted) to disperse them as labourers, on their own account, amongst the different sugar planters, who were disposed to hire them, at the rate of eight Spanish dollars per month, and provisions. The whole of the 200 were disposed of in this manner, in lots of from ten to twenty each; and were employed separately from the negroes, that the proprietors might have an opportunity of estimating the real value of their labour.

After an experience of four months, it has been most satisfactorily ascertained, that they are totally inadequate to the business of field labour, or the cultivation of sugar plantations; as, the quantum of work they perform would barely cover the expense of providing them with provisions, independent of the exorbitant rate of the hire; and it would be very easy to prove, that a planter, who should undertake to cultivate and manufacture sugar with such hands, would do it at a certain loss of from two to three hundred per cent.

These people have neither habits of industry, nor disposition to labour; and their very appearance in the cane fields, loitering under their *silk parasols*, is a kind of masquerade, or caricature, so ridiculous as to excite the laughter of every one: and it has a tendency to serious consequences, as it affords a most discouraging example to the negroes who see them (with much apparent discontent) superiorly fed, and extravagantly paid, as a reward for their idleness, and frequent inebriety: and I should not omit mentioning another most important consideration, viz. that the morals of the lower classes are not likely to benefit much by the amalgamation of such corrupt materials, and the frequent example of depravities hitherto little known, even in that unfortunate colony.

The experienced and intelligent inhabitants of the colony have wearied themselves, in vain conjecture, to discover the object of so expensive a public speculation, when chance, or the activity of the custom house officers, made a discovery, which afforded, at least, probable data to reason from.

In consequence of some suspicious circumstances occuring, the ship which had brought so valuable an addition to the society of the colony was examined, and found to be loaded with contraband articles to an immense amount; and suspicions have, in consequence, arisen, that the colonists were but a pretext to cover an illicit trade equally injurious to the interest of the honourable company, and to that of the merchants of Trinidad; where articles of Indian manufacture and produce (legally purchased at the honourable company's sales) cannot be disposed of, as the market had been glutted by this contraband trade.

If the planners of this curious scheme be allowed to continue their speculation, it is to be hoped that proper precautions will be employed to prevent the repetition of a criminal abuse, the consequences of which are ruinous to the mercantile interests of that colony.

Feb. 11th. A TRINIDAD MERCHANT.

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

Without entering into the merits or demerits of the slave trade, apprehending that the most serious consequences will ensue to this country from its immediate and precipitate abolition, and involve a great many of the West India proprietors and planters in certain ruin, as also their connexions in England; and since it will affect in a very high degree our shipping interest, and being of opinion, that in all *great* state measures, the propriety or expediency of which is in the least *doubtful*, common prudence requires that none should be adopted, without the utmost caution and circumspection; and wherever it is practicable, *that* measure should be preferred, which should possess the benefits of experience, be least hazardous to the national welfare, and also least injurious to the parties affected by it—I beg leave (through your patriotic and most excellent paper) to suggest a plain and simple measure, which I think would have these advantages. Though no friend to the slave trade, nor in the least interested in it; having attended to the debates in parliament, as

well as the publications on the subject, the sum of which is comprized in the masterly letter of Mercator, in your Review of the 6th December last, in which the danger, impolicy, and folly, of the hasty and rash measure of an immediate abolition of so important a trade, are most luminously displayed, and presuming that the most zealous of the abolitionists, in the least alive to the interests of the nation, as well as those of the West India proprietors and planters, and the merchants and ship-owners concerned in the trade, would not object to, but even prefer, a *gradual* abolition. I propose, that a licence should be taken out for the voyage of every ship (navigated according to Mr. Wilberforce's act) and bond be given for a *considerable* sum, that the slaves be landed in some port of the British islands in the West Indies, or the American continent subject to his majesty—that *all* slaves so imported, should be sold by public auction (under a penalty of 100l. per *slave* if sold otherwise; one half to the informer, one quarter to the governor, the rest to the king)—that a duty of *two and a half per cent.* be paid on the amount of every such sale, and that this duty be *increased* annually after the rate of two and a half per cent. on the first day of the year, for the ensuing *twelve* years, at which period the trade to cease, and be for ever abolished.

This would obviate all objections; the government would have time to see its effects, and to make the necessary arrangements, with all the other foreign naval powers, for the accomplishment of the total abolition (without which, this country *must* become the victim of its philanthropy)—it would give time also to the proprietors and planters to make *their* arrangements for the final event; as also to the British ship-owners, merchants, and mortgagees—and the slaves would, by becoming daily of more value to the planter, receive every possible attention, care, and indulgence in their treatment, and so as to preserve the stock in the natural way, and obviate the necessity of drawing fresh supplies from Africa; and since sir William Young, in his late publication, values every slave at fifty pounds each, and that in 1802, the 155 *British* ships exported 37,234 slaves from Africa (of which, 28,149 to the *British* settlements) such an *increasing* duty would produce a considerable revenue to the state.

February 10, 1807. VERAX.

MR. PITT AND MR. FOX.

"The glorious and immortal memory of Mr. Fox," which has been eternally chimed in our ears, induces me here to record the political virtues of that great statesman, as detailed by a personage not less virtuous than he was. The following is extracted from a pamphlet, now out of print, and extremely scarce, entitled, "Two Pair of Portraits, presented to all the unbiassed Electors of Great Britain, and especially to the Electors of Westminster. By John Horne Tooke."

William Pitt, second son of Lord Chatham,
Charles James Fox, second son of Lord Holland, } of diametrically opposite *principles* and *practices*.

Both commoners. Both presumptive heirs to a peerage.
Both following the lessons and examples of their respective progenitors;

Virtutem *ex hoc* verumque laborem:
Fortunam *ex illo*.

Fox.—Entered early on the turf, at gaming clubs, &c.

Pitt.—Pursuing early the painful study of the laws and constitution of his country.

Fox.—Introduced whilst a boy under age into parliament, and speedily (though possessing a good fortune) to the lucrative office of a lord of the admiralty; in combination and confederacy with lord North, and those men who persecuted and finally threw away America, and who by their despotic principles, unconstitutional conduct, and corrupt profusion, are the cause of all our past disgrace, and present aggravated burdens.

Pitt.—Pursuing his laborious profession at the bar, and (though without fortune) refusing all office from both parties in administration, though invited and courted to accept it by Mr. Fox and others.

Fox.—By daily and unintermitted attendance, for years, at clubs and taverns, by noise, clamour, and party-violence, by intrigue, by hand-bills, by haranguing mobs, and all the low arts too often attendant upon very popular elections, he obtained, and struggles hard to hold, a seat for Westminster.

Pitt.—By a choice congenial with his character, he solicited and obtained a quiet and honourable seat for the university of Cambridge; who revere and love his character, for they know it, having educated him.

Fox.—His *friends* plead his *youth*, bad example, and early bad connexions, as the only excuse they can offer for his conduct during all the first years of his political life.

Pitt.—His *foes* were most violent against him, when they had nothing but his *youth* to object. That same youth which is the only excuse attempted for the acknowledged *bad* conduct of the one, is alone held forth *by the same men*, as sufficient to tarnish the *good* conduct of the other.

Fox.—By every art, intrigue and contrivance, he studies to banish from the minds of men all public motives and public principles, in exchange for party and cabal, for political and family connexions.

Pitt.—With virtue and public principle, he dares, (as his father before him nobly declared)—"*to look the proudest connexions of this country in the face.*"

Fox.—His foes cast in his teeth the old proverb of—"*Train up a child*," &c. and reproach him with following, but too consistently, his original principles, and sticking too closely to the pattern and practices of his father.

Pitt.—When his foes attempt the bitterest reproach against him, they endeavour to make it believed that he has quitted his original principles, and cast behind him the example and practice of his father.

Fox.—Sold to Mr. Jenkinson * the sinecure place of clerk of the pells in Ireland, worth full 3000*l.* a year, (a reversion formerly procured for him by his father, the late lord Holland) in order to put some ready money into his own pocket.

Pitt.—Refused to apply to himself the sinecure place of clerk of the pells in England, of full 3000*l.* a year, with a considerable share of patronage: but appointed colonel Barre to it, in order to save the nation a pension of 3000*l.* a year, formerly granted to colonel Barre, with the concurrence of Mr. Fox, by an administration in which Mr. Pitt had no share, and in which Mr. Fox was secretary of state.

Fox.—In connexion and in office with lord North's administration, he vehemently vociferates in the house of commons, that the people have *no voice* but only within the walls of St. Stephen's.

He asks—"Who are the people?"

And answers—"The parliament!"

Out of office, and in coalition with the same lord North, he daily harangues the mob from the hustings, and endeavours by the clamours of hired groundlings to drown the voice and decisions both of people and senate.

Pitt.—Acknowledges a voice of the people distinct from that of parliament. And when two opposite factions corruptly, greedily, and infamously united to form a majority in parliament, in order at once to overpower both king and people, he made a constitutional, honourable, and *effectual* appeal to that voice, without the walls of the house of commons: and by the combined support of king and people (combined, *as they always should be*, for their mutual interests) he upholds undegraded the salutary authority of the sovereign, and maintains inviolate the constitutional rights of the people.

Fox.—The author, contriver, companion, and (to this very day) defender of col. Luttrell's election for the county of Middlesex. Who, at that time, in parliament, vehemently argued, and wickedly decided, and even now contends, that the votes

---

* *Mr. Fox exchanged it for a pension of* 1700*l. a year, for thirty-one years: because a pension for so long a term certain, was much more saleable, and more valuable than a much larger sum for an uncertain life.*

of two hundred and ninety-six freeholders, once given for colonel Luttrell, should prevail to seat him in parliament as representative of Middlesex, against the votes of eleven hundred and forty-three undisputed freeholders, who had, at three different elections, repeated their suffrages for Mr. Wilkes.

Pitt.—Reproached by Mr. Fox, because, at a contested election for Westminster, where 5998 votes appeared for sir Cecil Wray, and 6233 for Mr. Fox, leaving only a majority of 235 upon a poll of 12,231 voters, Mr. Pitt countenanced a scrutiny into the legality of the votes on both sides; he being of opinion, that the injury to the real electors is the same, whether decided (as in the case of Middlesex) that an evident and undisguised minority shall elect, or that non-electors shall, by false votes, be permitted to give a sham majority, and, by purposely protracted delay and chicane, elude all detection.

Fox.—Without any avowed, or even professed public principle as his object, declares for party; and that often changed.

Pitt.—Without the prosciption of any individual, as such, declares for principles; and those religiously adhered to.

Fox.—Three *times* in connexion and in administration with lord North; and twice in opposition to him. Therefore, according to Mr. Fox's public declarations, lord North has, at two different times, been a blunderer, a slabberer, and deserving the axe; Mr. Fox consents to be infamous if ever he is connected with him, or trusts himself alone in a room with him: and at three other times this same man is his dear and honourable friend, with whom he will stand and fall, intitled to the highest offices of the state, and at least to an equal share of the patronage and plunder of the nation.

Pitt.—Never in connexion with lord North, nor partaker, like Mr. Fox, in any of the guilt of any part of his administration or principles. Yet never the accuser of lord North, nor ever his defender. Reprobating his conduct, it is true, but sparing his person. Too classical and too moral to apply to *principles* the precept of "*inimicitiæ breves,*" which relates only to *individuals* and their venial offences: for what fellowship has light at any time with darkness; and what enmity should ever be laid down, but that which should never have been taken up. And though Mr. Pitt has never declared it (any more than he has declared he will never commit a murder), yet he is incapable, we may venture to foretel, of being ever found in coalition either with lord North or Mr. Fox.

Fox.—In coalition with lord North, cabals by a factious majority in parliament, to prevent the mutiny bill, and to stop the necessary supplies for the nation; that the distress and danger of national affairs, both at home and abroad, for money, credit, and defence, against foreign enemies, might compel both king and people to admit our domestic enemies, Fox, North, and faction, into all the lucrative offices and governance of the state.

Pitt.—Risques popularity, and the loss of office, to raise the necessary supplies, and impose unwelcome taxes on the people; in order to rescue the finances and credit of the country from the distresses and (otherwise inevitable) ruin brought upon them by the enormous debt and arrears contracted by lord North and faction.

Fox.—Engaged in a fruitless and impossible attempt, to raise the finances of his party to a level with their own boundless profusion and prodigality.

Pitt.—In spite of all factious opposition, has already, by an economical reform of abuses in the expenditure, and an active and enlightened mode of receipt, raised the revenues of the nation so much above its frugal ordinary occasions, as to be able to apply some portion towards the discharge of the national debt; and at the same time to hold the country in such a formidable posture of defence, as to secure it from all hostile menace and insult.

Fox.—When minister, planned, contrived, introduced, and by a factious majority carried through the house of commons a bill to take possession of all the patronage and property of the East India Company; in order to establish a firm and permanent system of complete and irresistible parliamentary corruption, to bind, in everlasting chains, both prince and people.

This grand and audacious effort of human impudence and factious depravity, was

defeated once and for ever, by a happy co-operation and junction of king and people.

Pitt.—When minister, with consummate ability, moderation, and caution, digested and introduced into the house of commons, a bill to restore to the people their just right of a fair representation, and permanently to rescue the parliament from all future corruption and faction.

This salutary attempt *(the first of its kind by a minister)* was defeated, for the present, by Fox, North, and Co. but must hereafter succeed, because equally necessary and essential to the true interests and security both of king and people.

Fox.—Accuses Hastings, *on conjecture* of fraud and peculation, in his management of the affairs of the company: yet defends Powell and Bembridge, *convicted* of fraud in his father's accounts with the government.

Impeaches Hastings for ministerial corruption, and profusion in his administration of affairs in the East Indies; yet coalesces, and enters *again* into office with lord North; after ten times greater corruption and profusion in his administration of affairs at home.

Impeaches Hastings for political misconduct in his government; who, unaided and unassisted by his country, defended and saved all the distant possessions committed to his charge, and left them in a situation, which is the wonder of the world, and the only and last resource even of his accusers and judges: yet unites in dishonourable confederacy with lord North; who, leaving the East Indies, and the West Indies, and Ireland, and England, and our commerce and connexions in Europe, to shift for themselves, directed and confined the whole overstrained force and anticipated revenues of this country to one single object, as absurd as wicked; wantonly insulting, inhumanly persecuting, and finally losing America, and *unhinging* Ireland; leaving his own country, after an administration of fourteen years, overloaded with taxes, overwhelmed with funded and unfunded debt, both at home and abroad in the utmost disorder, derangement, debility and contempt.

Paints fictitious cruelties, with the insinuated connivance of Mr. Hastings, by his distant agents on the natives of Indostan: and commits real atrocious cruelties by known hired ruffians, on his own constituents in our streets at home.

Pitt.—Approving, justifying, and praising *much* of the conduct of Mr. Hastings, and, with irresistible force of argument, refuting many of the malicious attacks of his enemies; yet blaming *some* part of his apparent conduct: neither pursuing nor protecting him; and *for the sake of national character, and the honour even of the accused*, leaving the investigation, and result upon the whole of his conduct, to the unbiassed determination of that tribunal which alone is adequate to the decision.

For.—Praise on any of the best measures of his adversaries never extorted from him but once, viz. for the late transactions in Holland: and this extorted praise, upon *principles* the most diabolical, and with *declarations* of those principles the most absurd; thereby disabling himself for ever from being minister of any country in any times: for what foreign power would at any time listen to any offers, or conclude any treaty, or pay any regard to complaints, made by a man who had the effrontery publicly to avow, that neither justice, nor the law of nations, nor treaties, nor good faith, should be the rule of a minister's conduct towards other states, but only the immediate political interest of his own country, in open defiance and violation of them all.

Pitt.—Listening with silent and calm composure to Mr. Fox's reiterated reproaches of ministerial indolence and neglect with respect to Russia: whilst, without any apparent effort of the minister or of the country, he had already prepared an important lesson for that sovereign in future, and secured disappointment to all the aggrandizing hostile schemes, and manifest disaffection to this country, of that ungrateful potentate. Not, like Mr. Fox, declaring he had a peace in his pocket, which he could never effectuate; but surprizing Europe with the sudden *execution* of the *final object* of alliances, before even a negociation towards any alliance was suspected: and then, in prudent and disdainful silence, permitting Mr. Fox to cover himself with all the contempt and abhorrence which his avowed political principles must inspire in every honest mind; himself acting both publicly and privately from very different motives

and possessing a justification which (whenever it shall with propriety be brought forward) will be, we may venture to foretel, of a very different complexion from that, to which Mr. Fox was willing, with disgraceful panegyric, to ascribe his conduct.

Fox.—After having been for years, as one of the lords of the admiralty, uniformly, and without a single exception, the most violent declaimer and adherent of lord North in the house of commons, upon every measure and question against the liberties of the people; and especially for the power of that house to punish *ad libitum*, without any other formality or trial than a vote; he disagreed with him, and resigned his place, *apparently* on political and public grounds, and most grossly and personally abused him. In a few weeks, however, he returned again to lord North's service and politics, having obtained (what was indeed the real motive of his defection) a *promotion* from the *admiralty* to the board of *treasury*, with an additional salary. In February 1774, he again disagreed with him, and divided the house against him, with the same motive as before; but apparently because lord North would not consent, as illegally as unconstitutionally, to commit the printer, *Woodfall*, to Newgate, by the vote of the house of commons: and the next time that he came into office with lord North, instead of one of the lords of the treasury, we find him joint *secretary of state*. Even in opposition, and affecting hypocritically to be the *man of the people*, his arbitrary and unconstitutional principles remain in full force; and it is but lately that he pressed the house of commons, though in vain, to exercise the power of commanding the attorney-general to prosecute a printer, in their own name, and by their own assumed authority.

Pitt.—Though minister, and falsely and infamously libelled, has never employed the power of the house of commons to punish his fellow-citizens without trial, *by vote*. He would not consent (though urged to it by Mr. Fox) that the house should command the attorney-general to prosecute; but maintained that it should constitutionally address the king to give his directions to his own officer: for he knows, and by his conduct acknowledges, that the house of commons is no court of criminal jurisdiction, and that it can originate no criminal process, except the constitutional and regular proceedings in parliament by impeachment or attainder. He knows that the attorney-general has an *official* seat in the house of lords, and that their officer and the king's, cannot be liable to any orders of the house of commons to prosecute, without infringing at once the salutary rights and privileges of king, lords, and people.

Question.—Who ought to conduct the affairs of the East India company; and who has the best title to manage and possess their property?

Fox.—Answer.—Fox, North, and Co.

Pitt.—Answer.—The propietors, for their own concerns, but controuled by the king's ministers, under the check and inspection of parliament, for the concerns of the whole nation.

Question.—Who shall chuse the king's confidential servants and ministers?

Fox.—Answer.—Fox, North, and Co. in the *house of commons*, when they have a majority there; and at the *whig club* when they have not a majority in parliament.

Pitt.—Answer.—The king: whose authority they are to exercise, with his consent, and by his direction.

Question.—Who should be the proprietors of boroughs, and appoint representatives to serve for the people in parliament?

Fox.—Answer.—Fox, North, and Co.

Pitt.—Answer.—The people: whose rights they are intrusted to protect.

Question.—Who ought to nominate and elect a representative for the city of Westminster?

Fox.—Answer.—Fox, North, and Co. And a young man, with whom they are totally unacquainted, shall be their member.

Pitt.—Answer.—The *real* electors of Westminster; who, without the interference of any party, for his character alone, and in consequence of his acknowledged services, originally, and almost unanimously, determined, that *lord Hood*, the companion of *lord Rodney's* victories, should be his successor in their favour.

FOREIGNERS.

If you dare, Mr. Editor, to slander Catalani, before I have persuaded my cross guardian to let me hear the dear creature sing, I vow you will incur the lasting displeasure of

CELESTINA.

Sir,—It is my misfortune to be guardian to a young woman of considerable fortune and moderate accomplishments. The extravagant partiality of a fond mother and a modern education at a fashionable boarding-school, have entirely ruined her taste for all rational employments. She often feigns illness and retires to her room earlier than usual, to pore over some nonsensical novel, written by a Miss as romantic as herself. I have strictly forbidden my servants to introduce such trash into my house; and yet, while I was shaving yesterday, I heard the footboy bawl out at the foot of the staircase, "Ma'am, Mr. Standish says, as he 'arn't got '*Hevelina*, or the *Castle o' the Pinnikees*,' *(Pyrenees)* so I'se brought you '*Monstrous Husband*,' *(Mysterious Husband)*."—If I ask her to read the news, she immediately turns to the routs and plays, sees if sir Toby and lady Betty are come to town. For the last month, has she been teazing me to take her to the opera, and wonders at my being so uncouth as to dislike the graceful Siboni, the tuneful Naldi, and the enchanting modulations of the divine Catalani.

Let me tell you, sir, I conceive it to be a great reproach to this nation, that these foreign skipjacks, with no other recommendation than a stout pair of lungs and a hard name, should be encouraged in preference to our own performers. I am not one of those sulky cynics, who carp at every sort of diversion as immoral or unmanly; but, I certainly think it highly improper to take young people to exhibitions, where the actors seem only to vie with each other in the licencious contorsions of their bodies. The humanity of our legislature, it is true, spread open the gates of this hospitable region, and invited those, whom the furious proscriptions of a sanguinary mob had driven from their homes, to enter and partake of its bounties. But was it, I ask, ever intended that signor and signora should be imported by ship-loads, or, that the streets of our metropolis should be crowded with posture-masters, spies, and emissaries?—No, sir. Let not the frivolous inhabitants of France and Italy controul our fashions, our manners, or our minds. "For my part, I am not ashamed of my country; nor do I approve of our adopting the *rites* of foreign nations. To receive laws, or rules of conduct, from them; what is it, but to confess ourselves INFERIOR TO THEM?*

London, February 7, 1807. GOODMAN BLUFF.

MAD DOGS.

But soon a wonder came to light,
That shew'd the rogues they lied;—
The MAN recovered of the bite;
The DOG it was that died.

Vicar of Wakefield.

SIR,—Taking my customary ramble yesterday along the high road, I met an open carriage, in which were two gentlemen. To one of them I was wholly a stranger; but a few minutes attention convinced me, that the other, to judge by his majestic deportment and expressive countenance, could alone be the great Mr. Paull.—To complete the group, at this instant Sir F. Burdett rode up, and I then recollected, that the noble party intended to honour Mr. Tooke's Pic-Nic with their presence. Upon my return to the inn at Wimbledon, I found the "Village politicians" assembled in close debate upon an important circumstance which had just occurred. Mad dogs being the order of the day, it seems that Wimbledon was not exempted from these troublesome visitors; and a sagacious tradesman informed me with a lengthened visage, that Sir Francis, whom I had a short time before observed in perfect sanity, had just then received *a bite from an uncivil hound*." "This accident," continued he, "will, I fear, prove seriously detrimental to the worthy baronet, and, in that case, all hopes of reformation and amity must immediately cease."——"So

---

* *Translated from Quintus Curtius.*

much the better;" roared out a lieutenant in the army, who knew that a peace would deprive him of a commission, "So much the better say I; what good did he ever do us with his politics? Here's success to the army, and a lucky war!!"—Thus speaking, he emptied his mug. "War!!!" reiterated a wooden-legged son of Crispin, who was notorious for his levelling principles, "what bloody-minded rogues you soldiers are! Because you wear a red coat, Mr. Furious, you are to live upon us, forsooth, and take the bread out of our mouths. If Sir Francis goes, good bye to liberty and independence. We may expect to have our throats cut, and our skins taken off our backs, if we have'n't no better defence than *you*."—"Blood and fury," retorted the soldier, in a voice of thunder, "What d'ye mean? I who have had more cannon-balls rattling about my head, than you hailstones; I who have beat the rascally French,—I sit and hear my profession abused."——"Softly;" said a lawyer's clerk, hot from Chancery-Lane, "much may be said both for *plaintiff and defendant;* in my opinion however it would be better either to argue it as *a special case*, or to submit the point in question, *to two or more indifferent arbitrators*, competent to give a *verdict*.—I am afraid we have not sufficient grounds to bring *an action for defamation*, or *a plea of trespass on the case*, though there are *credible witnesses* enough to give *evidence*."——"Gentlemen," added an intelligent glazier, "I propose to adopt the plan to which this gentleman alludes; and if we can compromise the affair in an amicable manner, it will *prevent* farther *altercation*."—"Look 'e," said the lieutenant to his wooden-legged antagonist, enveloping the poor man, at the same time, in an enormous cloud of tobacco smoke, "you shotten-herring, I know you're at the old story of liberty and equality.—Pray, what good ha' the French got by their liberty? Why, they're worse off than before; and as for your friend Sir Francis, Why, he has given you nothing here, you find, but a mouthful of fine words and an empty belly; and, by the best accounts I have of him, he'll gi' ye nothing else." His adversary was about to commence a most eloquent harangue, when the landlord came into inform us, That *not the worthy baronet, but his dog had been bitten!* The company dispersed; the military hero called for another pot of beer to drink his majesty's health; and the unfortunate cobler, overwhelmed with confusion, sneaked out of the room.

Wimbledon, 26th Jan. 1807. AN OLD SMOKER.

QUERIES.

In a conversation which is stated to have taken place in the house of commons, concerning the improper and undue influence exercised by government to procure the return of their friends and favourites at the late general election, lord Howick is represented, in the newspaper reports, to have asserted, that whatever influence had been exerted, he *was sure* that not a penny of the public money had been used for that purpose. I shall not take upon myself to say, that any public money, *bonâ fide*, was absolutely and directly given to an elector; but, as it is universally reported, and universally believed, that the honourable rewards and distinctions which the country ought to bestow on enterprize and merit only, have been lavishly bartered to obtain votes for their partisans, even by lord Howick himself, as well as by others, I wish to give them an opportunity of contradicting such reports, if untrue, by requesting they will answer the following Questions:

1st. Is it true, my lord Howick, that, in defiance of the established rules of the navy, which forbid any person from being appointed a purser under two years service, you, as first lord of the admiralty, appointed a man of the name of Paine, purser of a very fine new sloop of war,* who had never previously served his king or country one hour, merely because he was a freeman of the borough of Yarmouth, in Norfolk?

2d. Is it true, that your lordship gave to Mr. Windham a blank commission for a commander in the navy to carry with him, to the aforesaid Yarmouth, to be filled up with the name of Fisher, a very young man, of little experience in the naval service, provided his father would relinquish the party of colonel

* *The Forrester.*

Wodehouse, and espouse that of Mr. Windham; which it is notoriously known the father did?

3d. Is it true, Mr. Windham, that you promised a majority to the son of a person of the name of Lacon, on the same terms as above?

4th. Is it true, Mr. T. Grenville, that you, as first lord of the Admiralty, have promoted several *infants* of the borough of Plymouth, viz. Hammick, Lockyer, &c. to the rank of commanders, although they have been but a very short time in the navy,† and that you intend giving them ships, in preference to officers of approved merit and long standing; and that you have made several other promotions, to obtain the votes of their families for the friends of ministry, in their respective places?

5th. Is it true, my lord Moira, that you have appointed the son of a man, of the name of Fenn, to be a clerk in the ordnance office at Yarmouth, Norfolk, at a salary of 70*l.* or 80*l.* per annum, at a time when no additional clerk was wanted there, to obtain the vote and interest of the father for your friends, both in Yarmouth, and for the county of Norfolk?

† *Not six years actually at sea!!!*

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PULTUSK.

St. Petersburgh, Jan. 7.—"On the 4th and 5th instant, messengers arrived here from the army, bringing the following statements to his imperial majesty, viz. That almost daily skirmishes of the out-posts have taken place since the 23d of December, in which the French were repulsed in every instance. At the moment general baron Benningsen, with the troops under his command, had taken a position near Pultusk, he was attacked by the division of the enemy under general Suchet, which attack lasted three hours, but the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss.

"On the 26th December, the greater part of the fourth division, under prince Gallitzin, had joined general Benningsen. The enemy made an attack at eleven o'clock with a numerous force, under the immediate direction of Buonaparte, led by his field marshals Davoust and Lannes, and by a detached corps under general Suchet. The battle was most bloody, and continued during the darkness of the night. At the commencement of it general Davoust, with a corps of 15,000 men, fell upon our left wing, in order to possess himself of Pultusk, in our rear. General Bagganout, who defended this place with 4,000 men, was obliged to give way to the superior force of the enemy; but as soon as this was perceived by general Benningsen, he ordered that this detachment should be reinforced from his right wing, by a force under general count Osterman, which, together, arrested the progress of the enemy.

"The attack upon the right wing was impetuous. Marshal Lanes' large corps of infantry, under the command of Buonaparte in person, moved through the underwood, upon our advanced guard, which had been posted there to cover our wing, and fell upon it in so desperate a manner, that general Barklay de Tolly, commanding there, found himself unable to do otherwise than fall back, having given an opportunity for a masked battery freely to act. A few grape-shot discharges having laid a considerable number of the enemy on the spot, thus stopped his career. He attempted again to outflank this battery, and obliged general De Tolly to fall back once more. General Benningsen ordered the change of the front to the whole of his right wing; and, for the support of general Barklay de Tolly, sent three battalions at two different times. Having thus stopped the impetuosity of the enemy, and the fire of the artillery and musketry continuing, general Benningsen then determined to attack the enemy himself; for which purpose he ordered general count Osterman to advance with the rest of his infantry towards the right wing, and supported him with a strong train of artillery, and twenty squadrons of cavalry; and, to the rest of the cavalry, he gave orders to form their front in his centre, in order to keep that of the enemy in its position. The French defended themselves with desperation, but were obliged to yield to the valour of his imperial majesty's troops, and entirely defeated and beaten off from the scene of action. *(To be continued.)*

London: Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°8. Saturday, February 21, 1807. Price 10*d*.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

ARMY ESTIMATES. On the 16th of January, a member of the house of commons, Mr. G. Johnstone, moved, that the estimates of the army expenses for the year 1807, should be printed; and he grounded the motion on the duty which every member of parliament owed to his constituents, not to vote away with indifference, and without minute inquiry, such large and extraordinary sums as were required. The present crisis called loudly for practical economy; and, therefore, it ought to be known particularly, in what manner, and for what particular services these sums were to be applied; especially as the grants of money comprized so many *extraordinaries*, that it would be impossible to judge of their propriety, except by details.—This motion was resisted by the ministerial party, because, the printing of the papers would be productive of trouble, delay, and expense; the abstract of the estimates would suffice for all the purposes of necessary information, and prevent the disclosure of information, which it would be proper to keep from the enemy; besides, that, when the estimates were printed two years ago, new military plans of great importance called for the serious deliberation of the house.—It was alleged, on the other side, that two years ago, the persons who now so strenuously opposed the motion, were remarkably vehement in pressing a similar motion; and, that the estimates had been actually printed, at that period, without any alarming consequences having arisen from the enemy becoming acquainted with them. The precedent had been established by the present ministry while in opposition; and as to the argument relative to the new military plans that were then suggested to the attention of the house, they were of a description far less extensive than those which were adduced by the present ministers; that the delay which would arise from the printing of the papers, would not extend beyond two days, which could not be put in competition with the importance of the object itself; that by opposing a new motion, which went to enable the house more easily to examine into the public expenditure, a precedent would be formed, which would render it impossible for the members to do their duty to their constituents; the facility which would be afforded to them towards the discharge of that duty, would more than counterbalance any expense that might be incurred by printing the papers, the expense of which might well be saved by economy in many other respects. It was utterly impossible for every member to read the papers on the table of the house by the day whereon their contents were to be discussed; and several members complained that they could not do their duty with satisfaction to themselves, unless the papers were printed, and they could take copies home with them for a more minute inspection. The printing of the ordnance estimates had not been objected to, and it had been advantageous, inasmuch as it had led to an investigation, the result of which, had done great honour to the board of ordnance.— The debate was protracted to a considerable length, in which much extraneous matter was introduced by both sides of the house, each party accusing the other of changing opinions with their change of situations. At length, on the observation of lord Howick, that his lordship would agree to the motion, if its object were to be fully informed whether ministers had acted up to those principles of economy which they had formerly professed; whether they had shewn an inclination to redeem their pledges to the public; and that it should be understood, the discussion of the army estimates should not be delayed, though the papers should not be printed in time, the motion was withdrawn.

The house went into a committee of supply on the army estimates, on the 21st of January, when the secretary at war prefaced the resolutions with observing that, the estimates for the present year, were nearly on the same scale with those which had been voted last year. The battalions of infantry and the cavalry were to continue the same as regulated by the estimates of the last year. The increase of charge for

guards, garrisons, and forces in the plantations, amounted to 241,537l. but the causes of this increase were, the expenses of 6 garrison battalions, whose services, though originally designed for home duty, were now extended to foreign; the expense of another new corps for garrisoning Canada; the creation of an additional corps, by the division of the royal African corps, and the addition of two new companies to that part of it which was serving in the West Indies; and 1 11 companies of Sicilians attached to the British army serving in Sicily. There was also an increase, though not to any considerable extent, in the expenses of the foreign staff and commissariat; and an additional expense of 110,000l. had been occasioned by increased allowances. Thus, the total of increase amounted to 439,732l. Exclusive of these items, there was a considerable increase under the head of "public departments," produced by the difference of pay on the Irish and English establishments, making, together with exchequer fees, a sum of 44,223l. Another increase of 10,361l. was also occasioned by additional pay to commanding officers, quarter-masters general, inspectors general of recruits, and army medical board. The new arrangements had likewise produced an increase relative to the out-pensioners of Kilmainham and Chelsea of 13,170l.

Against these increases, the decrease in the expenses of the volunteer establishment was a set off. This decrease *would* have amounted to 368,060l. but *circumstances had rendered it necessary to keep the volunteers of Ireland four months upon permanent duty instead of one*, occasioning an *increase* again of 119,000l. and consequently reducing the decrease in the expense of the volunteer establishment only to 248,504l. There was also a decrease in the expense of the foreign corps to the amount of 153,538l. Towards the "compassionate list," 12,000l. had been set down. The only fund which had been set aside for this list was the presumed profits arising from the saving upon half-pay, which had often proved unproductive, and at no period ever produced one quarter of the sums assignable upon it; and the description of persons who derived advantage from the compassionate list were, in general, widows and orphans, who very rarely received above 20l. per ann. from it.

If the additional pay and allowances, in consequence of the arrangements made by the last parliament, were deducted, the estimates would not exceed those of the preceding years. The estimates for the year preceding the accession of the present ministry to office, amounted to 13,986,331l. the estimates for the current year, *excluding the additional pay and allowances*, amounted to 13,710,921l. The additional pay and allowances amounted to about 223,329l. *which would bring the expenses of both years nearly to a level.* The whole of the additional expense produced by the new arrangement consisted of the following items: 260,000l. increase of pay to regulars; 2 ,000l. to militia; 160,000l. out-pensioners; 7000l. widow's pensions. The expenses of the establishment of 1806, if arranged upon the *same scale* as the present estimates, would have amounted to 14,800,000l. The military measures which had been introduced last year, consisted in new arrangements for the regular service, and a very great alteration in the volunteer establishment. All the alarming hints which had been thrown out respecting the dissatisfaction of the volunteers were proved, by experience, to have been *wholly unfounded.* It was not improbable, that during the agitation of the new military measures, and in consequence of active and intentional misrepresentation, much discontent might have been occasioned; but the effects of these artifices were comparatively trifling. The number of those who withdrew from the volunteer force was inconsiderable, compared with what it was generally supposed to be. Of those who withdrew, there was not one, who would not most readily take up arms again, in case an invasion of the enemy should place the country in danger. The persons who quitted the volunteer corps might be divided into two classes; first, those who belonged to corps that were entirely disbanded; and, secondly, such individuals as withdrew from corps which still xisted. The number of volunteers belonging to disbanded corps amounted only to 11,486. With respect of the new arrangements, *much immediate advantage could not be expected to result from their adoption;* but they will ultimately produce the most beneficial effects upon the character and composition of the army. Though their effect had not been so rapid as many persons expected, they could not be said to have absolutely failed. If the low bounty had not produced a great number of men, [illegible] entirely putting an end to that great source of the diminution of

our military strength, desertion. Since the new measures had been adopted, it was inconceivable how much the number of desertions had been reduced.* The plan, if steadily adhered to, would, at no great distance of time, produce all the advantages which were expected from it.

Such was the substance of the case made out on the part of ministers, by the secretary at war; and it is not a little extraordinary, that the arguments upon which it was built, though open to the severest animadversion and comment, extorted no appropriate controversy on the part of the members of opposition; who, instead of exposing its fallaciousness, and of *attacking* the presumptions founded upon it, contented themselves, chiefly, with a mere *defence* of the measures pursued by the late ministry. After the usual stale compliments to the secretary at war, for the fairness, liberality, and candour of his statements—compliments which have become so frequent that they nauseate and disgust the hearer, because, as I shall presently demonstrate, they were not applicable; they turned aside from the main points, and plunged into the labyrinths of antiquated details. The question before them was not a matter of contrast, but of expediency. Allusions made incidentally, might have been adduced without impropriety in the course of the general argument; but surely, during a discussion of such importance as the granting away above fourteen millions of the public money, the question should have turned not on the past, but on the expediency of this immense supply towards the accomplishment of plans either capable of being enforced, or actually realized. I feel additionally strengthened in making this assertion, from the proposition laid down by the secretary at war, both at the opening and close of his speech, wherein he is said to have positively affirmed, "that the number of our effec ive force was increased, and the expenses of the establishment diminished;" while, almost in the same breath, he is reported to have stated, that, "neither, however, were so in a great degree; the number of the army being increased about 5000 men, and the expenses of our military establishment were reduced by about 90001. less than they were in the last and preceding year."

However, it will be proper, before I enter upon these topics, to detail the substance of the remarks made by the opposition, as many of them were not destitute of force, and carried conviction with them. It was objected, that the effective strength of the military force of the country, was not stated, so as to enable parliament by comparing it with the provision required, to judge whether it were such a force as to consume the supplies that were to be voted. A gross amount had been mentioned, but not as compared with the present establishment. The gross number of our force was stated at 334,180, which, with various necessary deductions, making about one-eighth, amounting to 41,700, left 292,400 men to be voted upon the face of the resolutions. No satisfactory case had been made out for the house to vote the supplies for this deficiency in rank and file. On the 1st of March, 1806, soon after the change of ministry, the amount of our effective force was 249,670, and, on the 1st of January of the present year, it was 254,665 men; so that the whole increase which had been made to the regular force amounted to between 4 and 5000 men. By Mr. Pitt's additional defence bill, 5700 men were raised in *five* months, and 3000 men were raised between the 21st of March and the 21st of June. In March, 1806, an increase of 33,481 men had been made to the public force during the 20 preceding months, by Mr. Pitt's plans, which had been so much reviled by the present ministry; while, by the new system, from the middle of February, 1806, to January, 1807, a period of eleven months, the whole addition amounted to 4 or 5000 men. Lord Sidmouth raised 40,000 men; Mr. Pitt raised 33,000; and but for Mr. Pitt's bill, the present ministers would not have raised a man. If it were admitted that, by the former system, men were not brought into the line by direct means, but through tedious and circuitous routes, what had the present system performed when relieved from these incumbrances? In the first six months of last year, 6 or 7000 men had been raised; and during the last six months, not 6000 men were enlisted. Thus not one man had actually come in under the new impression of the new bill; but such as had come, had inlisted in the old way. The ordinary recruiting of 1805 was 11,779, and Mr. Pitt's bill produced 8,388. For the line there were produced

* *No doubt; desertions must necessarily be expected to take place much less in a body of 5000, than in a body of 33,000 men.*

of British troops 33,000, independently of foreign levies to the amount of 9000 men; so that above 40,000 men were added to the British army: whereas, the whole produce of the new system, allowing to ministers the advantages of the hints given to them by a former minister, respecting the recruits from Ireland, amounted to 13 or 14,000 men. Thus, for an unnecessary and useless experiment, the country had been saddled with 700,000l. expense. All the arguments formerly alleged against Mr. Windham's plan, were revived by opposition in the course of this debate, * and with the additional force, which had been derived from an experience of its pernicious effects. Every objection before entertained concerning it, had swelled into an alarming magnitude since the recent order of council. Opposition objected to the soldier being allowed his pension on the ground of legal right, independently of the recommendation of his officers, or of the bounty of his majesty; also to the high pension of one shilling and sixpence to men disabled and unfit for service, without reference to the time they had served: for though the only exception from this right appeared to be, when the soldier had brought on his own disability by vice or misconduct, yet it did appear by the order of council, that if he should be disabled by accident, after one or two years service, he would be entitled to claim the whole pension as a right of such a nature as he could maintain in a court of justice. The next point adverted to, was the discharge of men after twenty-one years, from which ministers had proposed so much good, though they now appeared so much alarmed at it, as still to retain men who had served beyond that time, by offering them an increase of pension of one half-penny a day after they should finally quit the service, besides the increase of pay while they remained in it. This was purchasing their services at a very dear rate; for they would cost the public 12l. per man yearly more than other soldiers, which would amount to 84,000l. for 7000 soldiers. These men would, in future, have an addition of three-fourths of their present pay, which, on the score of expense to the country, was no trifling consideration. Another point of view of the subject was, that in some places two years of service were made equal to three in other places. The climate of the West Indies is unfavourable to the constitution of British soldiers; but in the East Indies, they enjoy nearly as good a state of health as at home, and the East India service is generally a favourite one with the troops, from the superiour comforts which they enjoy there. Yet, in the East Indies, fourteen years of service were made equal to twenty-one in this country, and entitle the soldier to his pension and discharge. It will follow therefore, that a young man who goes out there at the age of eighteen, will be discharged as a veteran at thirty-two, and entitled to his full pension of a shilling a day. If he should stay till he be forty, his pension will be considerably higher. The value of these pensions to discharged soldiers, reckoning their lives as worth twenty-two years each, will create an enormous expense; and if it ever should become necessary to reduce the army 40 or 50,000 below the present establishment, those of the first class, who had not acquired rights to these pensions, would, of course, be discharged; whereby the flower of the army, who ought to be kept in it, would be dismissed. If any of the third class were to be dismissed, they would be absolutely entitled to the pension of those who had served fourteen years, with an inchoate right to the pension of the whole period of service. The second class had an absolute right to the pensions of soldiers having served seven years, and therefore, whenever there was to be a reduction, it would be made out of the first class, who had no right to pension, but who must be considered as the hopes of the army. As to the veteran battalions they were to be composed of men who had served fourteen years; but it was wrong that men, who, at that time, were in youth, health, vigour, and perfect knowledge of their duties, should be confined to home service, when their constitutions were well seasoned, and best fitted for service in the West Indies. There was also an egregious mistake in the calculation of ministers relative to the reduced bounty of five guineas; for, in fact, by the former system, for twenty-one guineas, a man was procured for life; and by the present, for 17l. a service of only seven years was obtained. Thus for the trifling difference of 5l. 1s. three times the duration of service was acquired. These were the principal topics urged by the opposition.

---

* *For a full and accurate statement of these arguments, which have never yet been refuted, vide No. 20 of the 1st vol. of this Review.*

It has been before observed, what a waste of time and eloquence occurs from members departing from the question, and expatiating upon subjects that have no immediate relation to the one before them. Never was there an instance of this more evident than in the debate which has been digested above; for, almost every member who spoke in opposition to the ministers, concluded his speech with the declaration, that on a future opportunity, and at the *proper time*, he should urge his objections to the new military plan. Was not this admitting that the excursions which had been taken, were unsuitable to the object in view? The subject before the consideration of the house was, whether the resolutions upon the annual estimates of the expenses of our military establishment should be voted for or not? Hence, the main point was lost sight of by a long rambling into collaterals. The new military plan deserved a criticism, as far as the estimates were grounded upon it; but it was not necessary to recapitulate those arguments which had been preferred against it an hundred times, or to draw comparisons, in the course of *this* debate, upon the relative advantages of the present or the old systems. The ministers, in my opinion, laid themselves sufficiently open to animadversion, without their opponents being under the necessity of resorting to retrospects or comparisons. As I have before mentioned, the secretary at war, distinctly stated, according to the report of his speech, both at its commencement and close, that "neither the number of our effective force had been increased to a great degree, nor had the expenses of our military establishment been much reduced." Upon the face of this assertion, it behoved our representatives to refuse their vote of supplies, until it had been explained to them, why, when no increase worthy of notice had been made to our effective force, and there had been a great diminution of expense in consequence of the reduction of a considerable number of the volunteer corps, besides in many other items of our new military system, the expenses for the present year were calculated upon nearly the same scale as those of the last year? Good God! is it right that we should sit down satisfied with the courteous eloquence of rival parties, when every thing is at stake? Ought we to rejoice when we are told that though we have lost the spirit of above 300,000 volunteers, we have gained 4 or 5000 regulars, at a greater expense than would have sufficed to have retained the spirit of the former? And yet, at the very time the ministry proclaim the great saving which has accrued from the retrenchment of the pay of the volunteers, a body of men whom they formerly stigmatized as unfit for active service, they publicly declare that 119,000l. more would have been saved, if circumstances had not rendered it necessary to keep the volunteers of Ireland four months on *permanent duty* instead of one. Here then, we have, out of the mouths of ministers, a plain confession of their errors and their empiricism. At the outset of their metaphysical military system, the volunteers were derided as a burthensome, expensive, and inefficient force; but, when circumstances make it necessary, these same volunteers are not only deemed highly useful, but their utility and importance are so much valued, that they are kept on permanent duty for one third of the year! According to the estimates, we find, that no expense is grudged, when "circumstances make it necessary," to call in the active service of the volunteers; what then becomes of that haughty and imperative tone with which the new military plan was opened last year? It is notorious that rebellion has long been organizing in Ireland, abetted by a clandestine confederacy of traitors, and the machinations of the external enemy. Yet, during a period of alarm, and of expected difficulty, the volunteers are judged to be capable of useful, active, and efficient service! The military constitution of the Irish volunteers varies not, in the least, from the constitution of the British. Hence, we must infer, that should Buonaparte, either by the sinuosity of his politics, or the mingled artifices and violence of his arms, dictate a peace to the continent from the banks of the Vistula, the volunteers of Britain, will, in their turn, be resorted to, and summoned on permanent duty, to supply the deficit in that grand army which was, like another Cadmæan army, to spring up out of the soil, in the twinkling of an eye, and to recover our consequence upon the continent. Something of this kind is already perceptible in the altered and modulated tone of ministers. In the debate upon this occasion, it was observed, that the notes of Mr. Windham were an octave lower than last year; and he was heard to express himself in *soprano* "that no reduction had been proposed in the number of the volunteers, but merely in certain expenses, which were exorbitantly extravagant." The

soft lay of the secretary at war, upon the patriotism, &c. of the volunteers, has been recorded above, and sufficiently commented upon in a former number of this volume. The objection, therefore, to the estimates, might have been successfully urged on this palpable inconsistency in the conduct of ministers, wherein they alternately admit and deny the efficacy of the volunteer force, as "circumstances make it necessary," and thereby the option of expense, upon that head, rested with them, instead of being recognized as an universal operative principle.

With respect of the 4 or 5000 men added to the regulars, in virtue of the new military philosophy, it should have been discussed, by a comparative reference to numbers and time; thus, if Mr. Pitt's bill yielded, in twenty months, 33,481 men, and Mr. Windham's bill yielded in eleven months, 5000, how many months will it require for Mr. Windham's bill to yield 33,481 men? And now, we are upon a question of supply, it may not be amiss to remark, that, inasmuch as the expenses of the military establishment are as great as those of the preceding year, notwithstanding the promise made of an immense reduction, and the very large decrease of expenditure in a number of items, enumerated in the secretary at war's speech, together with only an accession to the regular force of 5000 men, it will appear by the plainest rules of arithmetic, the present system of recruiting is actually upon a more extravagant scale than Mr. Pitt's odious parish bill; and that, the gross amount of expenses for the military establishment, far exceeds the amount in Mr. Pitt's time, with the expenses of our numerous and patriotic volunteer forces included. Thus, in soaring towards *perfectibility*, we have sunk into the limbo of vanity, and there we shall flutter and wallow, until a recurrence to the practical vigour and efficacy of our ancient system, shall have furnished us with sufficient strength to extricate ourselves from the difficulty in which we are obviously entangled.

No division took place after the long debate in the house; the different resolutions were severally put and agreed to, and the following are the sums voted: viz.

	Numb.	For Great Britain.	For Ireland.	Total.
		CHARGE.		
1 Guards, garrisons, &c.	113,795	2,973,260 13 1	1,078,362 7 5	4,051,623 0 6
2 Forces in the plantations, &c.	79,158	2,609,143 13 9	———	2,009,143 13 9
3 India forces - - -	25,115	582,397 0 0	———	582,397 0 0
4 Troops and companies for recruiting ditto	437	25,214 10 0	———	25,214 10 0
5 Recruiting & contingencies	———	153,767 5 7	124,481 15 3	278,249 0 10
6 General & staff officers	———	132,935 3 6	57,594 14 0	190,529 17 6
7 Embodied militia and fencible infantry -	94,202	1,644,562 19 10	849,081 7 7	2,493,644 7 5
8 Contingencies for ditto	———	40,000 0 0	22,153 17 0	62,153 17 0
9 Cloathing for ditto -	———	157,227 16 4	———	157,227 16 4
10 Full pay to supernumerary officers - - -	———	33,588 11 7	1,029 19 5	34,418 11 0
11 Public departments -	———	212,303 11 11	8,897 6 6	221,200 18 5
12 Allowance to Innkeepers, &c. - -	———	340,000 0 0	127,273 3 11	467,273 3 11
13 Half pay and military allowances - - -	———	165,000 0 0	27,515 2 11	192,515 2 11
14 Ditto American forces	———	44,000 0 0	———	44,000 0 0
15 Ditto Scotch brigade	———	750 0 0	———	750 0 0
16 In pensioners of Chelsea & Kilmainham hospitals	———	33,169 13 10	17,428 5 11	50,597 19 9
17 Out-pensioners of do.	———	326,236 4 3	29,549 3 5	355,785 7 8
18 Widows' pensions -	———	37,258 7 6	6,000 0 0	43,258 7 6
19 Volunteer corps -	———	660,000 0 0	830,301 4 8	1,490,301 4 8
20 Foreign corps - -	21,473	588,748 17 3	243,792 2 6	832,540 19 9
21 Royal military college	———	22,175 5 10	———	22,175 5 10
22 Royal military asylum	———	21,227 8 4	———	21,227 8 4
23 Allowances to retired & officiating chaplains	———	15,000 0 0	3,208 15 11	18,208 15 11
24 Hospital expenses (Ire.)	———	———	18,471 10 10	18,471 10 10
25 Barrack department (Ire.)	———	———	469,450 12 6	469,450 12 6
26 Compassionate list	———	12,000 0 0	———	12,000 0 0
	334,180	10,828,767 2 7	3,914,581 9 9	14,743,348 12 4
Deduct the Indian forces	25,115	582,397 0 0	———	582,397 0 0
Total - - - - - -	309,065	10,246370 2 7	3,914,581 9 9	14,160,951 12 4

POLITICAL.

GENERAL MEETING OF WEST INDIA PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS.

A correspondent has favoured me with an account of the proceedings which took place at the above meeting, holden at the London Tavern on Tuesday last, convened by public advertisement, to consider of the measures necessary to be accepted, in consequence of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, now pending before the house of commons, and also for the purpose of taking into consideration other most serious matters respecting the alarming state of the West India interest.

Philip Dehaney, esq. having been called to the chair, the business of the day was opened by Mr. Lyon, agent for Jamaica, who said that he should dispatch the first subject which the meeting was called together to discuss, in as few words as possible. That at the second reading of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade before the house of lords, counsel were heard, and witnesses were in attendance to prove their allegations, but every effort to have them examined was unavailing; their lordships refused to hear them, on the ground that all the facts respecting the colonies were already on their table, and that being in possession of the past they were not bound to sit and hear prophecies as to the future. That on a division the bill was passed by a decided majority. That he had now to lay before the meeting, for their approbation and signature, a petition to the house of commons, where counsel were to be heard against the bill on Friday next, though he believed it was understood that the discussion on the second reading was to be postponed till Monday. That he had on many occasions expressed his conviction of the fatal consequences to the West India colonies, that must ensue if this bill passed into a law; as affecting the property of individuals, as well as from the struggles for emancipation, which this measure may be expected to produce amongst the negroes, when they understood that the slave trade had been abolished by the British legislature, as being contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. That without dwelling on this awful topic, he should now present, for their consideration, a petition to the house of commons against this bill, nearly the same in substance with that which had been presented to the house of lords.

Mr. Hibbert then rose; and explained to the meeting, that it was completely understood in a conference which had taken place last night between him and lord Howick, that the debate on the second reading of the bill was not to come on till Monday next; and entered into a most energetic and impressive detail of the mischiefs that would ensue to Great Britain herself, as well as to her colonies, from the passing the bill now before the house.

The petition being read, approved of, and signed; and the resolutions of the standing committee, holden on Wednesday last, as instructions to the deputation appointed to confer with his majesty's ministers, having also been read, Mr. Lyon communicated the result of the conference between the deputation and the chancellor of the exchequer, which took place on Saturday last. He said, that the deputation had represented the injustice of continuing the war duties on sugar, as was proposed in the new system of finance; had urged, on the contrary, the necessity of alleviating the burthen imposed on the planter, in the present depreciated state of his produce; had given his lordship to understand that the measures to which his majesty's ministers had acceded, could afford the West India interest but very trifling and inadequate relief, while British colonial produce continued to be excluded from almost the whole continent of Europe: and that unless an explicit assurance was given that more effectual measures would be adopted, it was the decided intention of the West India body, as the only means of averting their total ruin, to apply in the most forcible manner to the justice of parliament for an investigation into the present state of the West India colonies, and such farther relief as they in their wisdom should think fit to give. That the deputation had proved, by the late average prices of sugar, published in the Gazette, that after paying the duty, freight, charges of sale, and cultivation, the planter sustained an actual loss of 9s per cwt. exclusive of interest for his capital. That in addition to 130,000 hhds of sugar now on hand, a fleet just arrived from the Leeward islands, and another shortly expected from Jamaica, the crop of the present year, amounting, on the best estimate that could be formed, to

260,000 hhds. more would soon follow; for which, from the rivalry of foreign colonial produce, so securely and cheaply imported in neutral vessels, and from the prohibitory decree of Buonaparte, no exportation to the foreign markets on the continent (the Baltic excepted) could reasonably be expected. That, under these circumstances, they trusted his majesty's ministers would see the necessity of relief, and support their application to parliament; and suggested various modes in which that relief might be given; omitting (he trusted) no important point that could impress his lordship with a just sense of the real distressed situation of the West India body. That the answer of the chancellor of the exchequer was to the following effect:—That in pledging the war duties for a period beyond the term originally intended, he by no means meant to preclude himself from substituting other duties for the war duty on sugar; nor to prevent parliament from completely revising the whole of the duties on that article. His lordship then recapitulated the measures which government had already acceded to for the relief of the West India body; (which can alone be rendered efficacious by that export trade from which we are at present excluded) and declared that he should bring forward no new measures to parliament till their effect had been ascertained. Mr. Lyon concluded by moving resolutions expressive of the distressed situation of the West India body, and instructing the standing committee to prepare a petition to parliament for relief.

Mr. Hibbert then confirmed the substance of Mr. Lyon's statement of what had passed between the deputation and the chancellor of the exchequer; which he said had been so ably detailed, as to make it unnecessary for him to trespass much on the time of the meeting. He observed, that the path of the deputation laid strait before them; for, after the sentiments that had been unanimously expressed at former general meetings, and the instructions given them by the standing committee, it was their duty to declare to the chancellor of the exchequer their intention of applying to parliament for relief. That in order to do this with deliberation and effect, rather than present a crude petition to the meeting, which must have been framed since Saturday last, the deputation had thought it expedient to bring forward resolutions, instructing the standing committee to draw it up, in order that it might be done with care and deliberation, so as to impress parliament and the public with the most favourable sense of the real distress which led them to resort to that expedient. That since he came into the room he had seen a most able exposition of the case of the West India interest, which he trusted would be handed over to the standing committee; and from which they would derive much useful and important information. He observed, that he thought this a most favourable moment for an application to parliament, as a general sentiment prevailed, that much unmerited distress attached to the West India body, and therefore he trusted that demands founded in justice and moderation would be complied with. He then seconded the resolutions moved by Mr. Lyon; the substance of which may nearly be collected from the foregoing discussion.

Mr. Lushington thought the resolutions ought to state a claim on the part of the British West India colonies to those advantages which his majesty's ministers were supposed to have conceded to the enemies colonies, of shipping their produce in neutral bottoms to that market where it would find the most advantageous sale. That it was unjust in them to insist on a continuance of the monopoly to the mother-country, when the consequences of their own political conduct were such, that no adequate consumption for the sugars of our colonies could be found at home, nor any vent abroad; and when the consequent depreciation of the commodity threatened to involve the planters in absolute ruin. That the British colonies were hardly dealt by, in being crushed at the same time by the politics as well as by the taxation of Great Britain; and after contributing more largely in proportion than any other class of his majesty's subjects, to the support of that navy which might have kept foreign produce in a state of blockade, that system had been given up, to their great disadvantage and distress. He observed, that Mr. Addington, to justify the war duties on sugar, had assumed it as a principle, that the war gave the British colonies the exclusive supply of all the markets in Europe, and thereby amply enabled them to pay these additional duties. That, therefore, it was but reasonable, as now by the admission of the minister himself, not only this exclusive supply was

lost, but we were shut out from almost every market in Europe, and sugars were depreciated to a price that was ruinous to the planter, these duties should cease.

Mr. Johnstone thought the meeting should consider not only what was just, but what was expedient; and that the last measure which ought to be urged, was one which would be so injurious to our navigation system as that recommended by the last speaker.

Mr. Este said, he should not detain the meeting long, after the able discussion which had taken place; that he highly approved of the intended application to parliament, but to make that application effectual, the West India body ought to call in the co-operation of all the other great interests connected with them; the ship-owners, the manufacturers, and the tradesmen. That they should make their case known to the public. That the public voice would give the tone to parliament, parliament to ministers, and that thus a case of such notoriety, as well as emergency, could not fail of success. That he had framed some resolutions, which probably were too long to be presented to the meeting in their present shape, but which should be given to the standing committee, agreeably to the wish that had been expressed; and, through that channel, the substance of them to the public.

These resolutions were then read, and contained a most masterly and luminous exposition of the present state of the West India interest; and the various modes of relieving the distress under which they laboured, which might be adopted at the discretion of his majesty's ministers.

After a few observations from some other gentlemen on the resolutions before moved and seconded; and an amendment suggested by Mr. Marryat being adopted, they were carried nem. con.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to Mr. Bosanquet, for his able pamphlet on the causes of the rapid and progressive depreciation of West India property, and the meeting adjourned.

WEST-INDIA AFFAIRS.

LETTER VII.

Sir,—In consequence of my two letters on the abolition of the slave trade, which appeared in your papers of Dec. 13 and 20 last, a writer, under the signature of a Planter, has done me the honour of addressing me in a pamphlet.

A house that is divided against itself cannot stand; and the abolitionists cannot fail of success when planters become their advocates. Well might I exclaim, *et tu Brute!* This schismatic from the established faith of the church, in whose communion he was born and bred, candidly confesses that, "his only hope of salvation (from ruin) is placed in the adoption of this measure;" and tells us that, "he has a greater dread from the land of the islands being worn out, than that the population of negroes will not be sufficient for their cultivation;" adding, "that this evil is at present somewhat alarming to his mind." This gentleman, therefore, having a population of negroes more than equal to the cultivation of his almost worn out land, (like the fox, who, having lost his tail, wished to persuade his brethren to cut off theirs,) very sagaciously and disinterestedly argues, against other planters being permitted to make that improvement of their estates, of which his own is no longer capable. He asks, "if a farther extent of cultivation is desirable for the West-India interest, at this or any other time when the product is greater than the demand; and whether the true interest of the West-India planter is not confined to the supply of that market, to which alone he is allowed to transmit his produce for sale?" Overlooking all the great considerations of national interest which are involved in his questions, and anxious to secure a good price for his produce, or as he very intelligently terms it, "to guard against the market being in the hands of the buyer and not of the seller," he is for limiting the cultivation of the colonies altogether to the consumption of the mother country.

Though this system may suit the narrow policy of the planter, will his doctrine, that, "to extend the cultivation of the colonies is to open the box of Pandora still wider," accord with the enlarged policy of the statesman? Is Great Britain no longer to retain her supremacy as queen of the isles? Is the genius of commerce to be banished from her shores? or, to speak without a metaphor, are all the great

manufacturing and maritime interests, which depend upon the extension of her colonies, to be abandoned? Must she renounce all share in the supply of those powers who have no colonial possessions? If her surplus of colonial produce fail, from whence is she to derive resources for the payment of all the commodities which she constantly imports? or how is she to provide for those incidental drains, occasioned by subsidies to foreign powers in time of war, or the purchase of foreign corn in years of scarcity? It should further be considered, that the commerce relinquished by Great Britain, is not only lost to her, but gained by her rivals and enemies; that foreign colonies will flourish in the same proportion as the British colonies decline, and foreign navigation increase as British navigation diminishes. Buonaparte has wisely said, that ships, colonies, and commerce, are all he wants: for it is by them alone, that we retain that naval supremacy, which enables us to set his menaces at defiance; and our legislators must guard them with the most jealous vigilance, as they value the independence and safety of the empire.

It is not the excess of our colonial produce, but the new impediments opposed to its usual circulation, that have caused the present urgent and extreme distress of the West-India interest. Ministers have the means of redress in their own hands; and I trust will speedily and effectually apply them, either by substituting sugar for corn in the distilleries and breweries, or by interdicting the supply of the enemy from his own colonies in neutral vessels, which will oblige his subjects to resort to the British market in spite of his prohibitory decree. This temporary pressure may be removed, by more judicious expedients than that which the selfish policy of the planter recommends, the sacrifice of those permanent and important advantages resulting from our colonial and commercial pre-eminence.

Having thus shewn, by the avowal of this writer himself, that he supports the abolition of the slave trade from motives of personal interest; and in the discussion of this extraneous point, that where his interest is concerned, his judgment is not the most profound, nor his advice the most salutary; I shall now more immediately confine myself to the subject, to which I am indebted for his correspondence.

In conceding that the slave trade, considered as an abstract question, is irreconcileable to the principles of humanity and natural justice, I am told that I have admitted all that I attempt to deny: but the very next lines of the sentence from which these words are quoted, refute this charge; and, unless I deceive myself, render the whole consistent: for, I added, "that, having been so long established and acted upon, we are not now to consider the abolition of it abstractedly, but relatively, in all its bearings and consequences, or in the excess of a blind though laudable zeal, we may occasion more mischief than we remedy, and injure the cause we mean to promote." The planter does not reason fairly, in taking only so much of a passage as suits his purpose; and I might retort upon him, what he imputes to me, a wish "to assume the character of arguing with some degree of plausibility"

I leave it to the Planter to reconcile his assertion, "that there was no law in Rome against parricide," with his observation, "that when opinions are offered to the public to guide the mind, they should be the result of experience, and that experience should be such that nothing should be left at hazard upon the result." In this instance, he has like many other persons, laid down rules for others, which he has not observed himself. He will hardly venture to oppose his authority on the Roman law to that of Cicero, one of whose admirable orations, which no man who has read can possibly forget, was not only composed in defence of a person who stood arraigned of that crime, but even describes the horrible and disgraceful death by which it was punished.* I have a positive though not a clear recollection of it, too, in some other writer; by the term of *projecto in profluentem*; but as my attention is more devoted to mercantile than classical pursuits, my readers must excuse my not referring them to my author.

The Planter has been rather unfortunate in rummaging the Roman law to find a peg to hang an argument upon; nor do I think he has been much more successful in his researches into divine law. He quotes the tenth commandment as containing an im-

* *Insutus in culeum, per summum dedecus vitam amittere.*
Oratio pro Sex. Roscio amerino.

plied abolition of slavery, though that precept obviously bears a very different import. Slavery had been ordained long before, and was continued for ages after the delivery of the commandments to Moses, who may be presumed to have been a better commentator upon the decalogue than my new correspondent: and we may reasonably assume, that this practice would have been expressly established by the divine command, either under the old or the new dispensation, had it been repugnant to the divine will. Let me observe, too, that the slave trade was abolished here, at a period which was distinguished by the brightest constellation of statesmen, divines, and philosophers, that ever shone in the political horizon of Great Britain. Among the latter we find the illustrious names of Newton, Boyle, and Locke; men who took an active part in the politics of their day, and in whose characters philosophy was exalted into piety. With these reflections in our minds, we must admit that this traffic is not condemned by the weight of authorities, either divine or human. But though many and great evils exist both in the natural and moral world, which the Creator in his wisdom has thought proper for a certain period to permit, and for which the wisdom of man has hitherto been able to provide no remedy, we are not exempted from the duty of persevering in our exertions to remove them; and therefore, I do not use this argument to justify the slave trade, but only to repress that intolerant spirit which has been so inhumanly exercised in this discussion, by those who profess themselves the advocates for humanity.

The Planter asks me if I did mean to say what I certainly did not mean to say, and then reasons as if I had actually said it. I did not mean to say, that the time of taking off the crop is not the most healthy of any period in the year; for the mortality amongst both whites and blacks in the West Indies, is principally in the wet season. During the dry months the air is more salubrious, the provisions are more nutritive, and thus the effects of the laborious occupation of the negroes are more than counteracted. My assertion that the process of boiling sugar is unfavourable to health, is founded upon this plain principle; that working day and night is so in the nature of things. In saying that the distillation of rum was carried on without intermission, I expressed myself with a want of accuracy, which he has very properly reprehended. I cannot consider the growing of sugar, more like the cultivation of a farm than a manufacture; for I never heard of the cultivation of a farm being carried on by night as well as by day, which, on a sugar estate, is constantly the case in the crop season. Being totally unacquainted with the interior process of breweries or distilleries, I can draw no comparison from them. The only persons I am in the habit of seeing, who are employed in the one or the other, are the men who go about with the drays. I consider them as carmen rather than brewers; and am inclined to suspect, that their athletic appearance, to which the Planter alludes, is more owing to the beer they drink, than to the beer they brew.

Of all the other causes of decreased population in the West Indies which I enumerated, the Planter takes no notice; but asserts that the number of slaves may be kept up on some estates in the old islands, where the number of creoles is great; and thus by quoting particular exceptions, admits the general rule for which I contend. With respect to the policy of ceasing to employ negroes in the West Indies, if their numbers cannot be kept up without importation, I have only to observe, that a great variety of occupations in this country, are so notoriously unhealthy, that (to use his own words) "a succession must always be ready to supply what the hand of death takes off;" and yet the legislature has not thought fit to abolish them.

This strenuous advocate for the rights of man, who accuses me of deriding them, for having adduced instances to shew, that in the happiest communities, great sacrifices of the liberty of the individual must necessarily be made for the general good; and that the compulsion of labour is not peculiar to a state of slavery; when he comes to discuss his title to his creole slaves, entirely shifts his ground; abandons the rights of man, abandons every moral principle, every consideration of humanity and natural justice, all which he had urged against the slave trade, and attempts to support the right of slavery, upon that legislative authority, by which he contends that the continuance of the slave trade ought not to be sanctioned; refers to laws

declaratory of the legality or illegality of the slavery established in the colonies; and asks how the present bill declares it to be unlawful? This bill certainly makes a most curious and extraordinary distinction: for it declares "that it shall be unlawful to use or deal with any person as a slave, in any place not being within the dominions of his majesty." Thus we, who challenge to ourselves the proud title of freemen, and boast of our country as the land of freedom, legalize slavery in the British dominions, and abolish it in all the world besides! Such are the absurdities to which men are driven, who endeavour to bend the immutable principles of justice to interest or policy. On what grounds can those who contend for the abolition of the slave trade, justify slavery? while they vindicate the end, will they condemn the means; and the slave trade is but the means of which slavery is the end. The planter does not admit my position, that if it be unlawful to make men slaves it must be unlawful to keep them so; but says, "it is quite clear that a man may forfeit his liberty, and equally clear that no man can by force deprive another of his liberty." It is admitted that a man may forfeit his liberty, by crimes against the state, which make it necessary to banish or confine him. But how have his creole slaves forfeited their liberty? what crimes have they committed, for which they can justly be doomed to bondage, they and their descendants yet unborn to the remotest generation? None.—By what just right, then, can he keep them in slavery, if the slave trade be unlawful? While he asserts that no man can deprive another of his liberty by force, he contradicts the assertion by his own practice. He deprives his slaves of their liberty by force, for he will not pretend to assert that they continue slaves voluntarily. It is the Planter himself, and not Mercator, who "forgot the birth-right of the negro, and considered only the acquired right of his master by purchase." As a farther argument in support of slavery, the planter asserts, "that a person born in bondage does not acquire freedom for his inheritance;" and "that, in the northern part of Europe, the peasants are appurtenant to, and pass with the soil;" still abandoning every consideration of right and wrong where his own interest is concerned; and if the doctrines by which the abolition is supported are admitted and recognized, justifying his own oppression by the oppression of others.

By the force of imagination, the Planter seems to have transported himself to his own estate, and to have dreamt that I was haranguing his gang of negroes in the West Indies, instead of addressing myself to your readers in England. The alarm which he betrays, shews his apprehension that the insurrections and massacres, which I have predicted as the natural consequences of the abolition, are too likely to ensue. He inquires "what object this part of my publication could have in view?" My answer is, if possible to prevent them; by lifting up my warning-voice against that blind enthusiastic zeal, which, in alliance with selfish policy, threatens our colonies with desolation. I rejoice that the Planter is alarmed. Reflection may perhaps induce him rather to risk "the supply of sugar exceeding the consumption," than to put both life and fortune to the dreadful hazard that awaits the abolition, as the forerunner of attempts at emancipation. The external causes of discontent, which I stated as necessarily arising from that measure, are founded on the self-evident proposition, that many hands make light work; and cannot be reasoned away, till the truth of that proposition can be controverted. The creole negroes are not deficient in understanding; and, unless the Planter can extinguish every spark of reason in their minds, will not internal causes of dissatisfaction too operate? He asks jocosely, "whether they can be worked upon to avenge the captivity of their grandfathers and grandmothers?" I fear the sense of their own wrongs, will be quickened by the remembrance of those done to their ancestors, as well as by the prospect of those in store for their children, if once they be taught that the slave trade has been abolished by the British legislature, as being contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. The Planter interrogates me respecting the different characters of the creole and the African negroe. I must candidly tell him, that my observations on this subject will not be very consolatory. Most of the plots and mischiefs that I ever knew of in the West Indies, originated with the creoles. They possess more intelligence and intrigue, and therefore are more dangerous than the Africans. During the insurrection in Grenada, dreadful instances occurred of the most remorseless treachery and savage barbarity; which were chiefly exercised by those fa-

voured slaves, in whose attachment and fidelity their unhappy masters placed the most implicit confidence, and thus became their victims.

The Planter wholly disagrees with me on the subject of the trade going into the hands of foreigners; and relies strongly on "the Americans having adopted the solemn pledge of the British parliament, and having anticipated them in the abolition, under penalties too severe to fear any thing from that quarter." I have made some local observations in America, as well as in the West Indies; and am not quite so sanguine. I believe, indeed, that the bill for the abolition will be passed by the American government; but I also believe, that the trade will still be carried on as much, nay, more than ever, because the temptation will be greater. It was abolished in the state of Rhode island very soon after the independence, but has been continued there, notwithstanding, to a very great extent. If I were not afraid of writing a libel on the administration of justice in that country, I should say that the case of Mr. John Brown shews the impossibility of convicting any man of that offence by a Rhode island jury; and according to the constitution of America, no man can be tried but in the particular state where the offence is committed. The senate of Carolina have already rejected the bill; and this decision will, I suspect, render every attempt of the federal government to enforce it there completely nugatory. So far from his majesty having made such arrangements, in concert with other powers, as will secure the universal abolition of the traffic, not one of all the other nations of Europe has joined us in the measure; though the negotiation gave ministers a full opportunity of learning their sentiments. That those of Buonaparte are adverse from the abolition is indisputable; for he declares that he shall be governed by the interests of his colonies. Indeed he has taken credit to himself for not having sold the inhabitants of Berlin as slaves, and given a hint that he may not always use victory with the same moderation. Admitting then, for a moment, that the abolition would produce those happy effects on the inhabitants of Africa which its advocates anticipate; by passing the bill now before the house, without a general co-operation with other powers, the slave trade will not be abolished, it will only be thrown into other hands, and be carried on without any regard to those humane regulations which have been imposed upon it by the British parliament. Foreign commerce and colonies will be aggrandized at the expense of those of Great Britain, and the cause of humanity will be injured instead of being benefited.

My object in first discussing this subject, was to combat erroneous principles, and to remove unjust prejudices. In replying to the letter of a Planter, I have been actuated by the same motive. Sentiments once delivered to the public are open to public animadversion. I complain therefore of none of his criticisms; but the uncharitable imputation, that "I had rather my forebodings should be verified, than my opinions be derided," might have been spared. May heaven avert the one, and the Planter is welcome to the full enjoyment of the other.

No man deprecates the slave trade more sincerely than I do: but, as I said in a former letter, it has involved us in a choice of difficulties; in avoiding Charybdis we fall upon Scylla; and I do most seriously and conscientiously believe, that it cannot be abolished at all, without the general concurrence of the other European powers; and that it cannot be abolished with any good effect, even to the inhabitants of Africa themselves, unless their minds are previously enlightened, and the present ferocity of their manners is civilized. I think farther, that this measure, whenever adopted, should be accompanied with some plan for a gradual emancipation; as the only means of repressing that spirit of revolt among the negroes in the West India colonies, which it must otherwise, in the nature of things, be expected to excite.

These are the deliberate sentiments of my mind, upon the best consideration that I have been able to give the subject. I now sincerely hope that my opinions may prove erroneous, and my apprehensions groundless; for I consider the question on abolition as almost decided, and that what principally remains to be seen is, whether the justice and humanity of the legislature is to be totally exhausted on the blacks, or reserved, in a due proportion, for those fellow subjects of their own colour, resident in, or connected with the West Indies, whose lives or fortunes may be sacrificed at the altar of misguided philanthropy.

MERCATOR.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Sir,—In the discussion which has taken place lately on the abolition of the slave trade, it was said "opinions differ on the necessity of the abolition for the safety of the islands;" so they do on every subject that can be started. How then are we to be guided but by the sentiments of those, who, from local knowledge, experience, and conviction founded on long observation, are enabled to decide? These are the resident planters; there is no difference of opinion among them. But the abolitionists tell them, they know nothing about the matter; that they are obstinate and will not be taught or persuaded. What would the representatives of Yorkshire and their brother 'squires say to a West India gentleman who should tell them, tho' he had never even seen Yorkshire, that they were all ignorant, perverse people, not acquainted with their own interests, and incompetent to judge of, or manage their own concerns? Why sir, they would deem him mad. It was then asked, what should prevent the keeping up the negroe population without the importation of fresh slaves? and it was asserted, that the cause was, their being scantily fed, and overworked. An observation too, was tacked to this, "that it was not so with the common people in England, who were well fed and not overworked." I sincerely wish such was the state of the labouring poor in England. But some of the best men and humane masters, resident for many years on their own estates, have experienced the total impossibility of dispensing with fresh importations, and the causes are easily to be assigned. A negroe girl becomes perhaps a mother at twelve years old, and by sixteen is past child-bearing; this is the effect of the climate; whereas, our women breed to fifty and upwards, and the farther you go to the north, to a later period do you find the women prolific. Again, the excessive and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and the drugs and medicines they use to prevent pregnancy, or procure abortion, are fatal enemies to the increase of population. These are the only causes; and it will be easily credited that no planter wishes to be at the enormous expense of purchasing negroes, if he can possibly do without it. If there have been instances of the negroes being scantily fed, we must attribute them also to the real causes; not to the want of humanity or inclination, but inability of the planter to feed them well; for the better they are fed, the longer and better are they likely to work to his advantage. But, the fact is, the planter is overburdened with enormous taxes, duties, and restrictions, without a market or means of consuming the produce of his estate. Thus reduced to poverty and indigence himself, we cannot wonder if the negroes suffer also. Put the planter in a state of ease and comfort, and you will see his negroes thrive; for it is a well known fact, that the finances or credit of the planter may be ascertained by the appearance of his estate in every British West India island. But after all, I can assert, without fear of contradiction from those who have visited our old islands, that the negroes are better fed, less worked, better taken care of in sickness, more comfortably provided for in old age; in short, are happier, in every respect, than the parish labouring poor of Yorkshire, or any other county in England. I certainly agree, there is no need of new islands, nor of the extension of our sugar colonies, whilst we cannot dispose of the produce of the old ones. But the emperor of the French would, I believe, be very glad to accept those we may choose to reject. It certainly does not appear from Talleyrand's communication on that head, that his royal master has the slightest intention to abolish the slave trade. I fear he is much too wise and knowing. I rather think, he would make peace, and even offer sacrifices into the bargain of another sort, if you will let him have these islands which we despise and hold so cheap. With the monopoly of the slave trade, he would soon have a navy to protect them, and thus shortly attain the summit of his ambition, *ships, colonies and commerce.* It has been truly said, we should look to St. Domingo. Let us do so. Was it not the native creole negroes, not the fresh imported ones, who began the insurrection, and have been most barbarous and cruel towards their masters and their families? Toussaint was a native postillion; Christophe was a native *valet de chambre;* had travelled to Paris and London, with his master; had there heard the question of the abolition agitated, and the *code noir* explained and extoiled.

These were the ground-works and origin of all the miseries of St. Domingo. Let me next inquire, if it is sound policy to abolish a trade which so greatly contributes to our national wealth, and commercial prosperity? which gives employ to thousands of your industrious manufacturers, and affords a market for the produce of their la-

bours; which is a nursery for such seamen as fought with Nelson, with Duckworth, and with Strachan, and affords the means of manning our navy, the *decus et tutamen* of Britain? And is it justice to the planters, and those, who under the sanction of repeated acts of the British legislature, have embarked their fortunes in the trade itself, and its various ramifications, thus to ruin them at a blow; to destroy "the means by which they live;" and, perhaps, to sacrifice the lives of thousands of them, without suffering them to produce a single evidence in their defence? Does not the administration of British justice, when life, property, or character, are at stake, require evidence upon oath? And why is this most constitutional right denied to the planters and merchants at the bar of the house of lords, and the mere information given (not on oath) to the house of commons, admitted as full, conclusive, and sufficient to condemn them? That information is known to be false, and, in many instances, obtained from persons unworthy of credit. Humanity does not suffer by removing convicts and prisoners from a worse to a better state, by saving the lives of persons otherwise doomed to death, and placing them in a situation of comfort preferable to that of our labouring poor, and I may add, as free; for if the latter *impatiens pauperiem pati*, and all the misery of a work-house, should be driven in despair to leave his wife and family, he is hunted down by the parish-officers as a rogue and a vagabond, and, as such, is subject to transportation, except he should shield himself from this punishment by enlisting in the army or navy, and so leave his disconsolate and afflicted family to pine under those sufferings he had not fortitude to support? Again, I say, humanity does not suffer by rescuing numbers of human beings from being butchered, which they otherwise would be, to prevent a general famine; for we read, in an author as correct and as worthy of credit as Mr. Park himself, "that the produce of the country in Africa is not sufficient for the support of its population, and that famine, or massacres, to lessen the number of consumers, must one or the other be the inevitable consequence of the abolition of the slave trade"; and this applies to the interior of the country as well as to the coast; for numbers of slaves are brought from regions far distant, and unknown to Mr. Park. The boasted civilization of the interior, as far as Mr. Park went, goes little beyond, (if my recollection is right) the chief of a village sitting at the extremity of it under a tree on a cow's hide, with a raw sheep-skin over his shoulders; and, if report is to be credited, Mr. Park has now fallen a victim to the total want of it. But if Africa, and the state of the Africans there, are so much preferable to our civilized colonies, and the yoke of British slavery, tempered with humanity, how comes it that not one of the thousands of native African negroes who have obtained their liberty, aye, and have amassed property too, should never have thought proper to return home to his family and friends, and all that might be supposed to be dear to him? None; no, not one has ever done so. But it is said too, "Religion requires the abolition." I would ask all our reverend divines to point out to me how religion has been offended by the slave trade; and to shew me the proofs of it from scripture? Has not slavery existed in all ages, as it should seem, by divine permission?

And should we not have had warnings to forbear, and visitations, if, in spite of them, we had persisted? Has any thing like this happened? No; on the contrary, this country, whilst carrying on the slave trade, and particularly since the year 1750, when the African company was established, has enjoyed a greater proportion of prosperity and happiness than any other nation upon earth. This is the very reverse of warnings and visitations. And we have, indeed, good reason to believe, particularly at this awful crisis, when other nations are sinking under the weight of divine wrath and chastisement, that we are a favoured one upon earth, under the immediate protection of the Almighty, who has averted from us those miseries with which others have been sorely afflicted. If the slave trade had been an abomination in the eye of the Almighty, he would not, even without a rebuke, have suffered us so long to persevere. The hand of Heaven would have chastised us, as it has done others. I have already touched on the dreadful consequences of the abolition in the islands. It is true the "negroes know the sense of the British parliament;" I do not believe they will make any distinction between abolition and emancipation; but, if they *should*, it has been pretty clearly hinted to them, that the one is to lead to the other. Is it then religion, policy, justice, and humanity, to leave thousands of ill fated devoted planters to be maugled and tortured by wretches, whose minds

are inflamed by the means adopted to lead them to a state for which they are unfit, and by reasonings to which their comprehensions are unequal?

The colonial laws have been revised and amended. If they were not sooner, it is the fault of the British, not the colonial legislature. If the British parliament has a right to decree the abolition, it had a right to legislate the revision of the colonial laws. The murder of a slave is punishable with death; and severe chastisement is put an end to by the governments of the respective islands. Wholesome regulations have been made too for their comfort. But, in reply, we are told the oath of a negroe cannot be admitted as evidence against a white man. To be sure it cannot, and the reason is obvious: there might soon be no white men left in the islands. They might soon be legally executed on false accusations, supported by the oaths of beings who are totally ignorant of the nature and meaning of one, and indifferent as to the consequences of a false one. In this country, the evidence of a person uninformed on this head, is ever rejected. If, through the medium of your instructive and entertaining weekly publication, I can avert the impending storm which threatens this once prosperous, free, and happy, country; if I can prevent the stoppage of credit, the decay of commerce, and the ruin of our navy; if I can convince those who are not deaf to conviction, that our natural enemies will inevitably and quickly build a commercial and maritime greatness on our infatuation and folly; in short, if I can, in any way check the abolition, I shall think I have rendered a real service to my country. SENEX.

MONUMENTS FOR MR. PITT.

Death had scarcely closed the mortal career of this illustrious statesman when the Foxites, with their leader at their head, combined to blast his memory, by denying to it the last tribute of national gratitude and homage. Some of them went so far as to declare that Mr. Pitt would only be known by the mischiefs he had done;—others, that in a year, he would be totally forgotten. By the fortuitous malice of their organ, in his own university, that learned body were denied the privilege of recording him as they wished. This, however, they have nobly redeemed, by a splendid, and superabundant subscription.

The Gallery of the British Institution, in Pall Mall, contains numerous models for monuments to perpetuate the fame of this GREAT MAN; in which our principal artists have most successfully rivalled each other; and their only difficulty seems to have been, in the multitude of his splendid actions, which to select, or how many to combine, in their groupe. Mr. Bacon's idea is peculiarly grand and striking, and appears to bear away the palm.

It was, however, to mention one fact only that I have inserted this article; and it is this; that a college, in the university of Oxford, having determined to place a bust of Mr. Pitt among their worthies; some time since gave an order to Mr. Nollekens to that effect; which was not likely soon to be completed, as their's made the *forty-third* order which this one artist had then received for busts and monuments of this great statesman.

"Ye *Petty* stars hide your diminish'd heads!"

Russian State Paper—continued from page 128.

"The prisoners we have taken declare that they have lost, in killed and wounded alone, above 6,000. Our loss could not immediately be ascertained, as the messenger was dispatched the moment the affair was over; but it does not exceed 2,000. General Benningsen proposes giving a detailed account as soon as possible. He adds, that he cannot sufficiently praise the courage and intrepidity of the troops of his imperial majesty; and, among other things, he mentions that major general Kojin, with the imperial body regiment of cuirassiers, and two squadrons of Cargopol dragoons, charged a detachment of the enemy, consisting of 3,000 infantry, which were upon the point of cutting off major-general Bagganout; and, notwithstanding the galling fire of the enemy's artillery, they were cut to pieces to a man. Thus Buonaparte's attempt upon the destruction of the corps under general Benningsen was defeated, and complete victory was gained over him."

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°9. Saturday, February 28, 1807. Price 10*d*.

HISTORICAL.

Hitherto I have abstained from making any observations upon the transactions which have occurred upon the continent, and for a very obvious reason, namely, because I know nothing at all about them. We have had no intelligence whatever, upon which any political or military writer can presume to offer a safe opinion upon the events which have taken place. The storm of war hath reached a portion of the world, little known to the inhabitants of the western parts of Europe; the channels of information are obstructed; and, consequently, we have no other medium of intelligence, than through the fallacious reports of an enemy, whose principal policy consists in fraud and detraction. Under these disadvantages, no man can undertake to narrate with confidence the events that are recorded only by *ex parte* evidence. The public are ignorant of the operations of the Russian army, except from the reports of general Bennigsen. One fact, however, we may rest assured is completely established, and that is, Buonaparte's head quarters are at Warsaw, and apparently rivetted to the soil, while the right and left wings of his army are besieging all the strong holds which are situated upon either of his flanks. The policy of this measure is extremely problematical; for, in the event of the French sustaining a great defeat, these insulated corps scattered over a long line of operations, would fall successively into the hands of the victorious party, without being capable of making any effective resistance. The allies would pass the fortresses which are thus garrisoned by French troops, follow up their advantages over the body of the French army, and recover their towns without difficulty. This was Buonaparte's plan of operations in Italy, and because it was new and daring, it succeeded, as all new operations will do, when they are the result of the combinations of genius and vigour. For the present, the captured fortresses serve as depôts, whence the French army is supplied promptly and in every direction, with the extorted products of the industry of the half-famished inhabitants of Germany. The Russians, on the other hand, though defending their own frontiers, draw their supplies from a considerable distance, and through a wild and dreary country. If this be a disadvantage, it is amply counterbalanced by the comparative frugality, and little waste observed in a Russian army.

In the absence of all official communication from the continent, I shall here venture to make a few reflections upon the present aspect of European affairs, founded neither upon chimerical hopes, nor wild analogies; but, upon that experience which the events of a war of fifteen years fully authorize.

So long ago as the month of November, 1806, I opened the Historical Digest of the week with the following declaration:† "It is my opinion that the prospects of Europe are brighter at this moment than they have been at any period since the renewal of the war upon the continent." This was made at a time when most men desponded of the public safety, and when the magnitude of the Prussian catastrophe induced them to believe that all resistance to the arms of France would prove unavailing. Knowing, as I do, the genius of the French in war, and being fully sensible of the great talents of their generals, I have nevertheless always endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my readers, that the power of France would be reduced, whenever the armies of Europe could be brought to renounce the German system of tactics, as an exploded and useless prejudice. In the course of this work, I have been furnished with manifold opportunities of exposing the futility of that system when placed in opposition to the tempest of French aggression; and experience has since shewn us by the progress and triumphs of the enemy, that my reasonings have been demonstrated by melancholy facts. It is not by making war upon the French after their own manner, that success is to be expected; but by eluding their attacks as

† *Vid. No.* 50. *vol.* I.

much as possible, and by suffering the concentrated violence of their operations to b spent in fruitless attempts. The battles of Austerlitz and Auerstadt are proofs o the justice of this maxim: in the latter, which was the severest contest perhaps eve fought in modern times, the long experience of the French generals and troops ac quired in active service, proved victorious over the parade discipline of th Prussians. Hence, the loss of a kingdom was the result of one battle. In ever country of Europe, particularly in Great Britain, the science of commanding a army seems to be considered as an innate gift derived from heaven: meditatio study, and practical experience are not thought to be necessary. This is a mo contemptible and ruinous prejudice. A disciplined army doubles its own number under the command of expert generals, because it is always made to act with a co lected force upon one given point. In whatever position it may be placed, o wherever it may move, it always appears in a concentrated form, every part actin as a support to the rest, and bearing a relation to the whole. Now, this was not th case with the armies of the continent, whose ideas of discipline never embraced th true military science, but were confined to a mere collection or routine of form half-measures, correctives, and miserable supplements. Hence, the most fancifu expedients have been resorted to, in order to fill up a chasm, which common sens would have effected at once. No man can look upon some of the plans of buffooner lately introduced into the British army, without regret; scientific men regard the with the derision and contempt they merit. It is of no consequence whatever to th operations of an army, whether a soldier in active service wear a long or a sho tail; but it is of very great consequence to the individual soldier, that he should no be harassed and tortured to death, after the fatigue of a battle, or a long march, b sitting up half the night, to clean his clothes, and jack-boots, or to organize hi German tail and whiskers. All this pedantry of military science is better calculate to ruin than to make a good soldier. It betrays such imbecility of mind, as to stam the authors and admirers of it, with the indelible mark of ignorance and vanity The French go forth to conquer with numbers, courage, and discipline; and there fore, with 500,000 soldiers, they have subjugated or awed fifty millions of men. I Europe is to be saved, it can be saved only by the combination of the power o numbers, courage, and discipline: for though courage will, in extreme cases, suppl the place of discipline; and though discipline will, in some instances, supply th place of courage; yet neither will ever be found competent to cope with the union of these qualities. At the battle of Auerstadt, the Prussians had numbers, courag and discipline; yet their enemies prevailed over them. How shall we account the for their overthrow? The answer is obvious. The Prussians *were defective in disci pline;* not in the mechanical business of single regiments (for no soldiers understoo that mummery better than they did) but in the discipline, or in more appropriat terms, in the science of manœuvring a great army in the face of an enemy. Hence the means which had been provided for opening the campaign with vigour, were no directed with ability; and persons unacquainted with military affairs, and anxious t account some way or other for the unexpected defeat of the Prussians, presentl assigned as the cause, the circumstance of a fresh body of men having been brough into action by the French in the course of the battle, which turned the fate of th day in their favour. From this consolatory statement, it was pretended that th French army overpowered their adversaries by numbers. Now, though it be tru that a reserve of 10,000 men *did* decide the contest; yet, it does not necessaril follow that the French army was so much superior in numbers to the Prussian. Th fact is, there was no comparison between the two armies in point of skill, and th French evinced their superiority in this respect, by manœuvring in such a manne as to give their forces the appearance of a superiority of numbers; whereby they wer enabled to keep a strong corps of reserve to complete the work whenever necessary To the Prussians, this reinforcement would naturally assume the form of a fres supply of troops; whereas it composed only a small proportion of the whole forc brought into action. I shall endeavour to explain this matter to the reader. Fo the last twelve years, the French generals have entirely laid aside the old ideas o tactics, which consisted in securing a chain of posts, in occupying every clump o trees, every mole-hill, and, in short, of being *every where* along an extensive line, t

as to make an army spin itself to an inordinate length. The French generals justly consider this system of tactical ubiquity as a rope of sand, which they can break and penetrate when and where they please; but the Prussian commanders were of a different way of thinking, and persisted in the old system, notwithstanding the reverses which had attended the Austrians in Italy, and during their last campaign, by adopting it, and the uniform successes of Buonaparte by opposing to them a contrary line of conduct. Hence, the Prussian mode of carrying on the war was methodical, slow, *et secundum artem;* the mode of Buonaparte was enterprising, violent, and in defiance of the old rules. They were making combinations, whilst he was preparing for battle: they were shewing themselves on all points, while he made a point of appearing strong but on one: they were extending themselves, and endeavouring to circumvent him by their manœuvres, while he contracted himself, and advancing rapidly in mass against the point which it was of importance to him to force, broke in a moment the line and the combinations which they had formed against him. These truths were fully illustrated at Auerstadt; for, we find, that while the Prussian generals were making their combinations, and stretching their lines, God knows how far! they forgot to occupy the defiles of Naumburg, and the passes of Koesen, on the possession of which the fortune of the day depended. And they assign as the reason of this neglect, the fear that their army would have been turned. An army of above one hundred thousand men apprehensive of being turned! What nonsense! This dread of being turned, has turned the heads of all the German generals, with the exception of the Archduke Charles, who has invariably practised a different system in all his campaigns; and accordingly, we find that the Prussian army, like all the German armies before it (the archduke's excepted) was defeated.

But, independently of this consideration, there were several moral causes which led to the ruin of the Prussian army, and on account of which, I have made these preliminary remarks, the king of Prussia having learnt, by a dear-bought experience, the necessity of obviating them in future. I allude principally to the composition of the Prussian army, throughout all its gradations. Merit was not promoted; rank and court-interest constituted the chief pretensions to preferment. The fact has been admitted by the king of Prussia himself, in the "*Proclamation concerning the abolition of several abuses in his armies,*" which he issued from Ortelsburg on the 1st of December, last year; and which important document will be found in a former number of this volume.† Before I offer any comment upon this state paper, let us contrast the French soldier with the Prussian of the old school. As I have already observed, the French owe their successes to the new mode of fighting which they have adopted. They precipitate themselves like a swarm of wasps upon all the points which they wish to force. An hundred drums beat the charge without ceasing: at this noise, which animates the assailants, and intimidates those who are to wait their attack, the bravest advance, shouting and mutually encouraging each other. Young generals put themselves at their head, and share their dangers. Some of these generals were formerly, like themselves, privates, and have been advanced by their merit to their present stations. With such examples before their eyes, and knowing that the door to military preferment is open even to the lowest; it cannot be wondered at, that every officer and soldier should exert himself to the utmost, in order to distinguish himself, and to obtain those distinctions which constitute the highest object of the military profession. The matter was otherwise ordered in Prussia. There no man could be an officer, however exalted his merit, without being a noble; and if he could produce a scroll, in which his pedigree was traced from Noah, the greater claims he would possess for promotion. The soldier was never promoted above the rank of a non-commissioned officer: nothing was done to excite and uphold his bravery and good-will: he was left to all the horrors of his profession; the idea of killing or of being killed was constantly presented, naked and unqualified, to his mind. It was never disguised by the enthusiasm of honour, by the pomp and glorious circumstances of his profession. As no encouragement was given to the private, as no citizen could become an officer who was not of noble birth, the military life was restricted amongst the officers to a particular class of men, a policy

† *No. 5. p. 91, &c.*

... and the private had no cheering pros-
... by the rewards of the sovereign. Thus,
... by that scandalous traffic in the pur-
... decay of martial spirit, and that criminal neg-
... countries; its composition was radically bad.
... to invite the enthusiasm of the young without
... his Prussian majesty in the proclamation alluded
... secret of forming *a good army*; and has declared in
... *soldiers, as well as the privates, if they distinguish themselves*
... MIND," as important a characteristic of a good soldier
... *entitled to promotion, as any prince or nobleman in the*
... *who has committed crimes, shall be excluded from being an*
... that these salutary regulations were not issued previous
... it they had been, the king of Prussia would have had no
... want of *presence of mind* in his army. It is truly pitiable to
... by necessity to adopt rules of policy, to which they disdained
... their prosperity; it is deplorable to see merit encouraged and
... when a kingdom is on the verge of ruin. No circumstance can more
... condemnation of the Prussian court; and it is to be hoped, that,
... late, every other government will profit by the tremendous lesson,
... in good time, to call into activity, the genius of all its people, and to
... wherever it may be found, without regard to titles, wealth, or personal
... The government which refuses to pursue this policy will fall; for the
... of fortune are too small in number to maintain the honour of that state
... knows not how to reward the talents and devotion of any of its citizens. If
... readers will turn to the fifth number of this volume, and read with attention the
... proclamation of the king of Prussia, they will discover, at one glance, from the very
... of the new regulations laid down for his army, that the system of that army,
... us to the battle of Auerstadt, was so wretchedly defective, as to make it expe-
... for the king to promulgate a novel constitution, in the same manner as if he had
... engaged, for the first time, in Prussia, in the creation of an army.

In thus arraigning the tardy justice of the Prussian government, I hope it will not be imputed to me, that I am exulting over the calamities of the house of Brandenburgh. Nothing would cause greater pain in my bosom, than even an insinuation of the kind. By thus delivering my sentiments with frankness, I am addressing myself to the yet unconquered spirit and patriotism of those few remaining countries which have hitherto escaped or eluded the violent effects of Gallic ambition. The king of Prussia, notwithstanding the fraudulent and fatal policy of his ministers, is entitled to the respect of all mankind, for the firmness with which he has resisted the proffers of a triumphant and treacherous foe, and for the fortitude with which he has borne a large share of adversity; which, from the prowess of his troops, the renown of his country, the general wisdom of his administration, and his own personal virtues, could not have been expected. With resolved valour, he pursues the recovery of his patrimonial dominions, and is determined to succeed, or perish in the attempt. This principle alone is worth more than an army of one hundred thousand men.

These general remarks will materially abridge our time and labour, when treating of the conduct of the Russians, to whom we must now direct our attention. It is rather curious, that while the spirit of useful reformation is animating the military councils of the continental powers, we are occupied in the introduction of those fooleries which they have found it necessary to discard; and are discarding that system which they now adopt, and which originated in the good sense of the people of this island. Even in Russia, measures, built upon a broad and popular base, have been taken to frustrate the plans of the enemy. The Russian manifesto, inserted in the 5th number of this volume, is a very interesting and extraordinary production; and it furnishes us with a better insight into the true state of the habits, usages, and resources, of that country, than any publication, however voluminous, which has appeared upon the subject. The fundamental principle upon which the new military constitution of Russia rests, is, *the general armament of the people*: and

so far is the Russian government from agreeing in the opinion of our military legislator, Mr. Windham, upon the propriety of confiding to a regular army, principally, the defence of a country, that it openly avows the direct contrary opinion. It states that, " the miseries which have so rapidly overtaken the neighbouring countries, evince the present necessity of recourse to unusual means, to great and vigorous measures, which can only be carried into effect by a zealous attachment to our country ; by a manly firmness of spirit, and a true sense of national honour. A people really inspired and actuated by sentiments of that description, ARMING IN A BODY, may raise an insurmountable rampart against every hostile attack, however formidable. Neglect, in providing for their internal security, BY SUCH GENERAL ARMAMENTS, during the present contest with France, in opposition to her system of plunder and rapine, has been attended with the most perbicious consequences to Austria, and not a little contributed to hasten the downfal of Prussia. Their fate was determined by the loss of a few battles ; after which the enemy meeting no obstacle, and dreading no opposition from AN UNARMED POPULACE, suddenly forced his way through the interior provinces, spread devastation and terror by his rapid and violent depredation, destroyed the scattered remains of a routed army, and effected a total overthrow of their empires."

One would have supposed that these excellent sentiments, together with the regulations for a general armament attached to them, had been written by an Englishman of the *old school*. No ; they are the suggestions of necessity and experience —they are indications of a sound and wholesome policy, which, seeing thoroughly the extent of the public danger, summons, into active exertion, the whole physical strength of an empire that is to be preserved. The day has then at length arrived, when the posterity of the Burleighs, the Walsinghams, the Bacons, and the Temples, are to receive instruction from the borderers upon the frozen sea. What Voltaire said of Russia, by way of insidious compliment for the protection granted to a few atheistical literati, is now become an acknowledged truth.

C'est du Nord aujourd'hui que nous vient la lumière.

Having pointed out the prudence with which Russia has prepared to meet the war upon her frontiers, it may not be amiss to notice also the encouraging regulations which *she* has likewise established, in order to stimulate the zeal, enterprize, and courage of her subjects. In an article from Lemberg, dated the 18th ult. we learn, that, " to animate the courage of the Russian soldiers, the emperor has promised to promote every officer who shall distinguish himself, besides a grant of crown lands, &c. The wounded privates are also to receive pensions, and their widows and orphans to be provided for." From the nature of all these judicious measures, we have substantial ground for believing, that a barrier will not only be interposed against the further progress of the French, but also, that after a little more experience in their mode of fighting, the Russians will ultimately expel them from Germany. Hitherto all the operations of the Russian generals seem to have been conducted with consummate prudence: they have been wary and cautious ; they have avoided every attempt to bring them to a general action; and confined their manœuvres, at first, to partial affairs of out-posts ; but, when their troops, by frequent exercise in this mode of fighting, had acquired a sufficient degree of self-confidence, they indulged their soldiers in pitched battles with a portion only of their adversaries, and the result has shewn, that the ravenous maw of Death has been banquetted with two plentiful and superlative French *fricasées*. But Death is still hungry : the honour, the sufferings, the vengeance of human nature require, that this appetite should continue to rage while a single Frenchman remains in the Germanic empire. Never was a soldier of fortune cast into a more perilous predicament than this vile adventurer from Corsica, who has too long disturbed the peace and happiness of Europe. I know but of one method by which he can extricate himself from the imminent dangers which menace him ; and that is, not by the valour, skill, and number of his forces, but *by taking advantage of the faults of his enemies*. These faults have been the foundations upon which that crafty villain has raised the superstructure of his unexampled military successes. For the sake of Europe, for the ultimate glory of the Russian arms, for the sake of the civilized world, and of unborn ages, I must repeat, again and again, that the only certain

mode of defeating the French is, by eluding their attacks. These observations would have been rendered unnecessary, after the official details published by the Russians, of their operations, if in those details it had not been announced, that *a general engagement was expected.* Surely, the combined generals of Prussia and Russia will not again risk the fate of Europe in a general action, after the sad experience of such a measure before their eyes. Unquestionably, they must be the best judges of its propriety; but, it is impossible for us not to tremble for the result. Numbers, in a general battle, are of much less consequence than skill and experience. For, under the disadvantages of a want of professional experience, it would require 50 Russians to move a body, which, with a single man, Buonaparte can raise by the application of his lever. On the other hand, by persevering in the system adopted by general Bennigsen, the Russians will become so familiarised with the French manner of fighting, as to know either when to elude, or when to meet it, with a certainty of success. Then will the moment have arrived for avenging the wrongs of humanity—then the dogs of war should be unmuzzled, and the genius of unrelenting fury ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm. When the tide of success begins to turn, it will be beyond the power of man to save, from utter ruin, that grand army of robbers and assassins, which has bullied, cajoled, intimidated; beaten, and oppressed, the greater part of Europe. If that day should ever come, (and it will, under Providence, assuredly come, if the allies be not too impetuous) we shall see the bloody drama of tyranny terminate at once. A moment's reflection will exhibit this prediction in the fulness of probability. The sanguinary tyrant is now five hundred miles from the frontier which encircles his empire of slaves. His resources are wrung from the reluctant Germans, by whom he and his human machines are abhorred. Far different will be his condition, in the event of defeat, from that of the king of Prussia after the battle of Auerstadt. He will have to retreat through countries wherein every inhabitant is an enemy; where destruction, in a thousand various forms, will present itself at every step to his disheartened army. In front, in rear, upon both flanks, will be heard the cry of vengeance; and millions of thirsty blades will be uplifted, gleaming a furious and indiscriminate retribution. The phantom of a Kozak will then suffice to put a French brigade to flight, in the same manner as in the holy and rapid campaign of Suwarroff in Italy. In the field, no quarter will be given; to the supplicant, no mercy will be extended. Fierce as savage and untamed nature, the allies will be then able to accomplish all the great ends of public justice, by suspending, for a time, the modes of civilized warfare. It will then be known, that lawless violence has an allotted term. The vast, tremendous, unformed, spectre, which has arisen out of the tomb of the murdered monarchy of France, in a far more terrific guise than any which ever yet had overpowered the imagination, and subdued the fortitude of man, will fall to the ground, and the noise of its downfal will resound to the vaults of heaven.

Such, I maintain, will be the result of pursuing that mode of warfare which the relative situation of the contending armies prescribes. If the allies neglect to be governed by this rule of prudence, we must not be surprized if the prediction of Volney should be at length fulfilled, though by a different route—namely, that after the capture of Petersburgh, Buonaparte will skirt along the shore of the Black sea, and burst, like thunder, on Constantinople.

From the arrangements which the Russian government has made for the defence of its empire, and the repulsion of the common enemy, this catastrophe is not likely to be realized; and from the mode of fighting pursued by general Bennigsen, hitherto, the prospect of European emancipation appears to be much more probable than at any other period of the war. Neither has the king of Prussia been inactive. A new Prussian army has taken the field; and though we have no authentic information respecting its numbers, all the accounts from the continent estimate it at about 80,000 men. The Russian force is stated at 200,000. We are now to examine into the various operations of these armies, as far as can be collected from the bulletins of the French and Russians.

The French and Russians came into contact in the latter end of December, when, for several days, some smart rencounters took place between them. From the 23rd to the 26th of that month, various actions of different magnitude were fought, be-

tween Warsaw and Ostrolenka. The French bulletins are so crammed with lies, contradictions, and incongruities, that it is extremely difficult to make a reasonable narrative out of them. The French assert, that they had the advantage in all these actions; and the Petersburgh Gazette of the 7th ult. positively declares, that "*the French were repulsed in every instance.*" Now, as I have before observed, the French are such liars, that they ought not to be believed even when they speak the truth; and, as we have had no cause hitherto of detecting any wilful misrepresentation in the Russian accounts, it follows, that the Russians are more entitled to credibility than the French. To which we may add, that the subsequent positions occupied by the French army denote, unequivocally, that they have been beaten, or, at least, foiled in their projects. This will presently appear.

According to the 45th French bulletin, gen. Bennigsen had retreated to a considerable distance from the Vistula, in consequence of *their* successes. This falsehood is completely exposed by the official report of general Bennigsen, from which it is evident, he fell back until he had been joined by the remaining divisions of the Russian army, which were on the march. A body of French crossed the river Narew, at its junction with the Ukra, and there entrenched themselves. The different corps, under Ney, were united at Gallup. Bessieres, with a strong corps of cavalry, marched from Thorn, towards Biezun, followed by Bernadotte, with his corps. Soult passed the Vistula, opposite Plock; and Augereau passed at Zackrocyn. On the 22nd of December, the French established a bridge over the Narew, and on the 23rd, they threw another bridge across, at the confluence of the Narew and Ukra, for the purpose of attacking the intrenchments which had been thrown up by the Russians. The whole corps of Davoust, with all the reserve of cavalry, collected at the Narew on the 22nd. It seems the Russians were intrenched near the village of Czarnowo, where an action took place by moon-light, on the 23rd, the result of which, the French state, was favourable to their arms, as they obtained possession of the batteries of Czarnowo, and of the bridge. Nevertheless, they tell us, that these objects were not accomplished until "*after an obstinate resistance*" on the part of the Russians, and with the loss, on their own part, of "a few killed, and 200 wounded." But, admitting the veracity of the French statement, it is most clear, that they were worsted in this affair; which, in imitation of the gasconading model of Buonaparte in Egypt, they magnify into "battle during the night at Czarnowo;" for, the fruits of their gallantry, after carrying all these batteries, were, "*a few prisoners* and six pieces of cannon." Unfortunately, the Russian general has not made any report of this *battle*; or to speak with more truth, success was on his side, since it is mentioned in his official narrative, inserted in the Petersburgh gazette, as one of those affairs of out-posts, "in which the French were repulsed in every instance." Doubtless, he considered it as too contemptible an affair to record, though favourable to the Russians. In this action, as well as in every subsequent one described in the poetical bulletins of the French, we find that "some of the enemy's generals were wounded;" the poets always mistaking drummers for generals.

The next engagement which we are desired to call the "Battle of Nasielk," terminated in the defeat of the French, though, with their wonted impudence, they claim the victory. Nothing can be more diverting than the French account of this affair. On the 24th of December, they fell in with the Russian advanced guard, about three miles distant from Nasielk. Two regiments of dragoons were detached to turn an extensive wood, and to surround this advanced guard; a movement which was executed with promptitude, "*but*" (this was a cursed *but*; for the Russians were as prompt as the French) "the enemy finding that the French army made no movement in advance, suspected some manœuvre," (that is, smoked them) "and did not keep their ground." So "the barbarians of the North," begin to evince some skill at last! But how did the genius of the mighty and invincible Napoleon display itself upon this occasion? "Some charges, however, were made, in one of which Major Onwarroff was made prisoner." Here we descend from wounded generals, to the capture of a major. "The enemy" (Russians) had taken a good position, his intrenchments being secured by morasses and woods."——This is an imprudent admission, inasmuch as it gives the lie direct to a former part of this

identical bulletin, which represents the Russians as wholly ignorant of the military science. "Marshal Kamensky commanded in person, and thought he might pass the night in that position, *to await the arrival of other columns to join him.* Vain calculation! He was driven out of it, and *compelled to retreat* several leagues, *though fighting all the way.* A few Russian generals were wounded, &c." It is a pity that this jocose bulletin did not reach England at Christmas time, as it would have contributed greatly to the pleasure of our gambols. I have already shewn, that the retreat of the Russians was not "a vain calculation," as it was evidently their object to draw the French from their intrenchments at Praga, a little further into the interior of the country, in order to give time for the fourth division of the Russian army under Prince Gallitzin to come up, and to divide the French forces *. Even the French bulletin admits, that the object of marshal Kamensky was "to await the arrival of other columns to join him;" though it was "a vain calculation," on their part, when they affirm that he was *compelled* to retreat. Retreat was his object; but, Russian-like, he would not retreat without striking blows. Furthermore, the effects of this *constrained retreat*, we shall soon find, the French had good reason to deplore. Thus, upon the face of the French bulletin, I insist, that the French were severely beaten; because an army retreating from politic motives to concentrate its force, may beat an enemy, though it yields ground. It is like a serpent recoiling, that it may strike with greater effect.

The river Ukra was passed by the French, at the same time, that the affair narrated above took place. Although it was accompanied by no military circumstance worthy of commemoration, the French bulletin announces it, in splendid terms, as "THE PASSAGE OF THE UKRA;" which reminds me of the base and fulsome flattery of that abandoned people, who, in the age of Lewis XIV. made all Europe resound with the noise of the passage of their army over the Rhine, at a part, where I myself, accompanied by a gentleman, since a general in our army, passed across it, the greatest part of the way, without the tops of our boots having been touched by water. Boileau sung, like a sycophant, the glories of this passage; and the hall of audience at Versailles is loaded with paintings emblematical of the exploit—sad proofs that the pencil of the artist is as susceptible of being corrupted, as the pen of the prostituted poet! It is well known, that the French are more ignorant of geography than any civilized people upon the face of the earth; therefore, if their bulletin had mentioned that they had passed the river Styx, the lie would have been accepted and adopted. Aware of this, they have presented us with another passage, to wit, "*The passage of the Sonna,*" a stream of as much difficulty and importance for them to pass, as the New River at Sadler's Wells. From their own accounts, this *renowned* passage affords not a single event worthy of record on the page of history. The only circumstances deserving of attention, are, the movements which led to the battle of Pultusk. Davoust had occupied Tycokzyn, and, according to the French bulletin, which again developes their defeat, however distorted by misrepresentation, "all the columns of the enemy were broken, and wandering about in a state of disorder difficult to be imagined.—*Had the season been favorable*, one might have predicted that the Russian army *could not have retreated, and that it would have been destroyed without a battle;* but, at a season when it is dark at four, and where it is not light until eight o'clock, the enemy we are pursuing has every chance of escape, particularly in a country naturally difficult and intersected with woods. Besides, the roads are 4 feet deep in mud, and the thaw continues. The artillery can no longer advance more than 2 leagues in a day. It is, therefore, *easy to foresee*, that the enemy will effect his retreat from the embarrassing situation in which he is placed." This is not the language of conquerors. Roads that are 4 feet deep in mud, present as many impediments to the retreat as to the advance of an army; and, therefore, when the French represent the escape of the Russians as probable, it is "*easy to foresee*," that, to use their own phrase, "in a country where there are no regular roads, one is in the *mud* at every step." It is not often that we meet with such a muddy apology for want of success. That the French are in the mud, and will remain so, I have but little doubt: ingenuity may be racked to gloss over

* *Vide official account of the battle of Pultusk in No. 7, of this Review.*

their defeats, but it must be a greater degree of ingenuity than any they have yet manifested in their official reports, or the eyes of Europe will be opened.

We are not in possession of any intelligence relative to the time and place of the junction between the Russians and Prussians; but we know that it has been effected from the nature of the attack stated in the 46th bulletin. On the evening of the 25th of December, the left of the French army, consisting of the corps under Bernadotte, Ney, and Bessieres, were marching from Biezun on the road to Grodno: Soult was entering Ciechanow: Augereau was marching for Golymin and Pultusk: Lasnes was at Pultusk.* The movements of Ney were directed against the Prussians, whose communication with the Russians he was charged to cut off; and, accordingly, several sharp engagements took place on the 26th of December, the day whereon the French sustained a signal defeat by the Russians. The French state the Prussian force at 6000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, which they threw into confusion, after having taken 500 prisoners, 5 pieces of cannon, and 2 standards. In every instance, since the French have been in the mud, they claim the victory, without giving the least evidence to prove it; and I am the more disposed to conclude that they have been discomfited from the following passage, which closes the 47th bulletin: "His majesty" (meaning the Corsican) "has given particular orders, that, in the official details of the different affairs, no traits be passed over which deserve to be conveyed to future ages; as it is *on that account*, and in order to live for ever in the memory of posterity, that the French soldier braves every fatigue and danger." It would be interesting to know how many French soldiers fight for the sake of having their names transmitted to posterity; in the mean while, it was not amiss to cheer up the dispirited serfs, and to throw out a hint to the poetical manufacturers of the bulletins to quicken the pace of the conscripts.

The detail of the battle of Pultusk has been already given in our 7th and 8th numbers, from the Petersburgh gazette; but it must be confessed that there is a confusion both in the French and Russian accounts, which no care can, at present, reconcile. According to the French, there were two battles fought on the 26th of December—one at Pultusk, and the other at Golymin; in both of which, the French were, of course, victorious. General Bennigsen does not mention a syllable of the battle of Golymin; but expresses great surprize, bordering on reproach, that general Buxhowden had not joined him. From this circumstance we cannot avoid concluding that the action was a general one, and not two distinct engagements as the French stated; for Pultusk and Golymin are not more than five miles apart; and Bennigsen says, in his letter to the king of Prussia, that he was attacked *on every point* near Pultusk. This battle appears, from the French accounts, to have been severely contested; so much so, as to compel the authors of the bulletin to commit a palpable anachronism. For, though at three o'clock in the afternoon, "the fire was extremely hot," "night coming on *too soon*, the battle continued till *eleven* o'clock, &c." During the engagement, Soult's corps had arrived at Masati, two miles from the scene of action; "*but*" *(encore)* "the horrible sloughs, the consequences of rain and thaw, arrested his march, and saved the Russian army, of which *not a man would have otherwise escaped!*" These horrible sloughs appear very opportunely for the French whenever they are worsted; for I doubt not, that the corps of Soult was roughly handled, and that the horrible sabres of the Russians, and not their sloughs, arrested its march. Observe again the astonishing effects of mud: "the destinies of the army of generals Bennigsen and Buxhowden seemed as if they would have been completed on this side the little river Orege; *but*, every plan was thwarted by the effect of the thaw." Buonaparte acted wisely in sending his *mandamus* to his mitred lacqueys, desiring them to put up prayers for him and his army; for all the elements conspire against them whenever they are in sight of the Russians. The weather is always the reverse of what it ought to be; and whether it be hot or cold, frost or thaw, snow or mud, clear or foggy, day or night, it is continually favourable to the Russians, and injurious to the French; the former, therefore, must be

* *This is a lie: for in the Petersburgh gazette of the 7th ult. we find general Bennigsen in front of Pultusk, and in the 47th bulletin it is stated that Lasnes did not arrive opposite Pultusk till the 26th of December.*

preserved by a visible interposition of Providence. In the action at Golymin, the French acknowledge the loss of 800 killed, and 2000 wounded; but being masters of all the Russian positions, and having repulsed them nearly 120 miles, Buonaparte ordered his army into winter quarters!

With these rhodomontades, we should contrast the official accounts of the Russians. In a former number, the report of the battle of Pultusk was inserted as it appeared in the Petersburgh gazette. The following is general Bennigsen's letter to the king of Prussia.

"I have the happiness most respectfully to acquaint your majesty, that I have succeeded in repulsing the enemy, who yesterday morning attacked me on every point near Pultusk. The main attack was made by general Souchet, at the head of 15,000 men, on my left wing, near Farmgurka, in the view of getting possession of that town. I had only 5,000 men, under general Bagonaut, to oppose the enemy on that side. They made a brave defence till I sent a reinforcement of three battalions of reserve, and afterwards three more under general Tolstoi, by which means the right wing of the French was totally defeated. The second attack, equally brisk, was made on my right flank, where general Barkelay de Tolly was posted with the van-guard. This wing extended, on the road towards Stzegocyn, to a small wood, where I had placed a covered battery, which the enemy attempted to turn. I therefore made a movement backwards on their right, which succeeded so well, that I not only frustrated the attempt of the enemy, but was also so fortunate as to reinforce general Barkelay de Tolly with three battalions, ten squadrons, and one battery, to repulse the enemy; on which the enemy retreated from the wood. The attack commenced at eleven in the morning, and lasted till dark. From the relation of all the prisoners, I was opposed by Messrs. Murat, D'Avoust, and Lasnes, with an army exceeding 50,000 men. They have lost about 5,000, according to their own account.

"All my troops fought with the greatest bravery. The following generals particularly distinguished themselves: Osterman, Tolstoi, Barkelay De Tolly, Prince Dolgorouky, Bagonaut, Sommeff and Sitoff of the infantry; also colonels Daviddoffsky and Gondoff, &c. &c.

"Field-marshal Kamenskoi departed from Pultusk for Ostrolenka on the morning of the 26th December, previous to the attack, and again gave up the whole command to me, so that I have had the good fortune to command alone in this affair, and to beat the enemy.

"I have to lament, that the long expected succour of general Buxhovden had not arrived, although he was only two German miles distant, and even halted half way. I should otherwise have been able to follow up my victory. I have further to lament, that the total want of provisions and forage obliges me to retire with my corps to Rozaw; the enemy has not molested me in my retreat.

(Signed) "BENNIGSEN."

"Rozaw, 27—15 December, 1806."

In the above letter it is stated that marshal Kamensky departed for Ostrolenka on the morning preceding the battle; a circumstance which has given rise to injurious whispers. It is right, therefore, to state, in as delicate terms as possible, and leaving the reader to draw the natural inference, that I have been informed, upon good authority, that marshal Kamensky was found at some distance from the scene of action, with only three attendants, under a tree, stark naked, and busily employed in adjusting and decorating himself with his different orders! In consequence of this derangement, he was sent off to Petersburgh. A braver man never existed.

The 49th bulletin mentions that Breslaw had capitulated; that the French cavalry was not far from Koeningsburg; that the Russians were moving towards Grodno; and concludes with throwing out the poison of the seditious principles of a Frenchman to delude the Russian soldiery. The 50th bulletin records merely a few skirmishes between the French auxiliaries and the Prussians under the prince of Pless. The 51st bulletin flatly contradicts what was asserted in the 48th; and the 52d, dated from Warsaw, contains nothing of military operations.

According to the 53d bulletin, the fortress of Brieg in Silesia has capitulated; and general Victor, whom the 49th bulletin stated, in its facetious way, to have set out with the 10th corps of the army, to lay siege to Colberg and Dantzic, and to "*take*

these places during the winter," is himself *taken*, and actually a prisoner in the former of these fortresses. The 54th bulletin, dated Warsaw, Jan. 27, enumerates some trifling affairs of posts which always terminated to the advantage of the French, though the following little slip seems to denote that they were beaten: "some battalions of light infantry belonging to Ney's corps, had advanced twenty leagues from their cantonments; the Russian army took the alarm, and made a movement on its right. The battalions have returned within the line of their cantonments." Bernadotte took possession of Elbing and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic; while Drouet entered Christburg, and made a few prisoners. But, the most interesting part of this bulletin consists in the slight notice taken of a very decisive battle at Mohringen, which exposes fully the forgeries and misrepresentations of the enemy. The account given of it is as follows; "A Russian column had gone to Liebstadt, beyond the little river Passarge, and had carried off half a company of the Voltigeurs of the 8th regiment of the line, who were at the advanced posts of the cantonment. The prince of Ponte-Corvo, (Bernadotte) informed of this movement, left Elbing, collected his troops, advanced with Rivaud's division towards the enemy, and met them near Mohringen. On the 25th, at noon, the enemy's division appeared 12,000 strong. We soon came to blows. The 8th regiment of the line fell upon the Russians with inexpressible bravery, to repair the loss which one of its posts had experienced. The enemy were *completely routed, pursued four leagues, and compelled* to re-pass the Passarge." From this detail, the reader would naturally be led to suppose, that the action was inconsiderable, and that the French were complete masters of the field. This illusion is wholly dispelled by the arrival of the "*Official report to the royal government of the lieutenants and commanding officers of the general staff, Messrs. Von Bodt, dated* ELBING, *Jan.* 29, 1807," as follows:

"The intended junction between marshal Bernadotte and marshal Ney, the former of whom marched in the night, between the 24th and 25th, from Elbing, has been interrupted on the retreat of the latter near Mohringen, in consequence of the expeditious and unexpected arrival of the combined Russian and Prussian corps. In the enemy's retreat near Mohringen, Liebstadt, and Saalfeldt, four thousand of them were taken prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, and two stands of colours, as well as the whole baggage of marshal Bernadotte. The brave lieutenant-general Von Anrepp, however, of the Russian corps, has been killed by a musket-ball.

"Marshal Bernadotte has been driven back, by the persevering advance of our forces, into the forest of Strasburg, *twenty leagues from Elbing;* and marshal Ney to Przasnicz, in New East Prussia. The former is completely surrounded; but the latter has joined prince Murat, and the combined army will shortly give them battle. The Russian army is commanded by the general in chief Von Bennigsen, and consists of ten divisions, or upwards of two hundred thousand men, which will be joined in a fortnight by Hetmann Platou, with twenty pieces of riding artillery, and thirty thousand Cossacks.

"Position of the ten divisions of the army:—1. General Von Essen, with forty thousand men, stands near Brochi and Wissocki, in Macomiecki, New East Prussia.—2. Major-general Sedmoratzky, with twenty thousand men, near Johannsberg, Cloys, and Nickolaiken, between the lakes.

"The remaining seven divisons, which are fronted by two van-guards and a corps of cavalry, have their left wing extended towards Neidenberg and Passenheim, with their right towards Eglau.

"General L'Estocq is posted from Saalfeldt to Reisenberg and Marienwerder.

This communication, independently of its containing a full refutation of the falshoods circulated in the French bulletins, is extremely important, as it enables us to form a correct idea of the positions of the combined armies; which will hereafter serve as the points whence we may trace their movements. It is evident, from this specification, and from the date of the report, at Elbing, which had been occupied by Bernadotte, that the Russians were victorious; and if any confirmation of the fact were necessary, we shall find it in a very extraordinary article inserted, by the authority of the French government, in the Hamburgh Correspondenten of the 14th inst. wherein it is stated, in the short space of a few lines, that though the Russians were routed, and driven back two leagues, yet Bernadotte, "remained on the field

until two o'clock the next day, making movements *to cover the left flank of the grand army, while he gained time to carry off the wounded.*" Furthermore, the victorious French *retreat* three leagues on the same day, and two days after the battle, take a position at Loebau, nearly 40 miles from the scene of action, where "they *wait* for the enemy who does not make his appearance." The evidence, therefore, is conclusive in favour of the Russians.

Having thus recorded, with as much discrimination as possible, the events which have occurred, and brought up the details to the present day, it will be proper, in the next place, to direct our attention to transactions in other parts of the continent.

SWEDEN.—Operations have, at length, commenced against Stralsund; but the enemy have not made any progress hitherto. About the beginning of the present month, the French forces in Pomerania attempted to cross in 30 vessels to the isle of Rugen, but they were vigorously attacked by some Swedish gun-boats, which destroyed 28 of them. It appears that Buonaparte has been indefatigable in his attempts to seduce the king of Sweden to renounce the allies. Mortier was the principal agent in these dark and insidious negotiations, in which Buonaparte promised to reward Swedish perfidy with Norway, which belongs to Denmark, a power with whom the French feign to be on a friendly foooting. These base terms were patiently heard, and transmitted to the Swedish court at Malmo; but being only verbal, the Swedish cabinet sent orders to have them in writing; a request that was immediately complied with. Hereupon the Swedish monarch sent copies of the perfidious offers, not only to the courts in alliance with him, but even to his neighbour the Danish court. The terms were indignantly rejected by the king of Sweden, who returned the following laconic answer to Buonaparte: "*I will never become the ally of such a scoundrel as you.*"

AUSTRIA.—According to the last Hamburgh and Altona papers, it appears, that the court of Vienna has formally demanded the restoration of Brannau, as the whole of the contributions imposed by the French has been discharged; and therefore, the French can have no further pretext for withholding it. This will certainly bring matters to an issue between France and Austria; and, in the expectation of the refusal of Buonaparte, the Austrian government is making the most extensive preparations. Its armies are in motion in every quarter, to support the justice of its claim; and it is extremely probable, especially if the allies follow up their late successes, that the Austrians will heartily co-operate with them, in a short time. The loyalty and patriotism of that brave people are most affectingly recorded in the Vienna Court Gazette of the 28th ult. It says, "The Austrian prisoner of war, who have returned from France, have given to their sovereign a striking proof of their attachment; for, in spite of all, they have suffered on their road; and the seductions to which they were exposed in all the states through which they passed, particularly on the borders of the Rhine, where they were obliged to remain some months, out of 36,930 men who went to France, 36,000 have actually arrived upon the Austrian territory. These faithful soldiers chaunted hymns of joy upon their arrival in Austria." With what an admirable augmentation to their force would the Austrians take the field!

CAPTURE OF CURAÇOA.—While our allies are expending their whole strength in an endeavour to accomplish the emancipation of Europe; while the ruler of France leaves his western frontier wholly defenceless, and draws from every part of that country all his troops, in order to overwhelm the allies; the British government appears to view these mighty struggles with immovable apathy, and makes no effort to participate in the common exertion, and to alleviate the burthen of continental difficulties. It will not be credited by posterity, that at a period of such fearful interest, not a single British brigade has been sent to co-operate with our allies, though the administration is composed of men who have repeatedly boasted since their appointment to office, that "England should recover its military consequence upon the continent." This inactivity is the more to be regretted, as it subjects the national character to the imputation of a want of gratitude towards our allies, and of zeal for the common cause. In no instance is this more apparent, than in the indifference which we shew towards that model of public faith, the king of Sweden,

whose forces are now besieged in Stralsund. If any one will cast his eyes over the map of the continent, and see the separation now existing between the corps under Mortier, and the grand French army, will he not be of opinion, that a prompt and sudden descent of a British force might change the face of affairs? Will any one be prepared to assert, that a powerful diversion upon the coast of Holland or France, would not turn the tide of victory in favour of the allies? or is it, that our ministers patiently wait the demolition of all the bulwarks of European safety, before they shake off their lethargy, and think seriously of acting? If the continent fall, we shall be made to experience, that deferred revenge is always put out to compound interest, and exacts its dues with more than Judaical rigour. I fear we are extending our colonial conquests too far; that we are exhausting that physical strength of the mother country in distant enterprizes, which ought to be reserved for the promotion of the general cause. And what is worse, that we are casting away pearls to swine, by acquiring possessions, which we must yield in a state of increased value, on the return of peace; while our old colonies are suffered to moulder to decay, or to be impoverished by the influence of a mistaken philanthropy. What signifies it to Buonaparte how many islands we conquer? He has already announced, that he will regain them without firing a shot; that we shall cede them from our professions of regard for the interests of our allies. His policy is laid deep in the passions of mankind, and if his fortune should not desert him, he will be able to throw upon the cupidity of this nation, all the odium which will arise from kingdoms despoiled of their most valuable possessions, through our unwillingness to renounce our conquests. It is possible for a period to arrive in the history of a state, in which its own power may be the subject of dread to its own subjects. Before we exult, therefore, in our acquisitions, we ought, previously, to reflect upon their positive advantages, and their permanent establishment. The capture of the island of Curaçoa, is an event which does not fall within the scope of these reasonings. It was effected by our seamen, and with a promptitude, vigour, and gallantry, which have never been surpassed. The conquest was achieved, to use the language of commodore Brisbane, in his dispatch, by "a system of attack, which British seamen are so capable of executing." Only *four* British frigates, the Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fisgard, * effected this glorious event. They surmounted obstacles that would have appalled a force ten times their number, of any other nation. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tier of guns: fort Amsterdam alone consisting of 66 pieces of cannon; the entrance only 50 yards wide, across which were moored two Dutch frigates, one of 36, the other of 22 guns, besides two large schooners of war. These were of themselves fearful odds; but they did not constitute a tenth part of the difficulties which our handful of heroes had to overpower.

On the commanding height of Miselburg there was a chain of forts; and Fort Republic, a fortress once esteemed, but no longer to be deemed, impregnable, enfiladed the whole harbour, within the distance of grape-shot. At a quarter past six o'clock, says captain Brisbane, we entered the port; a severe and destructive cannonade ensued; the frigate, sloop, and schooners, were carried by boarding; the lower forts, the citadel, and town of Amsterdam, by storm; all of which by *seven o'clock*, were in our possession. At ten, the British flag was hoisted on Fort Republique, and the whole island was in our quiet possession.——These are the words of the gallant commander; they are few and sweet; and, like some of the strains of Homer, depict the action as it occurred in rapid and victorious succession. If the committee for managing the patriotic fund should present captain Brisbane and his brother officers with pieces of plate, I should recommend them to cause the word "Curaçoa" to be engraven on each, encircled with the laurel, and the words *Veni, Vidi, Vici,* to be subjoined. Our total loss was only 3 seamen killed, and 14 wounded!!!——I cannot better close this article, than by citing the words of the Commodore, concerning this most brilliant exploit—

WORDS CANNOT EXPRESS THE ABILITY OF THE SQUADRON.

---

* *Commanded by captains Brisbane, Wood, Lydiard, and Bolton.*

NOTICES.

From the great length of this article, I am compelled to omit several articles of great moment, which ought to come, without loss of time, before the public. My defence of lord Wellesley, my remarks on the catholic petition, and on the decision of the house of commons upon the Norfolk election, shall appear, together with a variety of other articles, in my next, which will be a double number.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

ACCUSATION OF LORD WELLESLEY.

As every circumstance relative to this eminent statesman must be interesting to the public, and as I have pledged myself to defend his character and administration against the calumnies of ignorance or malevolence, I think it my duty here to fill up a chasm which has been left void by all the public papers. There is not a single journal which has reported the second speech of sir Arthur Wellesley, and the speech of Mr. Pole, in the house of commons, on Thursday, relative to the Carnatic These speeches, however, contain matter of the highest importance; and therefore, as every honest man, and true patriot, must feel deeply for the defamed honour of one of the greatest characters in the country,—one, whose wisdom, justice, public worth, and vigour, I shall defend while I have existence, I have here inserted the whole substance of the speeches of the two members above mentioned. The first is the speech of sir A. Wellesley, in reply to sir T. Turton's second speech or explanation; and the second is the speech of Mr. Wellesley Pole, which followed Mr. Sheridan's last explanation, and preceded Mr. W. Keene's speech.

Sir Arthur Wellesley said, he hoped, that although the house had heard him before, they would allow him to say a few words, in consequence of what had fallen from the honourable baronet (sir T. Turton). The honourable baronet had said, that "the prince had been torn from a throne, and sent to a dungeon, from which he had never come out alive." This sentence conveyed an insinuation of the same nature, with a calumny, which had been industriously circulated out of doors; and was equally unfounded in fact. The papers which were to be printed, and which he saw that the honourable baronet had before him, proved in the clearest manner, that the prince in question had never been in a dungeon; in point of fact, he had never been in confinement; and had not even been guarded by sentries. There is in the collection of papers a letter to this prince from the present nabob of the Carnatic, in which the prince in question is desired to withdraw from the palace, if he did not chuse to submit to its regulations; which the prince declined; a clear proof that he was not in confinement, and above all not in a dungeon, as was stated by the honourable baronet. It is positively not a fact (said sir A. Wellesley) that this prince was ever in confinement. Sir Arthur then said, that the last part of the sentence spoken by the hon. baronet, contained an insinuation that this prince, who he stated had been in a dungeon, had died by violent means. He said, that he was astonished that the honourable baronet, who had been educated for a learned profession; who had legal habits; and must have frequently examined the force of evidence, should have ventured to carry such an insinuation, when in point of fact, all the evidence went to prove that this unfortunate prince died a natural death. The principles of the constitution required, that a man should be deemed innocent, till he was proved to be guilty; but it never before happened, that a man was charged with guilt, when all the evidence tended to prove, that although this prince had died, he had died a natural death; viz. of a fever and dissentery. The European physician, who attended him in his last moments, certified, that he died with symptoms of those disorders upon him; and the native physician, who had attended him throughout his illness, declared, that those were the disorders by which he had been afflicted. The physicians could not be mistaken upon this subject; and certainly, the symptoms of these disorders are very different from those which would have appeared, if he had died by violent means. It is, therefore, matter of astonishment, that any man should think of making such an insinuation.

Sir Arthur then said, that this was not the first time that a suggestion of a suspicion (for it had amounted to no more) had been stated against the truth of the account of the death of this prince, as mentioned in those papers. It was in the council of Madras: it appears upon the face of those same papers, that one of the members of the council suggested this suspicion; but the noble lord who then presided over that government, (the earl of Powis) with that manliness and firmness which characterised every act of his administration, immediately called upon this gentleman to state explicitly, whether he doubted the truth of those accounts, and the grounds he had for entertaining his doubts? and the result of the discussion was, a denial by this gentleman of his entertaining any doubts upon the subject.

Mr. Wellesley Pole said he did not think it necessary to trouble the house on the present occasion; he should adopt the same line of conduct he had done upon all the former questions relative to inquiry, which he wished to be *as full and minute as possible, whenever Lord Wellesley was concerned.* He said he rose merely for the purpose of explaining to the house, that his honourable relation had not stated what he had said respecting the treatment and death of the prince, under any idea that the honourable baronet (Turton) had meant to attribute to lord Wellesley any share in those events. His honourable relation had not the most distant idea that it could be supposed that lord Wellesley had any thing to do with them. He had risen for the purpose of explaining the circumstances he had stated, which he was enabled to do from having most attentively perused all the documents upon the subject. But it was necessary the house should understand that it never could be for a moment considered, by any person, nor did his honourable relation conceive it had been insinuated, either by the honourable baronet, or the right honourable gentleman, that lord Wellesley could have any concern whatever in the transaction. (*A cry of Hear! Hear! and marks of assent from sir T. Turton and Mr. Sheridan.*) Mr. Pole concluded by saying, that he entirely agreed with every thing that had fallen from his honourable relation (sir A. Wellesley), which had rendered it unnecessary for him to trouble the house, and that he should vote for the motion.

PHILANTHROPIC INSANITY.

Sir,—Certain periods of the world have been remarkable for morbid affections of the human mind, and have been characterised more by a transition from one species of madness to another, than by any improvement of the moral character or faculties. Of this nature was the effervescence excited by that mad enthusiast, Peter the hermit, which depopulated the christian countries of Europe, and impelled myriads to abandon their homes and families, for the purpose of rescuing the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, whilst the altars of their religion, in their own native countries, were profaned by every species of ignorance, sensuality, and idolatry: to correct abuses in distant and nearly unknown regions, they wholly overlooked those which brought the danger home to their own fire-sides, and seriously threatened their eternal welfare.

A mania of a similar nature, though operating in a different direction, has, of late years, made its appearance in this country. Amongst the canine species, it has produced a pretty general hydrophobia, to the great annoyance of the good people of this metropolis, who appear well aware of the madness which rages amongst these unfortunate animals, though they wholly overlook that which more seriously affects themselves—I mean the philanthropic mania, or an extreme sensibility to the most trifling circumstances which affect the distant inhabitants of the poles or the antipodes of every other religion except the christian. This mania is governed by laws totally different from those of physical attraction, which invariably decreases with the squares of the distances, whereas the attraction here, increases in a similar proportion.

People affected with this disorder (and there are serious apprehensions that it has latterly communicated itself to different branches even of the legislature) can contemplate misery and starvation in their own neighbourhood, without the slightest degree of sensation, whilst the bare idea of similar sufferings, at the distance of three or four thousand miles, exalts them to a paroxism of sensibility.

Under the influence of this extraordinary disorder, people of respectable talents, in the apparent possession of all their faculties, and free from any other mental derangement, are capable of recommending, even at this crisis of financial embarrassment, an expensive public undertaking, for the relief of the overflowing population of the Chinese empire, from the apprehension of famine (by transporting them in British ships, to the other side of the world, where their wants would be more easily supplied) whilst, at the same time, they show no disposition to facilitate the transportation of our Gaelic friends, in the Highlands of Scotland, who manifest a strong disposition to emigrate for the same cogent reasons. They have never, it is true, proposed any plan for the prevention of infanticide in this country; yet you are not to conclude that they approve of any such enormity, for they are reported to entertain serious thoughts of proposing a speculation, the object of which is, to send out from this country, in the next China fleet, a sufficiency of wet nurses, to collect all the abandoned children of Canton, and the neighbouring provinces, and transport them to some part of his majesty's foreign dominions, to be preserved as so many living witnesses of their unbounded philanthropy.

They appear to care but little for the African inhabitants of our West India colonies, the result of whose labour enriches our manufactures; gives employment and bread to thousands of our artizans; affords continual supplies of sailors to our victorious fleets; subsidizes armies to fight our battles; and has, more than once, saved us from famine and absolute starvation (by paying for immense importations of grain in years of scarcity) yet, the bare idea of affecting the liberty or convenience of the Arrados, the Mindingos, the Eboos, the Congos, the Borriquees, or of any other of the amiable nations of the African continent, who, on their days of festivity, regale on human flesh, never fails to bring on a violent paroxysm.

Some very observant people are of opinion, that there is a method in this madness, as the persons most affected by it, (whatever they may advise others to do) never make any insane use of their own purses: they always carry on their humane speculations *ære alieno*, and have no objection to secure a favourite object, by the unconditional sacrifice of a few hundreds of West Indian merchants and proprietors, who have been supporting the finance of the country, by laborious pursuits in a destructive climate.

It has been too much the custom with unreflecting people, to regard this philanthropic furor as an innocent kind of madness, the propagation of which would not be attended with any serious consequences; but, having attentively watched its progress and gradual effects, from its first appearance in this country; and having discovered that its virulence depends greatly upon climate (as is clear from the unavailing attempts to inoculate for it at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa) I entertain most serious apprehensions that it will ultimately prove mortal to a large body of useful, respectable citizens, on whom the poison appears to operate with a most deadly influence.

Whatever you may think of me, sir, my madness is of a different nature. I am most strongly affected by what is nearest to me, and being, in this respect, most unfortunately situated, I entertain serious alarms and apprehensions, that I shall eventually fall a martyr to the envenomed bite of these philanthropic maniacs; and under that impression (notwithstanding the low, or no price of sugars) I have come to the patriotic determination of offering a thousand guineas (to be paid at your office) to any one who shall invent an effectual remedy for the disorder.

Mark-Lane, Feb. 18, 1807. A WEST INDIAN.

ERRATA IN NO. 8.

Page 138, line 51, for *projecto* read *projectio*.
— 139, — 5, for *established* read *abolished*.
— 139, — 7, for *abolished* read *established*.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 10. Saturday, March 7, 1807. Price 10d.

DEFENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WELLESLEY.

Depend upon it, this business cannot be indifferent to our fame. It will turn out a matter of great disgrace or great glory to the whole British nation. We are on a conspicuous stage, and the world marks our demeanour.

Mr. Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill.

THE administration of lord Wellesley in India has been for several years a topic of parliamentary inquiry, and of popular animadversion. No pains have been spared to criminate his lordship in the opinion of his countrymen, nor have the artifices of wilful misrepresentation been wanting to raise a clamour against him. The cause of this spirit of detraction will be sufficiently exposed hereafter. But, the country owes to its own honour and justice, as well as to the character of the noble person who has been so wantonly traduced, a duty which it never refuses to fulfil towards every other individual in a state of accusation; it should bring to the investigation of the merits or demerits of lord Wellesley's conduct, a diligent and unprejudiced mind; and, in sifting to the bottom the principles of an administration distinguished by an uninterrupted series of brilliant events, it should not form its conclusions until it has taken an ample survey of the state of India at the period of lord Wellesley's arrival, and thoroughly weighed all the motives of the policy which was pursued by this nobleman while there. Considered in this light, my business ought to be entitled an *explanation* rather than a *defence* of lord Wellesley's conduct; for, by the time we shall have reached the end of the discussion, it will be clearly apparent that lord Wellesley ought never to have been *accused*. From every person, however, this dispassionate mode of judging is not to be expected: the case has to encounter the heart-burnings of selfishness, the mortifications of humbled arrogance, and the resentments of insolent power blinking at the effulgence of a glory which it envies, but cannot imitate. Although whatever relates to Indian policy is considered as involving recondite and intricate points, which none but the servants of the Company are supposed capable of unravelling; although the very mention of Indian politics suffices to deter the great body of the community from listening with patience to any detail of facts explanatory of them; and although it would require a team of elephants to carry the accumulated and accumulating mass of materials connected with the subject which I am about to discuss; yet I hope to be able to strip it of all this cumbersome luggage, and to exhibit the question in so plain a point of view, that every one who is not disqualified from exercising a sound and manly judgment by the spirit and habits of low cabal and intrigue, will be at least as competent to pronounce a verdict upon lord Wellesley, as any aristocracy of monopolists, or corporation of mercantile emperors, who in the rank of statesmen act with the conceptions and character of pedlars. Surely the investigation of that subject which the capacity even of Mr. Paul is equal to undertake, cannot be rejected by any individual on account of its apparent difficulty; and when the character and equitable jurisdiction of the empire are questioned and assailed in the person of lord Wellesley by such an accuser, it is the duty of every man to vindicate and justify them.

But, independently of these considerations, there is an obligation imposed upon us, as the subjects of a free state, to rescue the government under which we live from the calumnious imputations which have been thrown upon it; for it shall soon be made manifest, that if guilt attach to the administration of lord Wellesley, guilt of a more intense and deliberate order is attached to the different governments of this country since the year 1798. To this I will add, that an equal share of this culpability will also belong to the *emperors* of Leadenhall-street. After the representatives of the people have, in the most solemn shape of deliberative wisdom, voted the cordial and grateful thanks of the nation to lord Wellesley for his conduct in India;

after the consentaneous vote to the same effect of the august and supreme judicial authority of which he is a member; after the reiterated thanks of the emperors of Leadenhall-street, crowned by the splendid sanction of our sovereign himself, it must excite in the breast of every honest man sentiments of indignation and disgust, thus to behold the collected wisdom and justice of the state openly reviled; and the governor-general of India, who proved himself, and who is universally acknowledged by the testimony of our natural and eternal enemies, as well as by ourselves, to have been a faithful servant of the crown, the guardian of the interests of the East India company, and the cause of the entire overthrow of the French influence in India, hunted down as a criminal; and on his return to his country, instead of being welcomed with those greetings of admiration and gratitude which his exalted talents and vigorous administration deserved, pursued with a rancour and malignity of spirit, alike disgraceful to the national character, and to the heads and hearts of those with whom this system of persecution originated. For my own part, I can most conscientiously affirm, that I never entered upon any political discussion with so much *indifferency* (I here use the word according to Mr. Locke's acceptation of it) to all the parties, as upon the present occasion. Of lord Wellesley, I know nothing but through the recorded acts of his useful and glorious administration. If I retained within my heart the savage principles and malignant baseness of a demagogue, this would be the time for me to circulate the venom of invective showered upon him; for, I recollect well, that his lordship was one of the privy council, who, in the year 1794, summoned before them and examined that motley host of seditious maniacs, of whom I was one, whose plans, if they had not been intercepted by the courage and patriotism of Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors, would have led to the downfal of British law, and even to the subversion of civil society. But, I have nothing to hope or to fear from lord Wellesley. I have contemplated his character at a distance, without any connection direct or indirect with him or any of his personal friends—I have ransacked all the documents which have been adduced against him —I have waded up to the chin in the dark free-masonry of oriental politics—I have little acquaintance with their majesties in Leadenhall-street—hence I have no personal interest, motive, scheme, or object in this task which I have selected, than what behoves a public writer who feels for the honour of his country, and the reputation of one of its most illustrious ornaments. It shall never be said of me, that I sat still while a distinguished servant of the public, endowed with the most consummate talents for the administration of a great empire, with wisdom to determine promptly on the means of its preservation, and with courage and virtue to enforce those means, is exposed to the obloquy of mean, sordid, and groveling minds, whose whining sycophancy, and whose pretensions to patriotism emanate from faction, and are fostered by resentments. Lord Wellesley is guilty, or he is not. If he be guilty, let the national justice overtake him: if he be not, let the national justice honour him, and his accusers be relegated to the shades of eternal infamy. The result of my investigation of his lordship's conduct may be reduced to two simple propositions, namely,

1. Lord Wellesley is not only innocent of every charge of misconduct alleged against him, but he has saved India by his vigour, and Britain by his policy—therefore he deserves a triumph, instead of a persecution.

2. If the administration of lord Wellesley has been bad, the members of the two administrations which preceded the present one, together with a good lot of the present ministry, the late parliaments, and the court of directors, deserve to lose their heads, while lord Wellesley will be completely exonerated from blame, for having executed the orders and fulfilled the wishes of the authorities by whom he was appointed governor-general of India.

Thus, the case rests upon a complete establishment of his innocence, or upon a dilemma by which he is exculpated. I shall examine it in all its bearings and ramifications, and I entertain not a shadow of doubt but that I shall be able to repel victoriously all the accusations preferred against him, and place his character where it ought long since to have been placed—ON THE PEDESTAL OF PUBLIC VIRTUE.

In order to remove every impediment to a full examination of this subject, it will be proper, first, to lay before the public the state of India in its relation to Europe:

and secondly, in respect of its own domestic condition at the time of lord Wellesley's appointment as governor-general. After having dismissed this part of our inquiries, I shall proceed to explain the measures pursued by his lordship, in conformity with the instructions which he received from the government at home, to rectify the growing evils and abuses which prevailed in that quarter of the globe, to avert the imminent danger with which it was menaced by the co-operation of foreign and internal causes, and to secure the interests of the East India company hereafter from derogation or peril. The nature of this investigation will, of course, comprehend all the charges exhibited against lord Wellesley, together with their refutation.

Lord Wellesley entered upon the government of India in May 1798, at a period of great and perplexing difficulties, when a powerful combination had been formed between the native princes and the executive directory of France, for the purpose of dispossessing the British of their dominions in every part of India. From the moment of the detection of this confederacy and of these intrigues, it was obvious that the governor-general of India could no longer confine his views within the pale of British jurisdiction; it became a point of indispensable necessity that he should survey the map of the world, that he should connect the politics of India with the politics of Europe, and that while he firmly grasped in one hand the keys of all the gates which barred the entrance into our eastern dominions, he should wield in the other the sword of vigilance against the enemies, native and foreign, of the British interests in India. Never before did the annals of Hindustan disclose an epoch of such critical interest as the one in which lord Wellesley was appointed governor-general; for, by collating dates and facts, it will be found that while the native princes were intriguing together, and negociating with the French to subvert the British power in India, the government of France itself haughtily proclaimed, that its object was to conquer Great Britain on the banks of the Ganges. To promote the accomplishment of this design, Egypt was invaded and occupied by French forces; and, from that time, it became the theme of universal belief, that they considered that province as a stepping-stone to the coast of Malabar, where they expected to be joined by the army of Tippoo Sultaun. The documents illustrative of this opinion are numerous and authentic; but, as my limits forbid their insertion here, I shall content myself with referring my readers to the sources where they may be found as I proceed, and confine myself to a succinct review of the political state of India about the time under our consideration, and at the time of his lordship's departure from it. From the authentic Persian papers found in the palace of Seringapatam, after the reduction of that capital, the offensive alliance between Tippoo and the French nation so early as the year 1797, is completely established. These documents, some of which are in the hand-writing of Tippoo, were subsequently authenticated by the head moonshy, or secretary to that sultaun. It is fully proved also, that the object of Tippoo was, "through the aid of God, and the favour of the prophet, by force of arms to extirpate the English, and to give them to the waters and the wind." Besides these vouchers, containing a specific enumeration of the auxiliary force to be sent from France, and the mode of partitioning the conquests which might have been obtained from the British, a secret correspondence was also discovered, at the same time and place, between Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, and Tippoo; by which it appears that the same ambitious and hostile views against the British power in India marked the conduct of those sovereigns from the commencement of the first, until the close of the late war with Tippoo.*

Thus war was in a train of explosion upon the arrival of lord Wellesley in India. In the Mysore, Tippoo, as we have seen, had actually concluded offensive engagements with the French, and had assembled a force, with the avowed design of carrying those engagements into effect: his army was actually prepared for the field, and he declared that he delayed the meditated blow solely from the expectation of *further* aid from France. Within twelve months from the date of his arrival at Fort-William, lord Wellesley, by the promptitude, decision, and energy of his measures, dispersed this lowering storm, overthrew the kingdom of that powerful and ambitious sovereign, took possession of his capital, and raised from a prison to a

* *See these documents in the Asiatic Register for 1799, from page 182 to 246.*

throne, the immediate descendant of the injured race of princes, whose dominions Hyder Ally had usurped. Thus was a power annihilated which had festered in the centre of our possessions, and corroded one of our most important alliances. A prudence less penetrating, or a vigour less active, might have been appalled at the difficulties of supporting a war against the kingdom of Mysore; but it was the peculiar energy of his lordship's mind to anticipate the growth and maturity of those difficulties, to estimate the true extent of the British power, to seize the critical period for action, and to create resources by inspiring a confidence and energy correspondent to the ex ent and importance of his measures.

Some time before the accomplishment of these great events, the previous negociations with the court of Hydrabad presented an invaluable result to the British possessions in the East. At the time of his lordship's assumption of the Indian government, a formidable French force, amounting to *fourteen thousand* men, under the command of M. Raymond, and using the *national* colours of France, was stationed in the vicinity of Tippoo's territories, and hung on the confines of the Carnatic, and of the northern Circars.

The Marhattas were also in a state of internal anarchy, which prevented the Peishwah from fulfilling the duties of his alliance with the company. Our ally, the Peishwah, was completely paralyzed and overawed by Scindeah, whose power was supported by a *French* force under M. Perron.

In Hindustan, an invasion was expected from Zemaun Shah, who had actually written letters to the nabob of Oude, and to the governor-general, in which he openly announced his intentions, and summoned them to co-operate with him in the re-establishment of the Moghul.

In Oude, the government was in a state of complete debility; the troops were mutinous and disaffected; the vizier was obliged to solicit the aid of a body of British troops to protect his person against his own troops, whom he considered to be "worse than useless."

In the Carnatic and Tanjore, the secret hostility of the nabobs was subsequently proved by the correspondence taken at Seringapatam, to which I have before referred the reader. During the last Mysore war, the nabob of the Carnatic afforded effectual aid to Tippoo. The nizam's detachment was nearly starved in passing through the nabob's territories to join the grand army, the nabob having compelled the grain-merchants to load their bullocks with *salt* instead of grain; and the distress of the detachment was so great, as nearly to have impeded its junction with general Harris's army. Our army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800, and it would have required six months for its equipment, even for the purposes of *defence*. The government of Madras declared, that it could not collect together *one* regiment, lest such a movement should draw down Tippoo into the Carnatic.

Public credit was completely gone. The company's 8 per cent. paper was at a discount of nearly 15 per cent, and no money could be borrowed even at 12 per cent.

Such was the condition of our affairs at the period, and for some time after the period when lord Wellesley assumed the government of India. Every one who comes not prepared to prejudge the merits of his administration, must perceive that he was placed in a situation of the most complicated and perilous difficulties. Before therefore we descend to more minute particulars, it will be right to contrast with this condition of the menaced and tottering fabric of our Indian domination, the prosperous state of India when his lordship left it.

The Mysore was completely in the hands of the company, and now forms a principal branch of our military resources.

At Hyderabad, our influence is complete. The French are totally expelled, and we have a subsidiary force there amounting to 7 or 8,000 men, completely equipped and ready to move at the shortest notice.

The power of the Marhattas is extirpated, and the Peishwah is connected with us by the most intimate ties. We have a subsidiary force of 7,000 men at Poonah, and another subsidiary force of 3,000 men with the Guikwar in Guzerat; the French force belonging to Scindeah is entirely destroyed, and the armies of Holkar and the Berar are annihilated.

In Oude, the troops of the nabob are reduced, and British troops are substituted in their place; our frontier is improved, and all danger removed from that quarter.

In the Carnatic and Tanjore, the British authority is firmly established, and the possessions of the French entirely surrounded by British posts and provinces. Not a single Frenchman can stir beyond the French boundaries without being arrested, since, by an ordinance issued by lord Wellesley, no European can travel through the territories of the East India company without a passport, which must be produced at every post.* It is therefore impossible for any Frenchman to attempt to pass through the territories inland, as he is sure of being stopped at the distance of every *ten* miles, and of being confined unless he can produce an English passport, which must be *renewed* at every principal station. All our allies are obliged by treaty to deliver up every Frenchman who may be found in their territories. The governor of the Mauritius, Decaen, sent three Frenchmen in disguise at the close of the Marhatta war into the Peishwah's territories, with letters addressed to the native powers, inciting them to attack the English, and with proclamations in the native languages inviting the people to revolt. At the desire of the British ambassador they were immediately arrested by the Peishwah and sent to Calcutta.

As a proof of the designs of France it may not be amiss to observe, that when the French arrived in India in 1803 to claim the restitutions under the treaty of Amiens, their first step was, though they were at peace with us, to send an officer of the name of Muller into Cuttack, to encourage the rajah of Berar to hold out against us and to invade Bengal, assuring him at the same time of the support of France. This Muller went from Pondicherry in disguise, and was afterwards made a prisoner of war and sent to Calcutta. Some of his reports to the French government were taken in the Althæa, and published. M. Perron always called his army, the *imperial army*, (meaning the moghul) and a plan was actually submitted to Buonaparte for attacking the British power, under pretence of compelling the company to perform their duty to the moghul, who was to assign over our territories as a reward to the French for their services. The arrears of tribute which the French pretend are due from the English to the moghul, and which they engaged to realize, were upwards of thirty millions sterling!

The public credit of the company, at the time of lord Wellesley's departure from India, was raised from a state of depression verging towards a bankruptcy, to a flourishing state of high and progressive improvement. Money was borrowed with the greatest facility at 8 *per cent*, and the company's 8 per cent. paper was at a discount of nearly 3 *per cent. only*. The improvement of credit was therefore at least 12 *per cent*, notwithstanding the war. At the close of the year 1804, the company's 8 per cent. paper bore a *premium* of 1 to 2 per cent; and if the usual supplies of bullion had been sent out, the paper would have continued in that flourishing state to the last moment of lord Wellesley's continuance in India.

The civil establishments were placed, by his lordship, under such judicious and wise regulations, that Sir George Barlow has not been able to effect a reduction of more than a few hundred pounds annually in the civil charges of Bengal, although these charges amount to more than *three* millions sterling per annum. And it is to be observed, that the principal part of the reductions consist in extra war charges, which must have ceased on the return of peace, and the foundation of which was laid by lord Wellesley, in the different orders issued by him in March, April, and May, 1805. The actual state of the finances of India is such, that the debt does not amount to two years revenue; and if peace should continue for three years, no part of the company's debt, in any part of India, will bear an higher rate of interest than 8 per cent. The conquered territories alone now produce *one million* sterling per annum, and are daily improving.

After the peace of Bhurtpore, in May 1805, Holkar fled with the remnant of his forces, and was never able to face any British detachment. Tranquillity was completely restored to the company's provinces in every quarter of India, and the army of Bengal and Bombay, went into cantonments. The army of Fort St. George returned to its usual peace establishment. Holkar, however, after the departure of

* *Vide this ordinance in the Asiatic Register for 1799, p. 265.*

lord Wellesley, advanced with a small force into the Seik country; but he was immediately pursued by lord Lake, who compelled him, on the banks of the Hyphasis, to sign a treaty of peace, and to return to his own possessions in the southern part of Hindustan. Excepting this movement, no military operations have taken place in India since the treaty of peace concluded at Bhurtpore. Our army occupies, in every quarter, its usual peace stations; 8 per cent. paper is at par; we have an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to act; the authority of the laws, and the civil power of the government, are daily extending themselves over every part of our possessions; the revenues are increasing; commerce is improved; and there does not remain any power in India, who can ever bring into the field a force sufficient to meet any one of our subsidiary forces, or to disturb the general tranquillity of that country.

These facts cannot be contradicted; and, therefore, it is impossible for any one to compare the state of India, at the time of lord Wellesley's arrival, and at the time of his departure, without acknowledging, that his able administration forms the most splendid æra in the history of the British East Indies. It is, therefore, untrue and unjust to assert that lord Wellesley abused the trust reposed in him, by transgressing the limits of power which the law had prescribed. After having exercised, for more than seven years, a general superintendence over the British dominions in India; after having frustrated all the machinations, and destroyed the pernicious influence, of the French in that quarter; in short, after having fixed the British power in India, in a situation of so much security and permanence, that nothing but mismanagement can ever endanger it, lord Wellesley returns to his country loaded with accusations of extravagance, rapine, and tyranny.

Let us now investigate the merits of these accusations, retaining, at the same time in our minds, that where an immense territory is far removed from the mother country, it is vain to imagine it can be governed otherwise than by a mixture of different ingredients; that, on the one hand, there should be a powerful and energetic force, capable of resisting those whose very system makes them the eternal enemies of civilized society, and the unceasing disturbers of the peace and harmony of the world; while, on the other, this force and energy should be balanced and tempered by justice, humanity, and moderation, together with a due attention to the interests of surrounding nations, without which our mere power would ill answer the purpose that induced us to maintain a government in India. By this maxim, we should judge the conduct of the late governor-general.

While defending the administration of lord Wellesley, I ought not to omit one fact, which, from its singular complection, may be aptly considered as a curiosity in politics; namely, that for all the errors (if there have been any) of lord Wellesley's government, the members of the council in India, as well as the government at home, are equally culpable; while the useful and splendid benefits conferred upon our dominions in the East, as well as the happy results which have been obtained, either by negociation or war, have emanated exclusively from the intelligence, foresight, and energy, of lord Wellesley himself. Every act done by his lordship, was an act for which the members of the council were equally responsible; for, in a letter, dated May 20, 1805, to the court of directors, they have declared, that they were in the habits "*of almost hourly personal* communication with lord Wellesley, who *invariably consulted*, in the most *confidential* manner, the members of his council." In fact, lord Wellesley never was called upon, in the whole course of his government, to act in opposition to the consent of his council; not *one* member of which, during *eight* years, has recorded a single *dissent* to his lordship's proceedings. When the governor-general is absent from Fort-William, all the powers of the government then devolve to him by law; but, even in such cases, we find, that lord Wellesley kept up a constant communication with the council, who *concurred* in all his measures. The same reasoning applies with equal force to the government at home: for, every act of his administration was done either by the positive orders of his superiours in England, or with their knowledge and tacit acquiescence; and, in all cases, every act was regularly approved by the authorities at home when made known to them. Hence, it is evident, that if an impeachment be necessary, the council, as well as lord Wellesley, are impeachable; but his lordship and the council are completely

justified by the orders and approbation of the authorities in England, who are, of course, the proper persons to be censured, if censure be any where merited.

Of the justice of this statement, we cannot have a more unequivocal proof than in the charge relating to the affairs of Oude, adduced by Mr. Paull against lord Wellesley. If there had been any criminal matter in the evidence brought before the house of commons, it would have been impossible for that house to have suffered the impeachment of lord Wellesley, without committing injustice, and sanctioning the punishment of public servants for having faithfully executed the orders of their superiours. For the conduct of lord Wellesley, in the transactions in Oude, was in strict conformity with the previous orders of the court of directors. In their letter of the 31st of July, 1787, they state, "One thing is clear; *the defence of Oude must be provided for.* If, therefore, the Cawnpore brigade be not equal to such defence, either the viziers own troops *must be reformed*, so as to make them serviceable, or another detachment of the company's troops *must* be stationed in the country, the additional expense of which he may be enabled to defray by *reducing his own useless troops.*" And, in their letter to the government of Bengal, of the 22d of April, 1796, they say, "Under the intimate connection which at present subsists between the vizier and the company, we deem it to be your indispensable duty to interfere, whenever it shall be deemed necessary, not only with advice, but with remonstrances, in order to bring about that effectual reform in his administration, without which, both his and the company's affairs, must be exposed to embarrassment." Again, in their general letter of the 15th of May, 1799, para. 40, No. 1. p. 29, the court remark, that "the large, *useless*, and expensive military establishments within the Oude dominions, appear to us to be one of *the principal objects of economical reform*, and we have *much satisfaction* in finding that the subject has already come under your consideration."

Thus, it is evident, that in all the transactions of his government, relative to Oude, lord Wellesley acted in direct obedience to the orders of the government at home, to whom he regularly reported all his plans, and all his measures. In conformity with this systematic rule of communication, after he had written on the 23d of December, 1798, to the resident at Oude, a detail of his plans respecting that province, in which he mentioned, that a part of it ought to be taken into the hands of the company, in the event of the expected demise of Almas Alli Khan, a proportionate reduction being made from the subsidy; lord Wellesley caused, as usual, his letter to be recorded in the proceedings of the government, and it was sent to England in the ordinary course of official correspondence. It is not true, therefore, that the transactions in Oude were carried on "without the concurrence, approbation, or consent, or even without the knowledge of the council;" an assertion which is further disproved by the letter, dated 20th May, 1805, from the governor-general in council, signed by Sir G. Barlow and Mr. Udney, upon the mode of conducting business, wherein it is stated, in the 15th paragraph, "that a sense of public duty, as well as the respect which the governor-general entertains for the members of the supreme council, would have precluded the governor-general from adopting *any measure* of importance, *without a full discussion* of the subject with them, and the members of the supreme council would have considered it to be their duty to have *formally objected* to any such course of proceeding."† Here, then, we are furnished with a decisive and complete refutation of the charge of lord Wellesley's acting *without the concurrence* of the council, and, at the same time we are enabled to connect the members of it (who continue to retain the favourable opinion of the court of directors) in an equal share of the imputed culpability with the governor-general. Upon documents equally unexceptionable and conclusive, I shall prove, that the court of directors are also accomplices in these *odious* transactions. In obedience to the orders of the court of directors to the government of Bengal, in 1787 and 1796. and to the tenor of the 40th paragraph of the general letter to Bengal, dated May 15, 1799, in which *the reform of the large, useless, and expensive, military establishment, within the Oude dominions*, is particularly recommended to his

† *Vide also lord Wellesley's letter to the secret committee, as early as the 3d of October, 798.*

attention; and, agreeably to the intentions which he had previously announced to the court of directors, from October, 1798, to March, 1800, lord Wellesley invited the nabob to dismiss those obnoxious military establishments, and to supply their places with detachments of the company's troops. The whole of his lordship's proceedings in this affair, was duly recorded amongst the acts of the government, in June, 1800, and regularly transmitted to the government at home, in a letter from the governor-general in council, to the secret committee, dated 31st of August, 1809. To these official communications were added, his lordship's separate reports to the secret committee, dated the 3d of October, 1798, 21st and 28th of November, 1799, 25th of January, and 7th of March, 1800; in all of which it was distinctly stated, that, in consequence of the arrangements which had taken place to effect the objects before mentioned, a greater army was maintained in Oude than before; and that a saving would accrue to the company of 50 lacks of rupees per annum, which would thenceforward be defrayed by the nabob of Oude. The court of directors are deeply implicated in the *turpitude* of these arrangements, and by a chain of connection, too strong to be broken either by equivocations or quibbles: for, the secret committee, in a letter to the governor-general in council, dated December 4, 1800, thus expressed their opinion and *approbation* of his arrangement; "We entertain *a due sense of the* HIGHLY ESSENTIAL SERVICES of our governor general, *in the persevering zeal with which he has effected a reform in the military establishment of the nabob vizier; a measure not less contributing to the preservation of his excellency's dominions, than to the relief of the company's finances, by furnishing a large additional subsidy, to the annual amount of 50 lacks of rupees, to reimburse the charges of the late augmentation of our troops in that quarter, so necessary to be made, in view to the ultimate security of our own possessions against the invasion of Zemaun Shah, or of any other power hostile to the British interests. We have the* FIRMEST RELIANCE *upon the* CONTINUANCE *of his lordship's exertions for introducing the* NECESSARY IMPROVEMENT *into the* CIVIL ADMINISTRATION *of the affairs of the nabob vizier.*"——So then, the court of directors not only stamp with their approbation, in terms of the highest panegyric, the arrangement made by their governor-general, of which they were fully informed, but, they urge him, in this very article, to *interfere* in the internal affairs of Oude, and to *continue* his exertions for introducing the *necessary improvement* in them! Upon what pretext, therefore, can Mr. Paull, substantiate his charge against lord Wellesley relative to the transactions in Oude, when, if criminality attach any where, it much attach, in a pre-eminent and exclusive degree, to the court of directors, who *instigated* lord Wellesley to introduce those changes, and who *approved* of them, in every stage of their progress?

But, to elude this responsibility, an attempt has been made to draw a distinction between the secret committee and the court of directors; a vain subterfuge to screen malevolent rancour, and to avoid conviction! The persecutors of lord Wellesly have affirmed, that the court of directors, and the secret committee of directors, are two bodies, totally distinct from each other. But, the fact is otherwise. For, by the 33d of Geo. III. cap. 52, and by the annual orders of the *court* to the governments abroad, the governments are ordered to obey the "*instructions of the secret committee with the same punctuality as if those orders were signed by thirteen or more directors.*" The secret committee is *appointed* by the directors, and consists of three directors; therefore, this act of delegation to a part, implies a general responsibility upon the whole body of directors. With the arrangements of the directory for the purposes of secresy, or dispatch of business, we have nothing to do. The appointment of a secret committee is a matter of convenience or expediency, of which *they* are the most competent judges; but, when once appointed, and when empowered to issue orders, and to determine questions of the greatest moment in political government, we are bound, both in law and equity, to consider *their* act, as the act of the court of directors. If it were otherwise, there would be no uniform rule by which our remote governments could be conducted. The court of directors order their servants to obey this secret committee, in whom they vest an absolute legislative jurisdiction; and, therefore, I insist, that they are bound by the acts of their delegates. We might as well pretend, that the peo-

ple of Great Britain are not bound by the acts of their representatives in parliament, as to affirm, that the court of directors are not as solemnly bound by the acts of their secret committee. Why transmit to their distant governments an instruction to obey implicitly the orders of the secret committee, if that committee be not the legitimate organ of their sentiments? Why trifle with the honour, feelings, and diligence of their servants abroad, by setting up an oracle, whose decrees they can revoke, or renounce at pleasure, as it may suit their selfish views, or gratify their personal resentments? Why, even in the plenitude of the oriental despotism exercised in Leadenhall-street, presume to lay down a precedent in defiance of the common and statute law of the realm?—The act of parliament cited above, ratifies fully the power and the delegated trust of the secret committee: the annual orders of the court of directors confirm that ratification; therefore, that court are, in every respect, as answerable for the acts of their secret committee, as if they originated in, and were enforced by themselves. The attempt to draw this distinction, is as contemptible as the motive from which it arose; it is a low and pitiful monument of counting-house evasive sophistry, never surpassed by the tricking dexterity even of the Mosaic tribe, from the earliest date of the adventures of that shuffling generation.

But, even admitting the justice, and fact of this distinction, and allowing to its authors all the benefit they hope to derive from it, I shall now prove, that they will gain nothing thereby; for, *the court of directors* were also thoroughly acquainted with and *approved of all* the military arrangements in Oude. The following extract from the general military letter of that court, dated February 11, 1801, parag. 27 and 51, establishes this truth. "We have *no doubt* that the system ascertained by these arrangements (in Oude) is HIGHLY ADVANTAGEOUS to the *security* and *prosperity* of the Bengal provinces; and, of course, whatever addition it may have been necessary to make to our native infantry establishment, for the purpose of fulfilling these engagements, *will be cheerfully acquiesced in.*" Again, "The arrangements in Oude not only *furnish a strong defence for our northern frontier*, by the large army stationed there, but *add to the security of our internal possessions* in Bengal and Behar."

Having now shewn that the supreme council in Calcutta were parties in all the transactions in Oude, for which lord Wellesley is accused; that the secret committee at home, highly approved of those transactions; and that their approval was fully and unequivocally confirmed by the court of directors, who, in December, 1800, had, upon their table, the offer of the Nabob to abdicate his government, and the plan of lord Wellesley, in consequence of that offer, to assume the civil and military government of Oude in the hands of the company; the whole of which plan, without a single exception, was approved by them; I feel justified in asserting, that if any share of blame be imputable to lord Wellesley for effecting that plan, blame of a more onerous and criminal nature, ought to be affixed to the government at home. Therefore, lord Wellesley cannot be impeached, without associating with him, the supreme council in India, and the mercantile emperors of Leadenhall-street. To this evidence we should add the final approval of the whole of lord Wellesley's arrangements by the government at home, as appears in a letter from the secret committee, dated November 19, 1801, wherein they say, "we consider the stipulations therein contained, as calculated to improve and secure the interests of the Vizier, as well as those of the company, and to provide more effectually hereafter for the good government and prosperity of Oude, and consequently, for the happiness of its native inhabitants." An equal degree of approbation was signified by the court of directors in their letter of the 14th of September, 1803, which was signed by Mr. Jacob Bosanquet and Mr. Roberts, *two* of the members of the secret committee who had signed the letter of November, 1801, *approving* of the treaty of Lucknow. Mr. Jacob, however, poor soul! *protested* against signing the letter of approbation; but, like a true receiver of stolen goods, had no objection to sign another letter, expressing *his satisfaction* at the *result* of this nefarious measure, which he could not bring his *conscience* to approve!

Though this mode of justification be conclusive in itself, as far as relates to the ground of crimination against lord Wellesley; yet, it will not suffice, when the character of an eminent statesman is at stake. They who question the wisdom, jus-

tice, and expediency of his lordship's measures, and who call in to their assistance, the aid of fallacious reasonings, unwarranted conjectures, and gross mis-statements, ought to be silenced by other evidences than the base sanction of the government at home. For every one who has made the administration of lord Wellesley in India, the subject of attention, must know, that his lordship does not stand in need of an excuse or a plea, to which he can resort for a vindication of his conduct. His merits do not rest upon such a slippery foundation—they are raised upon a more solid and durable base; they comprehend the exertion of unexampled vigilance, of a vigour proportioned to the danger it had to encounter, of the application of the best and fittest means to attain a just end, to consolidate legitimate power by encouraging loyalty and public worth, and by the detection and overthrow of fraud, perfidy, treason, and usurpation. The exculpation of lord Wellesley in virtue of the legal sanction which his superiours gave to his conduct, is a duty incumbent upon the state, and a debt which it owes to his lordship; but the justification or condemnation of the abstract merits, policy, justice, and expediency of every measure of his government which is now arraigned, is a duty which the nation owes to its character. With this view I shall examine each article of accusation separately, together with all the arguments adduced in its support.

The first charge, and which may be considered as the foundation stone of all the other charges against the noble lord, is, *a systematic plan of territorial acquisition in India, inconsistent with the policy prescribed by the act of* 1793.

But, the consideration of this matter must be reserved until my next number, as I have already carried this article to an unusual length.

MONUMENTS FOR MR. PITT.

In the 8th number of this volume, some account was given of the steps which had been taken by the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to perpetuate the fame of this great and virtuous statesman. Since the publication of that article I have been informed that large sums of money were deposited with Alexander Davison, of St. James's-square, *esquire*, which sums were the fruits of various subscriptions, for the purpose of erecting a statue, or a monument, for Mr. Pitt. A gentleman, with whom I am acquainted, has assured me that he has made several applications to the contracting *squire* for an account of the disposal of more than *six hundred pounds*, the result of a collection at a concert, for effecting a similar purpose; but he has never been able to obtain any answer. When we consider how much occupied Mr. Davison is at all times, he being an indefatigable *man of all work*, we cannot be surprized at his silence. But, now that he has been made to relinquish some of his pursuits, since parliament has *hauled him over the coals*, we may as well require that the money entrusted with him, should come forth, or that we should be informed how it has been disposed of. This should be expeditiously done, otherwise the cash may be appropriated to the erection of a monument to *corruption*, instead of a monument to *departed public worth*.

It is pleasing, however, to reflect that our fellow-subjects in India have not been backward in testifying their sentiments of gratitude and respect towards our ever to be lamented prime minister. At a meeting of the merchants and respectable inhabitants of Bombay, on the 18th of June, 1806, in pursuance of an advertisement, calling them together, " for the purpose of expressing their unfeigned sorrow on the occasion of the irreparable loss which their country had sustained in the death of that great, and virtuous statesman, Mr. Pitt; and also, to take into consideration, the best mode of testifying the high respect, admiration, and gratitude called forth by a recollection of the eminent talents, unshaken integrity, and undeviating disinterestedness of that most distinguished patriot, whose whole life had been devoted to the service of his country; and whose exertions in the defence of the liberties of Europe, against anarchy and usurpation, have ceased only with his invaluable existence"

Mr. Richardson, the sheriff, having explained the reason which had induced him to convene the meeting, Mr. A. Adamson was called to the chair; when Mr. Munro, after a very admirable speech, moved the following resolutions, which were unani-

mously adopted:—First, That the British inhabitants of Bombay, yielding to none of their fellow-subjects in loyalty to their king, and attachment to their native land, do deeply deplore the irreparable loss which both have sustained by the death of the right honourable William Pitt, the most distinguished supporter of the throne, and of the liberties of his country. Secondly, That they are desirous to offer (in common, they doubt not, with all ranks and classes of their countrymen at home) an early tribute of veneration for the memory of so virtuous and illustrious a statesman; at once the pride of England, and one of the chief ornaments of his age. Thirdly, That, to perpetuate the sense entertained of the inestimable blessings which have resulted, even to the remotest parts of the British empire, from his able, upright, and disinterested administration, a statue of this eminent, and ever to be lamented patriot be erected at Bombay, as a lasting memorial of the gratitude of its present inhabitants, and as a sacred legacy to their successors, of the admiration entertained of so much human excellence. Fourthly, That the honourable the governor in council be requested to allot a suitable place for the erection of the statue within the town walls.

The meeting then appointed a committee of nine gentlemen to carry these resolutions into effect; and resolved to request the marquis Wellesley, lord Grenville, the chairman of the court of directors, and John Forbes, Esq. to form a committee at home for the same purpose.

MEETING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

On the 17th ult. a meeting of the catholics took place in Dublin, lord Fingal in the chair, when it was unanimously resolved that a petition should be prepared and presented to parliament, with all convenient speed *this* session, for what is commonly termed, *catholic emancipation*. It was stated by lord Fingal to the meeting, that Mr. Elliott, the Irish secretary of state, had notified the opinion which lord Grenville entertained relative to the inexpediency and impolicy of pressing their claims at the present juncture; but a Mr. Keogh, whose mind appears from the report of his speech to be filled with combustible matter, contended in strong and pointed language, that as the catholics had been deliberating upon scarcely any thing else for twenty-three years, it would be a work of supererogation, and waste of time, to delay any longer to forward the petition.

The catholic body met again on the 24th of February, when the petition to parliament was read and approved of, and it was resolved that lord Fingal should transmit it to Mr. Grattan. But the circumstance to which I am anxious more particularly to draw the attention of my readers, is the conclusion of Mr. Keogh's speech; which, if correctly reported, may be looked upon as an electric flash preceding the grand explosion. "Should we be received into the bosom of the constitution, we shall endeavour to conciliate the population of the country; we offer ourselves voluntarily to ministers; if they reject us, it is our misfortune—I hope it may not be theirs."

It was not to have been expected that when a large body of men approached parliament in terms of respectfulness and petition for the redress of grievances, that a ryder should have been tacked to their petition, containing a direct and open menace. Hitherto the catholic body have proceeded with great circumspection and decorum in their proceedings; and therefore it is really a matter of surprize that they should have departed from that temperate line of conduct which their policy, interests, and wishes prescribed. I am aware it may be said, that the violence of a single individual ought not to be alleged against the loyalty of a whole body; and for this principle I am willing to make every reasonable distinction. But, may it not with truth be urged, that by taking no notice of this exhibition of the cloven foot, the whole body adopted the threats thrown out by Mr. Keogh? Besides, let us reflect upon the tendency of these insinuations. When persons talk of being received into the bosom of the constitution, they intend to convey by it the notion that they have been either ejected from it, or denied the enjoyment of the benefits which it confers. This, however, is not the case with the catholics. The privations of which they complain, relate merely to the exercise of political, and in no one instance to the

detriment of their social rights; for the reign of his majesty has been marked by an uniform series of concessions to the catholic body, and by the removal of all the restrictive penal statutes which hung over them, consistently with the safety of our church establishment, which ought to be guarded and shrouded from invasion with as much vigilance as the throne itself. The object, therefore, of the catholic body assembled in Dublin, seems founded more on motives of personal ambition, than upon a just ground of grievance. But, when a member of this body has the insolence to prescribe certain capitulations to the legislature; when he proposes that the persons present at this meeting will *endeavour* to *conciliate* the population of the country, provided their political ambition be gratified; we can do no otherwise than infer that, *if* their demands should not be granted, they will not employ any exertions to conciliate the country, and reconcile it to its duties of allegiance and loyalty. What is this, but a plain admission that these catholic gentlemen have sat down in malignant neutrality, and viewed unappalled the convulsions which have agitated and distressed Ireland for so many years, and which their interposition, or endeavours at conciliation, might have prevented? Is it not an obligation imposed upon them to endeavour to conciliate the population of their country? And have they the audacious temerity to prefer claims of *rights*, when they avow that they have not performed their *duties* as subjects? This is the first time, I believe, that men have ever petitioned parliament with so little grace and attention to the rules of propriety.

Having sufficiently animadverted upon the nature of this gunpowder harangue, I shall next advert to the object of the petition, reserving the more enlarged discussion of the subject itself, until I shall have had an opportunity of perusing the petition, and of examining into its merits.

In the first place, I conceive that the political advantages and necessity of a church establishment, secured by law, and guaranteed by the most sacred constitutional sanctions, are generally admitted by reasoning men of all parties, and religious persuasions. When engaged in the defence of the established church of England, it is not necessary for me, as a political writer, to illustrate its superiority over the religious bigotry which our forefathers discarded, or to contrast it with the various religious sects of our fellow-subjects who have dissented from it. My business is to handle the matter as a *politician*; or, in other words, to consider how far the unqualified admission of the roman catholic claims has a direct tendency to endanger that religious establishment, which we justly venerate as the conservative pillar of our constitutional fabric.

There are two points, apart from other considerations of political inexpediency, upon which we ought seriously to deliberate, before we grant the prayer of the catholic petition; these are, the effect which such a measure would produce amongst the dissenters as a body, and also upon the political interests of the protestants of every denomination in Ireland. If the petition be acceded to, the dissenters will have a right, and certainly a much higher claim then, to have the test and corporation acts repealed; the Jews will also be entitled to another naturalization act; (and I cannot see why they should not, for they are unquestionably *better christians** than the Roman catholic peasantry of Ireland;) and the fence of political restriction obviously established for the security of the church, will be broken down. The effect of the measure upon the protestants in Ireland will be more tremendous than most persons in this country conceive. A long and bloody scroll, inscribed with the names of numberless victims, is already prepared by the catholic body of that nation. The vindictive spirit is carried to such a length, and is dated from so remote an antiquity, that a member of parliament for one of the Irish counties, and who is himself favourable to the catholic pretensions, has assured me, the catholics, even down to the lowest swineherd, are masters of the proprietory genealogy of their country; they know who have lost their patrimonial lands by forfeitures, in consequence of suppressed rebellions; and they know too, when those lands were lost. They can trace the flight of the progenitors of those families which had been driven into exile, and they know where their posterity are to be found. In many cases, they have maps record-

* *The reader will recollect that* I am in Ireland.

ing the divisions of the land *before* forfeiture; and they do not scruple to declare, that the disinherited descendants of rebel ancestors shall be restored to the patrimony of their fathers. They wait only until they shall have obtained political power, and then they will go to work with the zeal of religious bigots, coupled with the fury of political incendiaries. Then they will exhibit to us a new map of Ireland with VENGEANCE at its head; then the new divisions of territory will be marked, and distinguished with protestant blood. What must be the result of all this? The government will be obliged to protect the protestants with the vigour of military authority; or, if it should neglect so to do, the protestants will defend themselves, and from principles of self-preservation, we shall see them reduced, I fear, to the necessity of entering into A REBELLION FOR THE GOOD OF THE CHURCH AND THE STATE. In the former case, the empire at large will have gained nothing by the newly acquired power of the catholic body; for, instead of "endeavouring to conciliate its population," they will awaken its dormant or overawed spirit of wild revenge. Instead of the oil of peace being poured upon the ruffled and tempestuous sea of Irish politics, the fountains of the great deep will be broken up, and the worst passions of the worst part of the catholic character will float upon the surface. Massacres, assassinations, tortures, conflagrations, will be the sports of revengeful phrenzy; and all that train of evils which we have so long deplored, and which rankled in the heart, and embittered the peace of Ireland, will be revived under the auspicious reign of CATHOLIC ASCENDANCY. In the latter case, we shall lose the most steadfast adherents to our constitution in church and state; and we shall exchange their loyalty for the equivocal patriotism of the avowed allies of France.

Before we adventure upon this important change, we should do wisely to raise the wretched cottager of Ireland a gradation or two in the scale of created and civilized man; we should let knowledge, dressed in a simple garb, stoop to enter the poor man's door: we should not rashly expose his visual powers after a long night of darkness, to the meridional glory of the sunshine of truth, but habituate him to light, by gentle and imperceptible degrees. The surest and safest road to reformation is, by preventing the rebellions of the belly, and by introducing comforts where none had been experienced before. By such means, you will moderate his passions, and subdue his intractable mind to habits of obedience. He will be prepared to enjoy what you will *then* be bound to give; and, from that moment, you may do what you please with him.

ON THE NECESSITY OF THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

Perish our colonies, let our principles live.—Robespierre and Condorcet.

Perish our commerce, let our constitution live.—British House of Commons.

Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.—Lord Milton, a *maiden* speech.

As the honour, humanity, and justice of the country, have been, in some degree, vindicated, by the abolition of the slave trade, we may now all return our thanksgivings for having gone so far on the highway of our journey to heaven. But, our sins and manifold transgressions still weigh heavily upon us; we have much yet to answer for; we cannot presume to say that the honour, humanity, and justice of the country have been redeemed, while that "accursed thing," negro slavery, remains "in the camp." In abolishing the slave trade, without abolishing, at the same time, the slavery of our oppressed brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, we are shamefully parsimonious of our humanity, and we are acting as hypocrites and reprobates of the most transcendant order; for if religion, justice, and humanity forbid the kidnapping of our beloved fellow-creatures, and if, on *their* account, we have indignantly rejected the continuance of that unchristian, and inhuman traffic of men, the same paramount motives ought also to make us instantly suppress the continuance of slavery itself, and to manumit our brethren from the yoke of bondage and oppression. The emancipation of the slaves, is a covenant of grace, and of righteousness, by the neglect of which, we shall assuredly incur all the pains and penalties of damnation. —Matthew, 23d chap. and the 15th verse.

There is not a single argument against the slave trade, which does not apply with tenfold force against negro slavery; how then can we reconcile the justice of the abolition of the one, and the injustice of the continuance of the other? We have the authority of the sages, whose oracular wisdom I have selected for my text, to prove, that no political system, however sanctified by time, laws, or precedents, should stand in the way of the eternal principles of justice. One tells you, that justice must be done, though all nature should, in consequence, break around us: another says, that the colonies ought to be annihilated, rather than that justice should be infringed; and a third, announces, that commerce itself should vanish, like the baseless fabric of a vision, sooner than the principles of the constitution should be violated. Now the meaning of all this doctrine is, that no considerations of expediency or political benefit should be suffered to interfere with the sacred ordinances of justice; and, therefore, as we can no where find in those ordinances any authority for retaining men in slavery, without their consent, we are bound forthwith to restore our suffering brethren to the enjoyment of freedom, and to rescue our own consciences from purgatory. If it be an act of iniquity to go to the coast of Africa for the purpose of bringing away men who were slaves before, it is much more wicked to keep the victims of this speculation in a state of slavery, after the cause of their slavery has been declared to be disgraceful to the country, and inhuman. Besides, admitting the validity of the plea adduced by the planters (vile race of tyrants and cut-throats!) that these slaves were captives in their native country, does it follow that their posterity should be slaves? Has the infant in the womb entered into a compact with his task-master, that he shall exchange his freedom for his life; or rather, that he shall be a slave as long as he lives? certainly not. The progeny of the slave is not bound by the act of the parent, and as justice disavows the doctrine, and the constitution revolts at the very name of slavery, it follows, that the slaves in our colonies ought to be emancipated in defiance of all the consequences which may befal our commerce from the measure. It is now clearly shewn, that freemen are able to cultivate our colonies; for we are importing ship-loads of the sons of liberty from China to the genial soil of the Antilles, where, shrouded from a scorching sun by silken umbrellas, they work at their leisure, without restraint, and revive the primitive ages of patriarchal simplicity. But, after all, what have we do with political expediency, when justice frowns upon the policy? Nothing can be expedient which is unjust. The constitution recognizes the principle by restraining any one living under it from usurping a power over the personal freedom, the property, or security of another. But, according to the system in the West Indies, the slave is the property of the master, and consequently he is not guarded by preservative laws. What signifies the ruin of the merchants and planters? It will be fortunate for them if they be not swept from the islands with the besom of destruction. What signifies our commerce? It is the mere beggarly element of our power and maritime superiority, and rather than it should instigate us to persevere in injustice, it should be transferred to some other people, who will feel themselves gratified with power and maritime dominion, at the expense of piety, justice, and humanity. Away, therefore, with the obnoxious system, and let parliament in its wisdom strike at the root of these impious, and execrable evils. The tears of suffering millions, the groans of the tortured negroes, the quivering lips, &c. the cracks of the negro-driver's whips, the responsive shrieks of the lacerated slave, the earthquakes, and the hurricanes, &c. the outraged principles of the christian religion, the *yaws*, and the *tubbers*, &c. justice, humanity, policy, and the yellow fever, &c.—all these moral evils, and these tremendous visitations of nature, which range over the West India islands, merely on account of our sins, require the immediate extinction of slavery. It has been revealed by that illustrious apostle of freedom, Mr. Wilberforce, that the yellow fever was sent into our islands as a punishment for the slave trade. Can any one doubt the declamtion of this inspired writer? But, this is not the worst fever which has yet been discovered; there is another in reserve for the chastisement of the planters, as a reward for our abolition of the slave trade; and that is, *the black fever*. Some strong symptoms of this non-descript disease, which has

hitherto baffled the science of the most able and experienced physicians, have already appeared in the French colonies. Its appearances are various, but as far as observation has hitherto extended, it originates in a nausea at the idea of labour, and in a restless longing for the blood of white men. When the fever is at its height, the unhappy patient is always delirious, as in most other fevers, and nothing can restrain him from putting to death every white person whom he meets. No remedy has yet been discovered for the malady; and it is supposed, when the blacks are made acquainted with our unbounded philanthropy in abolishing the slave trade, and perceive that no further supplies of slaves are brought into the islands to share their toils, their joy will be so great at the zeal which the good christians of Europe have manifested in their behalf, and at the sure patronage they will experience hereafter from all the saints, that they will be seized with this affection of the mind (for they are extremely nervous, and susceptible of the least impression) and the disease will break out into all those bloody and ferocious frolicks, which have marked the progress of this fatal distemper in the French islands. The progress of the disease is also extremely rapid; for, unfortunately, it is contagious, and communicable by a touch, or even by a whisper, which is a most remarkable property in it. Now, as the only method of averting its calamitous effects, the legislature should abolish slavery itself; and enact strong regulations, binding the planters to pay respect to their *quondam* slaves, their equals by nature, and then become their fellow-citizens by law. An happy intermixture of conditions, sexes, and complexions, will thus blend West Indian society in one enlightened and harmonious mass of population; and in process of time, the genius of Africa will disclose itself. The blacks will figure equally with ourselves, as the legislators, judges, and protectors of the West Indies; the order of nature will be restored; the yellow fever will emigrate, and perhaps pay a visit to France; and the sins of this nation will be washed away. Till then, the curse of heaven will be upon us. Lift up the whites of your eyes, therefore, ye saints of all the round-houses, which are planted over this island as thick as the bee-hives in the vale of Hebron!

Ye gospel-trumpeters, make the concave domes of your scruple-shops rebound with the echoes of your Stentorian voices! Sound, sound it to the long-ear'd rout, that hell and damnation are reserved for the guilty nation which tolerates the slavery of their brethren—beat the drum ecclesiastic; bellow, rage, foam, and sweat, for suffering humanity!

I invoke ye also, ye gifted errant saints, whose sounding-board is the canopy of Heaven, and who hold forth upon the gay-painted Mosaic pavements of the fields, I invoke ye to discharge your infallible artillery against the oppressors of the negro race!

Ye caterwauling brethren, and spiritual damsels, join in the chorus of humanity and justice; *quake, shiver, freeze!*

Ye gospel-walking congregations, make a swell of the spirit, justify faith *by works*, extend your lank jaws to your knees, and burn with the holy fervour. At your conscience-meetings, denounce slavery; and at your love feasts, and nightly spousal enjoyments of the spirit, ye brimstone sisters, toast the emancipation of the negroes, and warble us out of purgatory with your melodious strains!

And, above all, I implore the aid of thy commanding eloquence, thou illustrious modern Flaminius, thou mighty chief of saints, and sovereign of the kingdom of Yorkshire!

Nothing is done, while aught is left undone. Lenitives, half-measures, and a *modicum* of repentance, will not purge us of our sins. We must be made whole, or we cannot be saved.

Of what use, then, will be all our canting and groaning, for the last twenty years; of what signification, the solemn league and covenant by which we bound ourselves to abstain from the use of sugar; of what use will be all our lies, subornation of perjury, and our sneaking hypocrisy, our spiritual arsenals, round-houses, evangelical shops, conscience meetings, and love scenes, if we desert the cause, and leave it unfinished, to the sport of the winds?

us prove, that we are still *warm* in the cause; and, if we cannot force an act of emancipation this session, by canting and falsehood, let us, at least, provoke the negroes to avenge themselves, before the year has passed over our heads, by a general and indiscriminate massacre of all their tyrants. All the saints who die this year will be damned, if this be not accomplished; besides, the disgrace which the survivors must undergo from an accusing conscience. Perish commerce, perish the colonies, perish our shipping, perish the planters, perish any thing, every thing, so as we do but save our black brethren, and exorcise the devil out of us.

The cause for which we fought and swore
So boldly, shall we now give o'er?
The solemn league and covenant
Will seem a mere God-dam-me rant:
And we that took it, and have fought,
As lewd as drunkards that fall out.

For the sake of obviating this great calamity, and for the purpose of effectuating the holy work, especially of driving Satan out of the flesh; I propose,—

First,—That Parliament, in its wisdom, justice, humanity, and policy, should immediately abolish negro-slavery.

Secondly,—That William Wilberforce, esq. member of parliament for the county of York, be dispatched to the West Indies, to proclaim this pious law to our African brethren; and that his excellency be insructed to announce it in the midst of a discharge of cannon (the cartridges being made up with all the books, pamphlets, and printed evidences in favour of the abolition, that no record of our sins may remain) from the spot where king Cudjoe signed the treaty with general Trelawney.

Thirdly,—That his excellency be attended by four heralds, with stout lungs, to proclaim silence, and to announce his excellency's intention: and, that the Rev. —— Huntingdon, the Rev. Rowland Hill, the Rev. —— Hurpur, and the Rev. Dr. Coke, celebrated evangelical trumpeters, be selected upon the occasion.

Fourthly,—That 300,000 copies of this article be translated into the Mindingo, Congo, and Eboo languages, and 200,000 copies be forwarded, by the Sierra-Leone company, to their flourishing settlement upon the coast of Africa, to be by them distributed over the whole of that continent; and that the remaining 100,000 be sent to all the gospel missionaries in the West India islands, to be by them sounded and circulated amongst the saints of the black order, and every other description of blacks.

Lastly,—That every female, of the united empire, should wear a locket, with a negro in chains, and upon his knees, imploring mercy, as an amulet, to keep off sin, to which the female saints may add, if agreeable to them, a camphire-bag.

ON THE NECESSITY OF ALTERING OUR PLAN OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

It is on all hands allowed, that the situation of the civilized world, at no period was ever so critically circumstanced as it is at present. The conjuncture is, indeed, so deplorable, that the firmest mind recoils from the contemplation of it. All the antient dikes have been successively broken down, and the overwhelming flood is with difficulty restrained by the last mound which can be opposed to its destructive progress. Should that prove insufficient to withstand the increased rapidity

of the accumulating torrent, there will be no bounds to the devastation; and it will be the height of folly, to flatter ourselves with the vain hope, that it will be possible for this country to escape the general calamity. We may be the last, but assuredly we shall not be the least example, reserved for the leisure experiments of refined tyranny to exercise its ingenuity upon.

It may be useful to examine whether, under such circumstances, we have performed our positive and relative duties with respect to ourselves, and to the nations of Europe whose fate is inseparably connected with that of our own country; whether we have manfully called forth the energies of this great and spirited people; and whether we have profited of the peculiar circumstances, (resulting from the locality of our situation and that of the enemy) most effectually to serve the common cause? If we have so done, we shall have no self reproofs to embitter our misery, with the accusing recollections of having been accessary to our own ruin, and that of the world, in case of so lamentable an event.

When Buonaparte took the field against Prussia, every man of the description of a soldier, throughout his immense empire, was set in motion towards the Rhine. The provinces of the interior, as well as those on the extensive maritime frontier, were left exposed, without any regular or even armed force for their defence; and the overgrown army was so concentrated, as to overpower all resistance on the part of Prussia; and with little difficulty, rapidly to extend its conquests beyond the banks of the Vistula, above 500 miles from the frontier of France, where it is preparing for the dreadful conflict which will decide the fate of the world, without any farther appeal.

Situated as this country is, with a population of nearly fifteen millions, in the centre of the immense line of communication which the enemy must keep up between the theatre of war, and the most distant extremity of his own dominions; with all the means and facilities of transporting ourselves to any part, where our efforts or appearance might produce the greatest effect or diversion (from the Gulph of Gascony to the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser) have we undertaken any enterprize; or have we even made such a display of force, as was calculated to distract the enemy, or alarm him with apprehensions for the safety of his own country?

Fifty thousand men in readiness to act against the maritime frontier of France, upon a moderate calculation, would have detained 100,000 men from joining the armies in Silesia and Poland; and with such a diminution of force, it is clear (from the late occurrences on the banks of the Vistula, and the balanced successes of the contending armies) that Buonaparte would neither be able to maintain his position in that distant country, nor to withdraw from his hazardous situation, without extraordinary risk, and great discredit to his arms.

If we had placed ourselves in such a menacing attitude, in readiness to take advantage of circumstances with promptitude, we should either have excited such an alarm, as to have detained a large force for the defence of the interior and frontier, or it would have had no such effect: if it had excited such an alarm, a great and important diversion would have operated in favour of our allies, by arresting the march of a large body of the enemy's forces, and depriving him of their cooperation: or, if it had failed to occasion any such alarm, and, in consequence, to detain a regular force competent to the defence of the country, the whole would have been left open to our enterprises, and there is no saying what might have been the consequences of a well-directed expedition.

Our great misfortune is a certain wilful and perverse blindness to our situation. We either cannot or will not divest ourselves of the pernicious habit of estimating the consequences of a total want of success (in the momentous contest we are now engaged in) by a comparison with former times: but we most fatally deceive ourselves: there is no common measure can be applied. Other modern wars were undertaken for definite objects of ambition, and, however unfortunate, were always terminated by the sacrifice of certain commercial or political advantages: but the present is a war totally different in principle: an absolute *bellum ad internecionem*, which attacks the foundations of civil as well as political society, and looks forward to nothing less than a general subversion of all social institutions.

There would, however, be some hopes, if we could but make ourselves sensible of the immensity of the danger with which we are menaced, so as to prepare ourselves for commensurate exertions. Our religion, our liberty, our property, our high and envied situation in the scale of political society, and our very existence and name as a people, depend upon the issue of this contention. If we could but convince ourselves of the reality of these apprehensions, and of the immensity of these dangers, we should easily agree, that no sacrifice, however great, which promised the probability, or even the possibility of eventual success, could be withholden, without incurring the crime of treason towards our country and ourselves: but our lethargic supineness principally proceeds from a selfish and foolish confidence in our insular situation, and from a fatal persuasion of the possibility that we alone may survive the general conflagration: but we labour under a most dangerous deception; our fate is indissolubly connected with that of civilized Europe, and cannot be separated from it by any seclusion: all that we can promise ourselves is the melancholy privilege of seeing every thing perish around us, and of existing until the last act of the sanguinary tragedy.

We confide in the valour and experience of our victorious navy, and our confidence is just: it will perform whatever can reasonably be expected from human exertions: but if the enemy unfortunately should succeed in subjugating the continent, it will relatively decline from that moment, and its very victories will accelerate its ruin. If the prostrate state of the continent should allow Buonaparte to devote his attention for two or three years to his military marine, he will become as absolute a dictator on the ocean, as he is now on the *terra firma* of Europe. The means he possesses of creating a navy are immense beyond all calculation. If he should think it expedient to make the exertion, an hundred new ships of the line would be afloat in twelve months, and the coasting trade of all Europe would easily afford him the means of manning and equipping them. It is certain that at first he will be miserably deficient in manual experience and maritime science; but numbers, in the end, must and will prevail: numbers continually increasing, and experience growing out of defeat. Under such circumstances, our insular situation, in which we are now so confident, will be our greatest misfortune. We shall be exposed to sudden attacks on all sides, and from all quarters; and our forces must necessarily be so disposed, in order to guard every point, that they will no where be able to make any effectual resistance.

This is a prospective situation so obviously deducible from the actual and relative situation and circumstances of the country, that it requires no prophetic spirit to predict its accomplishment: unless the causes are counteracted, the effect must follow.

The only effectual mode of assisting our allies, and bringing this eventful contest to a favourable conclusion, is by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. It is at home that the devouring monster is to be subdued. We should seek for allies in his own country; by showing ourselves ready effectually to support those who, from attachment to the antient government, or execration of the present tyranny, may be desirous of throwing off the oppressive yoke they groan under.

Instead of alarming Spain, and irritating her by predatory attacks upon her South American colonies (which lead to nothing substantial, or conclusory with respect to the ultimate success of the war, and only tend to dissipate our force, and paralise our energies, where they can alone be effectually applied) we should set her an example of public devotion, which interest would incline her to imitate. The world is to be conquered in Europe. Who succeeds there, will succeed every where.

The situation of Europe is certainly most critical and alarming, but by no means so desperate as to warrant despair, if the leading powers could be brought (by a conviction of the danger) to sacrifice the petty, private interests which have hitherto kept them at a distance on all important conjunctures, when the general safety required, united unreserved co-operation. If Spain could be brought to proclaim the antient family and government of France with an army from the Pyrennees, and England with an imposing force from the maritime frontier; if the whole of the allies would, formally and unqualifiedly, declare their determination to re-establish

the legitimate princes of the house of Bourbon, with a tranquillizing proclamation respecting the security of property to the actual possessors, there can be little doubt but a great proportion of the unfortunate inhabitants would zealously come forward, and assist to get rid of the worst tyranny that ever opprest a people in the worst of times.

It may perhaps be said, we agree with you in your reasoning, and assent to your conclusions in their fullest extent. The danger is assuredly great beyond all comparison of former times, and we ought to employ great energies, but where are they to be found? The co-operation you propose would require 50 or 60,000 men: where are we to procure them? Every means that experience and ingenuity could suggest has already been resorted to, for the purpose of recruiting and augmenting the disposable force, but wholly without effect. Your recommendation is salutary, if you could furnish the means of carrying it into execution; but until you can do that, it must be regarded as the mere dream of a good citizen.

Will any one contend, that a nation of nearly 15 millions of people, when its very existence is seriously threatened, could not produce an army of 100,000 men? There is no deficiency of men. There is no want of spirit in the people. It is the lever to set them in motion: the *mens quæ agitat molem* that is absent. There are 80,000 militia ready and willing to brave any danger where honour is to be acquired in the service of their country. If called upon, they will not be tardy in turning out. They have, on all occasions, shewn a disposition more necessary to curb than to excite. What good reason can be offered for not profiting of their services? Is it contrary to the constitution? The constitution itself is in extreme danger, and requiring support: a conjuncture and circumstances (out of the contemplation of the fundamental laws which compose the constitution) threaten us with inevitable destruction: we must yield to the crisis, or go beyond the constitution, in search of an effectual remedy. It will not, I trust, be said, that the minister would be deterred from the adoption of a measure necessary for the preservation of the country, by the apprehension of offending the country gentlemen, and losing their support in parliament; and that he would sacrifice the safety of the nation to the preservation of his place. He will never acknowledge such a motive; nor will the independent country gentlemen, I am convinced, by opposing so indispensable a measure, hazard a suspicion, that the petty emolument they may derive from their militia regiments, is of greater importance to them than the safety of the country.

The circumstances of Europe require a change in our military system; and it would not be difficult, at present, to form one on a broad and solid foundation.

The militia, strictly speaking, is no longer a militia: it has wholly changed its nature as a popular constitutional force, and is become a standing army, with all the defects and radical inconveniencies of a militia. The men, individually considered, are the finest soldiers in the world, and they are well instructed in every part of mechanical discipline; but it must be allowed, by their most passionate admirers, that their officers, generally speaking, are entirely destitute of practical knowledge of their profession, and of those essential qualities which can only be acquired in the field, and on actual service in the face of an enemy. If, unfortunately, an enemy should, at any period, effect a landing in these kingdoms with a considerable force, is there any man of common intelligence, and reflection, who would wish to see the public force led on to decide the fate of the nation by colonels who had never seen an enemy before in their lives?

If any great misfortunes should befal the allied arms on the continent, an event of the kind may be at no great distance; and it would, at all events, be prudent to take timely precautions against a danger of such alarming magnitude; the militia might be encouraged to volunteer into the regulars, which would immediately fill up all the battalions in the service, and form the finest army in the world. The officers and non-commissioned officers might be stationed in their respective counties for the purpose of disciplining the 200,000 men to be annually embodied under the training act, from which the army should be continually completed.

If we mean to support our rank amongst the nations of Europe, and even our own political existence, we must have a formidable army, cost what it will. If we wish

to enjoy peace and independence at home, we must go abroad in search of them with arms in our hands —we must conquer, or submit to become hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to the Corsican despot.

OPINION IN AMERICA RESPECTING THE KING OF PRUSSIA AND BUONAPARTE.

The following curious article appeared on the 1st of January, in an American paper, entitled, the "*Charleston Courier*:" from which the reader will perceive that Buonaparte's character is as well understood in the new world, as it is dreaded in the old one. It confirms every word, which I have before stated, respecting the views of that nefarious tyrant; and more particularly the arts practised in America, by his Agents. If any one ever doubted the justice of my frequent remarks upon the admission of foreigners into this country, his doubt will now be removed, by the clear avowal, that these vile incendiaries are besieging the morals, and undermining the independence of America, with as much industrious activity as they employ to ruin the happiness and tranquillity of Great Britain. The article is, in every respect, worthy of perusal.

From the people's friend.—Were the king of Prussia alone affected by the last disastrous events in Europe, the recollection of his frauds, his indirect policy, his meanness, and his perfidy, would considerably reconcile one to his fate. His own manifesto pronounces his condemnation, and shews that he either wanted the wisdom for a king, the magnanimity which his circumstances called for, or the common probity of a gentleman. Had he possessed wisdom, he must have, for several years past, clearly seen the nature of that monster Napoleon, and in it foreseen the inevitable ruinous consequences of his neutrality. Just such as it has turned out to be, have we reiteratedly pronounced it would be, in the Charleston Courier. If he did foresee it, and he owns that he did, then has he shewn himself utterly destitute of magnanimity and spirit in not resisting it. But what is infinitely worse, he has shewn himself the complete dupe, not only of the Corsican's frauds, but of his own improbity. It is, therefore—we do not scruple to avow it—it is some consolation for this additional breach upon the independence of the world, that "even handed justice has commanded the ingredients of his poisoned chalice to his own lips." HE —the descendant, and the *favoured* descendant too, of Frederick the Great, (that man, who, by his miraculous exertions, with a very small force of his own, and the aid of England, checked the power of France,) HE to become the accessary—the *particeps criminis* of the atrocious robber and enslaver of the earth, and to share in his spoils! Oh, it was monstrous!! The receiver of Hanover from the thief who stole it, is as bad as that thief, and is justly brought to ruin by him. If to foresee that which any man of common sense must have foreseen; and none but the Corsican's agents would deny, were fairly to be boasted of, we might boast of having over and over again forwarned the American people of that which has now happened to Prussia, and which we hope will be, even now, to them not too late an example. Timely and continuous hostility to the tyrant of France is the only chance of salvation from his yoke. His friendship, is death—his protection, the very worst ruin. To have intercourse with him, in order to avoid any other danger, is to run from the softness of a summer's shower into the den of an hyæna, or to lie down to sleep in a cavern full of rattle-snakes. Not one solitary instance is there of his conduct which does not shew it. Horrible consideration! That it should come to this! That there should be no refuge from a guilty tyrant, but in the doubtful issue, and the certain evils of war. That peace, the great thing needful to humanity, should be, as it is, rendered impossible, except at the price of eternal subjugation;—That, however disposed the world may be to sheath the sword and take breath after the fatigues of so many years of slaughter, they dare not do it, because there exists no sufficient guarantee for the observance of treaties. Can there be a man existing at this day, foolish enough to imagine, that

the enemy of God and man.—the grand despot considers a treaty as any thing more than a trap—Or that he means his professions of friendship as any thing but a dark preparative for ruin.—"*He has no brother—is like no brother;*" and no matter what the shape may be in which he administers it, whether in food at Jaffa, in protection and usurpation in Holland, or in promises and the bayonet in Prussia—all —all he gives is poison to mankind.—Is this too much, Americans! for those to say to you who would sacrifice life, if the sacrifice availed, to save the civilized world and you from the fangs of this deadly and destructive tyrant.

Now mark! If you wish to exist as a free people—if you would save the throats of yourselves and your children from the knife of the giant man-butcher, and your wives and daughters from violation, mark what we say unto you. You are surrounded in every part by the spies and agents of Napoleon. They smile in your faces; they hang over your tables; they surround your beds; they dip in your dishes; they mix with you; and they note you and yours, and every thing you say, and every thing you do, in their memorandum books. Such persons have been detected in every part of the earth. And can you be foolish enough to believe that America will be left to itself?—No, no!!—Mark us again!—Napoleon has agents too of another kind—(your own citizens)—agents, American agents, who have been for years labouring to modicate the public mind into a fatal slumber, or to poison it into the adoption of those very principles which have already cut the way for France into almost every country in Europe.—Internal political scuffles, innovations, revolutions, new proposed constitutions, and the overthrow of the old seditious meetings—jacobin clubs, here called caucuses—divisions among the people—these were, in every instance, in every country—in Switzerland, in Holland, in the Italian states—the preparatives, and forerunners, of French incursions, French exaction, and French tyranny. Traiterous native agents; bribed by France, first excited the divisions and tumults, and then the armies of France were sent to interpose, to *settle* them,

"———— *As Paddy said*
"*Once when he broke his neighbour's head;*—

And to give them a FREE constitution SUBJECT TO NAPOLEON. Why has the federal constitution been assaulted to make way for a new one? Ask the grand pensionary of Holland!—Why was the constitution of Connecticut attempted, and despotic illegality, and vile lewd improbity, pushed up to the pollution of the Bench? There is not a ballad-singer in Paris, or a beggar in Switzerland, who, if you state to him the fact, will not tell you. Why is the chief authority of Pennsylvania bearded by a rat in man-mockery, and the spirit of innovation and revolution unchained and let loose, to roam at large like a mad dog through that state? Ask Turreau and Yrujo. Why have Washington, and all the federalists, the authors and accomplishers of your revolution and your independence, been vilified, and hunted down, and rendered suspected, and disarmed of all power, and, as far as possible, of all influence?—Why, because it was known that they were the vigilant and sincere guardians of the country's freedom, and the enemies of those very principles which have enabled Napoleon to enslave the fairest portion of Europe; and that as long as they gave counsel to America, France, or French agents, could neither tempt nor betray us. Who were they that were most active in shuffling off those august men, in putting them down, and robbing the country of their counsels? —Ask Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Maddison, citizen Adet, and citizen Mazzei.

If, from what has past, what is now passing, and all that I have related to you, you do not receive a clear perception of the nature of your danger, and of the ruin that is designed for you, you must have drank from the jacobin chalice of intoxication even to besotment. Do not, like the ruined nations of Europe, continue to hug your betrayers till you are undone; or, like them, you will, in bitterness, execrate those despoilers whom you now cling to; call to mind, when too late, who those were who strove to save you, by warning you against French principles, and curse the hour that you were debauched from your fidelity and gratitude to your approved, true, and zealous champions and patriots, the federalists.

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.

At a General Meeting of the West-India Planters and Merchants, holden at the London-Tavern, on Thursday, the 26th of February, 1807, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

THAT the naval power and flourishing state of these kingdoms are intimately connected with the fate of the British West-India colonies; and that the decline of these colonies will materially and speedily diminish the quantity of British shipping, the consumption of British manufactures; and, in proportion as each of these contributes to employment and revenue at home, will increase the burthens of taxes and poor-rates on the landed interest of Great Britain.

That it appears, from authentic documents on the table of the commons house of parliament, that the quantity of British shipping, employed in the colonial trade, amounted, in the years 1804-5, to 837 ships, containing 236,510 tons.

That the number of seamen navigating the same was 17,680.

That the value of British and Irish produce and manufactures, exported directly to the colonies, was 5,495,770l.

That the value of colonial produce, the fruit of British industry, imported into the united kingdom from those colonies, was 17,002,117l; of which there was a re-export of raw and manufactured goods to the amount of 13,991,397l. official value,* which is principally paid to us by foreigners, and forms a most important article in the balance of trade, and in obtaining a favourable course of exchange.

That these grand sources of national power and prosperity are necessarily derived from, and cannot long survive, the stable condition of the British planters or growers of colonial produce, whose stability can alone be maintained, by assuring to them a fair and reasonable return for their capital and risk. And, though all consideration of individual justice, were, by an anomaly in British legislation, disregarded in their instance, yet policy alone would require immediate and effectual redress for the grievances which now bear down a body of men, who contribute more largely, in proportion, than any other class to the revenue and prosperity of the state.

That the excessive taxation upon colonial produce has, for some years past, been gradually absorbing the fair profits of the planter. So that, while every other species of property has nearly, and in some instances more than doubled in value within the last twenty years, that of the planter has progressively diminished. And though the effect of this taxation, upon the grower of produce in the dominions of the crown, was not for a time distinctly perceived, yet at length it was both seen and felt, even while this country had still the command of the foreign market; but, as soon as that command ceased, and the means of exportation were checked by the success of the enemy on the continent, so as to throw back on the home-market a quantity of produce greatly exceeding its ordinary demand, the whole weight of taxation, which, when imposed, was assumed to fall upon the consumer, was thrown immediately and altogether upon the grower, who cannot, by any sudden change of culture, escape or diminish its operation; and this, together with the increased expenses of colonial stores, manufactures, freight, and insurance, has already begun, and, unless soon relieved, must rapidly tend, to break up the very sources of production.

That the magnitude of the evil to the British colonist, arising from the excessive accumulation of colonial produce, compelled to be brought to the home-market, without any vent for it, greatly increased as it is, by the addition of the produce of the conquered colonies, cannot, in any material degree, be relieved by the grant of the proposed bounty on the export of refined sugar, or by a limited and scanty bounty on raw sugar, whenever exported from the warehouses at most disadvantageous prices; or by an accommodation of the warehousing-system

* *The official value is known to be in general much below the real value: in one article only of this calculation, that of coffee, the official is beyond the real value; but altogether the real value probably exceeds the amount here given.*

to refined sugar, which can only have effect if an actual and extensive export be in prospect: however well adapted and judiciously applied such remedies may be to certain states of the market, favourable to a balancing competition, either at home or abroad. As collateral aids, indeed, they would be good, but as sole or principal expedients, under the existing circumstances, their application must be inadequate to the end proposed. For, while the foreign market is either wholly and forcibly denied to us, or more advantageously supplied without our intervention, and while the home market remains so greatly overstocked, the relief to be derived from such circuitous remedies must, if they operate at all, be distant and very much diminished in value before they can reach the planter, who is the party acknowledged to be sinking under his present burthens, and who requires prompt and efficacious relief to save him.

That the only modes by which relief can reach the planter are,

First, by taking measures, such as our naval superiority enables us to do, to exclude the produce of inimical colonies from the foreign markets.

Secondly.—By materially increasing the home-consumption.

Thirdly.—By a reduction of duties on our colonial produce, and on the tonnage of British shipping.

Fourthly.—By giving to our own colonies the same benefit of direct foreign export which shall be allowed to the enemy's colonies.

That the first of these modes may be carried into effect by declaring all the enemy's colonies in a state of blockade, and availing ourselves of the superiority, valour, and skill, of the British navy, to prevent, at the peril of capture and confiscation, any of his produce from being carried to market; thereby confining the carriage of all colonial produce to British shipping, extending its employment, and preventing the capture, if any, of the enemy's colonies from being absolutely noxious, as it now is, to the interest of the British colonies. Besides the advantage of interesting a large party among our enemies, in the exception of colonial produce from the rigour of commercial exclusion from the continent.

The Second.—By increasing the consumption of colonial produce; which may be effectually done by confining the public distilleries to the exclusive use of sugar, and by permitting its use in the breweries upon fair terms with malt.

That, in suggesting these measures, the British colonists, though strictly entitled to the same justice and protection as all other subjects of the realm, do not desire or conceive themselves entitled to ask any partial benefit to themselves, to the detriment of the landed interest of Great Britain, whose permanent prosperity they consider as identified with their own. But they entertain a confident persuasion, that not only the measure of opening the breweries and distilleries to them may be taken without prejudice to the growers of barley and other grain, but with positive advantage to those, if as the British colonists venture to suggest, the free export of grain to the British West-Indies were at the same time allowed; subject only to restrictions of the last necessity, such as would, in similar cases, be applied to the use of grain in the distilleries. By which means, too, an increased carrying trade would be opened to British shipping, of the greatest consequence to the power and strength of the country: and thus every part of the British dominions would be bound together by a greater conformity of interests, would be rendered more independent of the circumstances of the war, and better able to sustain the probable duration and burthen of it.

They venture to suggest, also, that such a change of system cannot be made under any circumstances at less risk, and with more possible advantage to the landed interest, than by a country importing annually great quantities of corn,* much of which is drawn from places in the possession, or under the direct influence of the enemy, who derives resources from this traffic, while he excludes the counterchange

---

* *In* 1805, *there were imported into Great Britain.*

Barley.	*Oats.*	*Wheat.*	*Flour.*
qrs.	*qrs.*	*qrs.*	*cwt.*
44,567.	461,249.	899,856.	73,423.

of commodities. For either a new stimulus will be given to British agriculture, by opening to it a new and certain market of great extent, and thereby giving increased employment to British shipping; or, at the worst, the necessity of such large importations from the enemy's country will in part be superseded, and the price of grain kept up to any amount, which parliament may deem necessary, to give an ample and just return to the farmer for his capital and labour. And in neither case will the revenue be so much impaired, if at all, as it must necessarily be, if adequate redress be denied to the British colonists; since there will either be sugar, or sugar and corn, enough to supply the existing amount of duties, as well those arising from the public breweries and distilleries, as from the ordinary consumption of the raw and refined article; besides the probability of saving the proposed bounties in whole, or in part, to be granted on the exportation of the latter.

That, in pursuing the same patriotic system, the increased sale of rum, hitherto manifestly discouraged, would supersede, in a great degree, the importation of brandies, one of the staple commodities of the enemy's country; the increased consumption of which, in the British navy, is humbly represented to be no less impolitic in a national, than it is unjust to the British planter in a colonial, view; infringing, as it does, the fair principle of reciprocal monopoly and consumption between the mother-country and its colonies.

That it would also be easy to shew the superior policy of encouraging the internal consumption of our own coffee, as a popular beverage, wholesome, strengthening, and exhilarating; the prime-cost of which, remaining with British subjects, would add to our circulating capital at home.

Thirdly.—By a reduction of duties.

That the extent of such a reduction would depend upon the extent to which either or both of the two former modes of relief were acted upon. If both were carried fully into effect, it is probable that no reduction of duties might be necessary during the war: and, it is even possible, that, by the saving of drawbacks and bounties, by means of the increased internal consumption of colonial produce, and by the improvement of the incomes of the great body of proprietors residing at home, the defalcation of the malt-duties might be more than compensated to the public revenue. For it is a principle unquestionable, that, by any reduction of duties, effecting a proportionate increase of internal consumption, the revenue cannot be a loser: whereas, by persisting in the present extravagant duties, without a regular and wide channel of export, it is absolutely certain that there must be a great defalcation of the revenue. For, if the justice of the country do not induce a relaxation of the duties in ease of the exhausted planters, which in no probable state of circumstances, as matters now stand, can be thrown upon the consumer in any material degree, if at all; it is plain that the former, who are utterly unable to bear the present ruinous load of taxation, must lessen the production of the commodities themselves, until the demand and supply again find their natural level; in the course of effecting which, many of them must come to ruin, and in the mean time, the contributions of all to the property-tax must be for the most part withdrawn.

Fourthly.—That the only other alternative, the very suggestion of which is of itself the most powerful of all arguments for the adoption of the preceding measures, which, as being more consistent with the sound principles of national policy, have been in preference proposed; an alternative which must be attributed to the imperious necessity of the case, in order to save the British colonist from impending ruin, if other means be denied; is, that, during the war, if it shall be deemed necessary or politic to deliver over to neutral flags the carrying colonial trade of the enemy, the same benefit of a direct export to foreign markets in neutral bottoms, may be allowed to our own suffering and unoffending colonists as shall be conceded to those of the enemy. For, it is self-evident that no possible benefit can accrue to this country from compelling the increasing accumulation of colonial produce at home, where it has no vent, and must deteriorate from day to day, or be made away with at a positive loss to the grower. Injustice so glaring would defeat its own purpose. Such a result would leave to the colonist no prospect but despair; to the government, nothing but repentance too late.

FRENCH BARBARITY.

SIR,—No description has ever been more naturally drawn than that of the French people, by their countryman, Voltaire. The craft of the *monkey* and the ferocity of the *tyger* are alternately the characteristics of these our inveterate enemies; and the cruelty of their disposition becomes infinitely more conspicuous, when contrasted with British honour and humanity. To enumerate the atrocities which have for so many years disgraced the annals of France, would be an arduous, and, I fear, an impracticable task. For what pen could, with sufficient horror, describe the bloody scenes that took place within the walls of Paris, or the enormities that were committed by the French army during its campaign in Egypt? But, to descend to more modern times, a circumstance occurred a few months since, which alone must tarnish the flag of France more than a thousand defeats.

The honourable East India company's ship, Warren Hastings, it may be remembered, unfortunately fell in with, and, after a gallant action, was compelled to strike to, the French frigate La Piedmontaise. The first shout of a British crew after the surrender of an enemy, is

"Vivite, victi!"
Ye conquered, live!

But no such joyful sound here gladdened the hearts of those unfortunates, whom the chance of war had thus left to the disposal of their merciless captors. A gang of intoxicated ruffians leaped on board the Indiaman, plundered the stores, and rifled the chests of officers and seamen indiscriminately, leaving the unhappy sufferers without a single article of convenience or apparel, save what they had then about them. The bodies of the wounded and the dying, who had thus nobly fallen, were trampled under foot with inhuman barbarity. And these detestable miscreants, (for by what other denomination can I describe them?) actually ran a cutlass through the arm of the surgeon, because he ventured to amputate a sailor's arm! Thus was the operation stopped; and the blood of a fellow creature, wantonly destroyed, rests upon their guilty souls! Nor was even the gallant commander of the Warren Hastings treated with that respect to which his *rank*, if not his *misfortunes*, gave him so just a claim. These wretches pulled him from the deck, where, according to the custom of war, he stood ready to deliver up his sword, and, after repeated insults and abuse, dragged him on board the frigate.—"I was now" relates the gallant captain, (to quote his own emphatic expressions,) "most forcibly awakened from my horrid state of thought, by receiving a wound in my right side, inflicted with a poignard, and by the hand of a person whom I had never seen! Upon turning round to discover whence the blow came, to my inconceivable astonishment, I perceived that this murderer had two epaulets on his coat.—In fact, he was the French capitaine en seconde!!!†

Is this the GREAT NATION, governed by an emperor so brave, so magnanimous, and withal so merciful? Is this a specimen of the maritime power, destined to conquer happy Albion? Insensate Napoleon! thinkest thou that our bold warriours, who have been spectators of thine inhumanity to their brethren; who have witnessed the outrages of thy slavish people; will tamely submit to the yoke of bondage?—No.—With redoubled vigour will they fight; and the keen sense of their wrongs will nerve their arms with tenfold energy.

A far more christian docrine than thine, base Corsican! did the rude inhabitants of antient Rome maintain. Hear the sentiments of their most eloquent orator:—"As we are to provide for those that are overcome in the field, so likewise they that throw their arms, and cast themselves upon the faith of the general, should be received, even after the battery is made, and the breach begun."

---

† *There are many other very interesting circumstances attends the capture of the Warren Hastings, for an account of which, I refer the reader to a well-written little pamphlet, compiled by Captain Thomas Larkins, (the commander) and sold by Richardsons, Royal-Exchange. It is highly worth the attention of the curious.*

I shall now conclude with a trifling remark, which may not be without effect.—It has been a matter of astonishment to some, that, notwithstanding the superiority of our naval force, merchant vessels are yet greatly annoyed by privateers. The reason is obious. A French commander will never allow his crew any light whatever; but in a British squadron there is no prohibition to this effect:—consequently, its course in the night may easily be traced, and the enemy may, without difficulty, escape pursuit.

It is by no means my intention to abridge our seamen of their conveniences, but I am convinced, that the enforcement of this practice may oftentimes be highly useful, particularly to ships on a cruize. Confinement on board a French line of battle ship for several months has enabled me, with greater accuracy, to ascertain the truth of my assertion.

To the judgment of more scientific men I leave it, to decide upon the utility, or impracticability, of this proposition.

ANGLICUS.

TO THE MARQUIS OF TICHFIELD, &c. &c.

LETTER V.

"Qui vult decipi, decipiatur."

My Lord,—I now beg leave to resume my observations on the conduct of our present ministry. And one of the things to which I shall advert, because one of the first in point of date, is, the intended re-call of sir *Home Popham*. If he had been overtaken by the vessel, which was sent after him, he must have returned; consequently Buenos Ayres could not have been taken, nor could any other expedition have sailed from the Cape of Good Hope. Here, then, it is clear, that they wished to deprive a brave, and good officer of an important command, merely because he was appointed thereto by Mr. Pitt's administration; for they do not pretend to say, that the appointment was otherwise improper. In this, we must allow to lord Howick and his associates, the merit of consistency; for it was perfectly in unison with every other act of their ministerial conduct. We now come to the capture, and unfortunate re-capture of Buenos Ayres, and the consequent capitulation of General Beresford and his brave companions in arms. When questioned on this subject, in the house of commons, the noble lord is stated to have said in his defence, that the officers concerned in projecting this expedition had exceeded their instructions. Does his lordship mean to say that he is in possession of an authentic copy of the *private* instructions given to those commanders? If he be, why does he not produce it at once, and prove that those officers have incurred a very heavy degree of personal responsibility? If he have not such an authenticated copy, I must say that it would have been more consonant to public justice, and to the feelings of a generous public, if such an accusation had been postponed, until the persons, thus accused, had an opportunity of producing their instructions, and justifying their conduct. But it seems that the noble lord, intoxicated with the success of a Foxite administration (in attaining the *condemnation* and *punishment before trial*, of an old and faithful servant of the crown, whose innocence was completely proved *upon trial*) had conceived the idea that, his *ipse dixit*, had superseded the necessity of a *trial by jury*, and that his *assertion* was, in every instance, to be taken for *proof*. But the British nation is not to be so cheated of its rights; nor British subjects to be thus stigmatized *ad libitum*, by the unsupported allegations of any minister, however powerful. We look up, with confidence, to our naval and military commanders, for support, in this most arduous contest; we feel naturally attached to them, from a principle of self-preservation; and, in spite of all ministerial intrigue, we *will*, agreeably to the uncorrupted laws of England, presume them to be innocent, until the contrary is *proved*. But, while such a cloud of mystery is permitted to hang over this transaction, let us, in order to bring the question, respecting the present misconduct of our ministers, to a point, allow the noble lord, the full force of his assertion, and admit that sir D. Baird and sir Home Popham *have* exceeded the powers originally granted to them. What then! Does not our history record, that brave officers have heretofore, on urgent occasions, risked their personal safety, for the chance of securing to their country a lasting

good? Your lordship knows it does, and that they have been justly rewarded by their country for so doing. If then, the commanders in question had *reasonable* grounds for believing, that, by a timely attack upon some of the Spanish settlements in South America, one of its brightest gems might be torn from the crown of the Spanish monarch, were they to blame in attempting it? Surely not—but it will be said, that they should not have attempted a conquest of such a magnitude, without a probability of being able to retain it—granted. But after admitting that these officers *may*, in the first instance, have gone beyond the literal wording of their instructions, I hope it will be conceded to me as *highly improbable*, that men of their great professional talents and experience, should have ventured upon such an expedition, without transmitting to government timely intimation of what was going on, and, consequently, expecting reinforcements from Europe? Why were no reinforcements sent? The reason is plain—the expedition formed no part of the plans of the present administration, (if, indeed, they can be said to have *any* systematic military plan at all) and, therefore, they were equally indifferent as to its failure or success. Lord Howick is stated to have said that colonel Craufurd's expedition was fitted out *with all possible dispatch*; after it was known that Buenos Ayres was in our possession. What then! shall this great nation be cajoled into a belief that all our efforts are equal to no more than the fitting out one trifling fleet of transports in so many months? And shall Europe be told, *by a secretary of state too*, that this is all the *mistress of the sea* can do to impede the ambitious strides of a rapacious tyrant towards universal empire? Oh! for the thunder of a *Demosthenes*, a *Cicero*, or a *Pitt*, to overwhelm such puerile declaimers with confusion. But the fact is not so—the public is not deceived; but knows that the expedition under colonel Craufurd was prepared, and ready to sail, for months before it put to sea; the troops were embarked, disembarked, and embarked again; and many of them, it is said, lay pining and dispirited, on ship board, for twelve weeks. Why was all this? Truly, because we were *most humbly imploring* a precarious peace, at the feet of the Corsican usurper, and it would have been highly impolitic to have displeased his *irritable* majesty, by any hostile measure. Now, I must own, I had thought

"Pacem orare manu, præfigere puppibus arma"

no bad policy, when treating with an *unprincipled* foe; and, as a true-born Briton, I had conceived it to be quite time enough for the British lion to submit to have his teeth drawn, and his nails paired, when no longer able to resist the French wolf. But if, when we were negotiating a peace, which was to lay the foundation of the future tranquillity of Europe, conciliation was considered as so necessary, on our part, was it not equally necessary on the part of the enemy? What then was *he* doing, while, like a parcel of silly children, we were playing with the bubble he had given us? Why truly, *he*, *poor innocent*, had done nothing more than actually *commence his operations for the total annihilation of the Prussian monarchy, and the future subjugation of the whole Russian empire.* Alas! will our ministers never gain wisdom from experience, and must British credulity be ever thus the dupe of French perfidy! But these measures were, of course, "trifles light as air," in the consideration of those statesmen, who had been, for years, declaiming against all continental connexion; and who, doubtless, agreed with their renowned leader, Mr. Fox, when he declared that he rejoiced in a peace *because it was favourable to France.* Here then we are again compelled to allow to the Foxite part of administration, the merits of perfect *consistency.* But, on the other hand, what would have been the consequence of more prompt exertions on our part? If that small reinforcement, which could, with safety, be spared from the Cape of Good Hope, did, *after* the capitulation of general Beresford, take Maldonado, and still commands the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, what *a portion* would not a more powerful armament from Europe have been able to effect, if sent in time? No less than the absolute conquest of the Spanish possessions in South America. Let lord Howick be again called upon, as the then first lord of the admiralty to state, *distinctly*, why it required so long a time to fit out a fleet of about twenty transports; and let his exertions, (if the *vis inertiæ* can be called such) be compared with those of his immediate predecessors in office. I have the honour to be, my lord, &c. &c.

February 13th, 1806. EUGENIUS.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

" Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari."

Sir,—It was with equal astonishment and concern, that I saw in the public papers, and your Review, of February 14th, an account of your being under a criminal prosecution for a libel. Having been a constant subscriber to your publication, from its commencement, I have had every opportunity of judging of your public principles, and conduct; and am free to declare, that I conceived you to be one of the last men upon earth, who would *knowingly* and *wilfully* offend against the *known* laws of your country. As the *supposed* libel in question is now referred to one of the highest tribunals in this country, it would be not only indecorous on *my* part; but, *I know*, perfectly inadmissible on *your's*, that I should now enter upon any thing like a justification of your conduct. The writer of this letter has far different objects in view. One of those objects is to request, that some of your correspondents or friends, " learned in the law," would have the goodness to inform the *unlearned* public, *what it is that constitutes a " libel;"* for I must own, it appears to me, that, according to the present undefined state of the law of " libels," the most peaceable, well-meaning, and loyal subject of this realm, may become the object of a ruinous prosecution, without having ever dreamt that he had transgressed any law whatever. I need instance only three cases—those of the editor of the Antijacobin Review, of Mr. Reeves, and Mr. Peltier; in which it was apparent, to an impartial public, that those truly loyal and upright men, became amenable to severe penalties, merely because they did not know that they were offending against any law whatever. In order, therefore, to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of such prosecutions in future, I most humbly beg leave to propose, through the medium of your Review, the immediate formation of a

Society for the preservation of the liberty of the press—the objects of which shall be,

First—The obtaining of an act of parliament, *clearly* and *distinctly* to define what is " a libel,"—so that he " who runs may read," and that no man may, hereafter, be able to urge in his defence, the plea of " Legis ignorantia."

Secondly—The obtaining a similar act, to limit, in certain cases, the granting of rules for " *criminal information*," in order to confine the person *accused* to an " *action for damages*," and to give the *accuser* an opportunity of justifying his charges; and

Thirdly—The forming of a fund, for the legal defence of all good and faithful subjects against frivolous and vexatious suits, and the protection, (as in the cases of Palm, and the aforesaid persons) of the families of injured authors *all over the world.*

As I detest, Sir, as much as you, or any loyal man can, the *licentiousness of the press*, I would have the countenance of such a society extended to such authors, publishers, and printers, only, as are the supporters of the *genuine liberty of the press*; that is to say, to such authors, publishers, and printers, as exert themselves in defence of the *religion*, *laws*, *liberties*, and *honour* of their country.

Unless some such plan be adopted, I will venture to predict, that the time is not far distant, when no man will be found bold enough to write upon public topics; and when *Buonaparte* will exult in the *suicide* (if I may be allowed the term) of *the freedom of that press*, against which he has always directed the keenest shafts of his envenomed malice.

I am, Sir, &c.

Feb. 16, 1807. AMATOR LEGUM.

RELIEF TO THE WEST INDIA PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS.

Sir,—The complaints of the West India planters and merchants have at last reached the ear of the chancellor of the exchequer, and he has not only notified his intention to give them relief, but has explained the nature of that relief, and declared it had given great satisfaction to, and had met the approbation of, all those merchants with whom he had communicated on the subject. It is not for me to inquire who are his Lordship's confidential advisers in this business, but I should rather suppose

they were sugar-bakers, or refiners, than merchants, and perhaps they might be named without the aid of supernatural sagacity. Be that as it may, I shall only endeavour to shew, that by his lordship's plan, those who are really aggrieved obtain no relief whatever. But, before I proceed, let me first compliment his lordship on his new discovery, "that the means of preventing, or decreasing, the smuggling of any article, is, to lay a heavy additional duty upon it." The contrary has been the opinion of all the authors I have read, and all the orators I have heard on the subject; and it must appear, I should have thought level to the common sense of every man, that the higher the duties, the greater the profit to the merchant who sells *without paying those duties*, and the greater the profit, the greater the inducement to smuggle. This is an incontrovertible truth. But, his lordship says, he will prevent smuggling. I can tell him the only way to do *that*, is the very reverse of what he is doing, viz. to lessen the duties on brandy, instead of increasing them. I live, Mr. Yorke, in a maritime county, at no great distance from the coast, and I will assert, without fear of contradiction, that in consequence of the very heavy duties on teas, brandy, &c. the smuggling trade has not in the least decreased since the passing the last restrictive bill respecting it, which was supposed to be so difficult to be evaded, and the enactments of which so severe as to deter the most resolute. It has not had any such effect; notwithstanding all its pains and penalties, smuggling goes on in the face of open day. The greater the prospect of gain, the more numerous will become the adventurers. And every dark night, and every heavy gale of wind will, in spite of all the cruisers in the Channel, bring cargoes of smuggled goods to our shores. Nor can much zeal or activity be expected from our revenue cutters, &c. since all their captures for the last three years are now stored in the several custom-house cellars, no sale made, and no division whatever of prize-money had. This is not the way to make men on that service zealous or alert. All the lords of the treasury, and all the commissioners of the customs combined, can never invent the means of checking smuggling, but by lowering the duties. Had his lordship lowered the duties upon rum, which now are so high as to amount to a prohibition of the importation of that article, instead of increasing those on brandy, he would have encouraged the fair trader instead of the smuggler, and done some good to the West India merchants. But to proceed: his lordship gives an additional bounty of eight shillings per cwt. on the exportation of refined sugars, and says, "exportation must be encouraged." Let me ask him, where he will find a market to export the vast quantities of sugars now on hand, and shortly about to arrive too? not on the whole continent of Europe. Exhausted, desolated, and uncultivated as it now is, on the return of peace its wretched inhabitants will procure bread, before they think of consuming sugar. But was it not so, why give this bonus to the refiners? have they not had advantages enough? have they not made sufficient fortunes since the prices of raw sugars have been so low, and those of the refined sugars in the retail so exorbitant? yes, sir; the refiners and grocers have become wealthy in proportion as the planters and merchants are become poor and distressed. As to the bounty of two shillings per cwt. till the average price of sugar is forty shillings, and one afterwards, till the average is forty-five, even if a market could be found for exportation, it is too trifling to be of any avail in alleviating the distresses of those concerned in the trade; and should it have the effect, which perhaps his lordship expects it will, of raising the price to forty-five shillings per cwt. then his lordship's last additional duty of three shillings and sixpence takes place immediately, which will reduce the market to a worse state, if possible, than it is in at present. If the chancellor of the exchequer is really in earnest, and wishes to relieve the suffering, I may say almost expiring trade of the West Indies, let him lower the duties on the importation of sugar and rum. Let him urge and promote, till he can find a foreign vent, the means of home consumption; and save to the nation at the same time the immense sums which are annually sent abroad for corn, and which must now be infinitely greater, as the price of grain on the Continent must increase with the scarcity of it occasioned by the ravages of war. Let him do this, and he will again see the commerce and manufactures of this country flourish; but, if my advice is rejected, that valuable branch of trade, with the various national benefits which are its attendants, will be lost for ever.

SENEX.

OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

" For the advantages which we above other nations enjoy, it is our duty to re-
" turn thanks to that providence, by whom they were bestowed, and this I
" am convinced cannot be more effectually encouraged than by your lord-
" ships, and other persons in an exalted station in the country, setting an
" example to the poorer orders of respect and reverence for the Lord's
" Day."—Earl Grosvenor's speech in the house of lords, January 2d, 1807.

SIR,—Thus far have we escaped the machinations of our insidious foes. Thus far has our constitution, under favour of omnipotence, been preserved from the dreadful calamities which have befallen the less happy continental states. Neither could the fame of her Frederic, nor the multitude of her forces, protect mistaken Prussia. The vanity of her dominion has vanished as a dream: her nobles are fettered, and her monarch is driven from his throne. Her fertile lands are laid waste, her subjects are slaughtered, and her towers fall prostrate in the dust. The internal discords of her princes, have proved fatal to Germania's peace. Holland no longer smiles upon the industry of her children, or cheers their labours with the hopes of gain. Spain trembles at the wreck of surrounding empires, and the iron crown of Italy decorates the brow of the victorious despot. Peace and liberty have fled with terror from the bloody scene, and Charity sits weeping over the picture which Truth commands her to design. Albion *alone*, frowns defiance on her opponents, and dares to brave the fury of the storm. With intrepid heart, does she scorn the empty threats of mortals. With confident expectation does she look forward to the arrival of better days. If then we are thus mercifully enabled to stem this sea of troubles, and calmly to view the commencement of another year; if, when the world is bleeding round us, and modern Europe seems one mass of ruin, we *alone* remain unmoved, invincible; does it not, I ask, become our especial duty " to return thanks to that providence by whom these peculiar advantages are bestowed?" ought we not most earnestly to pray that our country may never become a spoil to the most inveterate of enemies?

The middling classes of society may, I think, in general, be considered extremely regular in their attendance upon divine worship. The greatest part of the poorer sort, *in humble imitation of their betters*,† devote the sabbath to idle converse, jollity, and noise. They conceive, that after six days of toil and fatigue, it is but just to indulge the heart and satisfy its desires. They, perhaps, follow the customs of their forefathers, and think there will be time for reformation in the decline of life.

Much, however, may be alleged in vindication of this evident inattention. Destitute of friends, the man of low degree is oftentimes left to the guidance of his own discretion at that age when youth is most in need of a preceptor. Unpolished by education, that refiner of the human soul, he plods along the weary vale of mortality, seeks only for his daily bread, and casts not a care upon the morrow. He is equally a stranger to the marvellous tenets of Pythagoras and the atheistical philosophy of Voltaire. In fact, no reasonable person can expect to find the most rigid morality and decorum amongst those, whom the fostering hand of instruction seldom leads to the contemplation of the divinity, or to the admirations of his attributes. Far different, however, is the situation of the great! Time and fortune disclose to them the secret treasures of science, and invite them to partake of the delights of knowledge. They possess the superior advantages of education, and guardians are not wanting to inculcate the lessons of virtue. They have frequent opportunities of comparing the luxurious Alcoran, the horrid rites of enthusiastic Indians, and the harsh mandates of the Roman church, with the mild doctrines of christianity!—They behold the beauties of the religion they profess, and if they obey not its injunctions, the fault is their own. The ideas of a learned statesman so perfectly coincide with my own upon this subject, that I will conclude in his language. " First, I beg leave to speak of our church establishment, which is the first of our prejudices, not a prejudice destitute of reason, but involving in it profound and extensive wisdom. I speak of it first. It is first, and last, and midst, in our minds. For, taking

† *The reader will not be so uncharitable as to suppose, I intend to reprobate those charming recreations of the fashionable world, Sunday concerts, and card parties.*

ground on that religious system of which we are now in possession, we continue to act on the early received, and uniformly continued sense of mankind. That sense not only, like a wise architect, hath built up the august fabric of states, but, like a provident proprietor, to preserve the structure from prophanation, ruin, as a sacred temple, purged from all the impurities of fraud, and violence, and injustice, and tyranny, hath solemnly and for ever consecrated the commonwealth and all that officiate in it. This consecration is made, that all who administer in the government of men, in which they stand in the person of God himself, should have high and worthy notions of their function and destination; that their hope should be full of immortality: that they should not look to the paltry help of the moment, nor to the temporary and transient praise of the vulgar, but to a solid, permanent existence, in the permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent fame and glory, in the example they leave as a rich inheritance to the world."*

ANGLICUS.

GENERAL PAOLI.

To the memory of this departed HERO. whose valour and misfortunes are fully recorded in the annals of Corsica, this humble testimony of admiration is most respectfully inscribed by A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

Urit enim fulgore suo,———
——— extinctus amabitur idem. Hor. Epis.

O Mars armipotens! crudeles frange sagittas:
Illustre obvela Corsica mæsta caput.—
Eheu! vos charites, pulchræ lugete sorores;
Desine festivos tuq; Thalia modos.—
Mortuus est etenim, natus melioribus annis,
Heros; et cineres invida terra tegit.—
Impavidum metuit cor nulla pericula pugnæ;
Quid bello posset, Gallia scitq: ferox.——
Dilectus populo, sapiens, concinnus amicis,
Æquus, per cives hic pia jura dedit.—
Illius regnum Galli invasêre furentes,
Pulserunt miseros è domibusq: viros.
Ustæ sunt segetes, læti spes sola coloni;
Nec non montivagæ diripiuntur oves.—
Contrà;—Dux audax equitum peditumq: catervas
Collegit subitò, prœlia dira ciens.—
Irruit in medios hostes, stravitq: manipios
Totos; et fremint Tigris ut inter oves.——
At frustrà.—Nam etsi multæ periêre phalanges,
Attamen exorta est altera turma statim.———
Injustè victus, comites patriamq: reliquit:—
Anglia secessûs præbuit alma locum.———
" Vita fugit, densæq: oculos pressêre tenebræ,"
Pace in perpetuâ corpus inane cubet!

STATE PAPER.

Rescript addressed by the Grand Seignior to the Grand Vizier, on the 27th of December 1806.

Constantinople, Jan. 6.—" You are, my prime minister, endowed with wisdom, and vested with unlimited powers. May the divine providence and grace, which are so necessary to mankind in all their undertakings, and the aid and support of the prophet of God, ever attend you!

" It has been represented to the grand divan, lately held in the presence of all the viziers, ullemas, and chiefs of the corps of janissaries, that the perfidious Rus-

---

* *Burke on the Revolution.*

sians have most unexpectedly broken the treaties which they had concluded with us, inasmuch as they have taken possession of the fortresses of Bender and Choczim, by which they have given a demonstrative proof that the malicious and perfidious designs which they have long cherished, and on various occasions manifested towards the mussulman people, have not ceased to actuate them.

"The law, and the purport of the resolution adopted by the Divan, therefore impose upon me the indispensable duty to issue a declaration of hostilities against this faithless race, which accords also with the unanimous sentiments of the divan and the nation. Having, therefore, in the first place, invoked the assistance of God the Almighty, who has from non-entity called us into existence, and the protection of the prophet Mahomet, the object of our praises and the founder of our law, we have given orders to delare war against the Russians, placing our whole reliance in the favour and providence of God. For the rest, every one is sufficiently acquainted with the ancient enmity of the Russians towards the mussulmen.

"The instances of perfidy and treachery which they have so recently displayed, enjoins it as a duty upon every subject of the Porte, whether civil or military, who professes the mussulman faith, to take a part in this religious war; and as, agreeably to the resolution already taken, every preparation has been made for the speedy march of my army, under the happy shade of the *Sangiak Kherg* (the standard of Mahomet), I hereby appoint you generalissimo thereof, with unlimited powers.

"Under these circumstances, you will confide all your proceedings to the providence of God the Almighty, in like manner as I wholly entrust to the Divine hand the protection of your person, and those of all the viziers, ullemas, janissaries, high and low; and also all the faithful warriors who accompany you in this religious contest.

"My renowned ancestors, supported by the ardent zeal of their viziers, ministers, janissaries, and other warriors, and by means of the skilful measures with which they opposed the enemy, re-conquered and took possession of these provinces.

"I therefore entertain a confident expectation, that at the present juncture you will manifest the same zeal, and collect the necessary troops and supplies, in order to hasten to the assistance of our brethren in religion, who are already engaged in hostilities with the enemy, in the fortresses situated near the enemy's frontier provinces.

"You must reinforce our fortresses, and deliver my subjects from all oppression.

"In what respects the supplies of ammunition and other military stores, you will concert measures only with the chiefs of the provinces.

"You will occupy yourself day and night, with every object of attention which may be necessary, and expedite the departure for the army, of all my viziers, janissaries, and others thereto belonging.

"Finally, you will, in your capacity of minister, with unlimitted powers, also provide for the wants of the fleet, both in respect to men and stores. It will be your province to bestow adequate rewards on such as shall distinguish themselves, as well as to punish those who may forget their duty.

"May the Almighty God guard and protect you in all your undertakings!"

NOTICE.

VINDEX will find, by referring to page 106, No. 6 of this volume, that the subject to which he alludes has been already mentioned nearly in his own words.

The article upon the Norfolk Election I have been obliged to postpone, on account of my having mislaid an important paper connected with it. But it shall certainly appear next week, when I hope to sing an *Io triumphe!*

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 11. Saturday, March 14, 1807. Price 10*d*.

DEFENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WELLESLEY.

The first charge against lord Wellesley, which I shall here examine and refute, is, *a systematic plan of territorial acquisition in India, inconsistent with the policy prescribed by the act of* 1793.

The act of 1793 states, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy, of this nation." This declaratory resolution introduced the regulation for preventing the commencement of hostilities in India, or the conclusion of treaties of guarantee involving the contingency of war, without the express command and authority of the court of directors, or of the secret committee. It is to be observed, that resolutions to the same effect were introduced into the acts of 1782 and 1784, for regulating the affairs of India; hence, that we may be competent to understand the precise meaning of this declaration, we should look to the history of the times, and the circumstances of our Eastern empire, at the periods when those laws were enacted. By this examination we shall see into what gross errors the opponents of lord Wellesley have fallen, from the wrong construction which they have given to the resolution of the legislature. At the time of the passing of these resolutions, the condition of our affairs in India was such, as to make it impossible to suppose that the intention of the legislature could have been to preclude any extension of the territory of the company, or of their civil and military authority over territories which we were already bound by treaty, or by positive interest, to defend. In the year 1784, the power of Tippoo, of the Marhatta states, and of the Nizam, afforded just apprehension that war might arise in India, on grounds of justice and necessity, which might compel the company to seek for security in a reduction of the resources and power of some of those states; and, therefore, it cannot be supposed that parliament intended to fix the exact limits of the dominion of the company, excluding all reference to the conduct and policy of the native states of India, to the changes of power and interest which might occur on the continent of India, or to the advantage which might be derived from the success of our arms in any contest in which we might be engaged in the course of events. To forbid war absolutely, was impracticable, whilst we were surrounded with powerful military states, whose policy might compel us to resort to arms; and to forbid any reduction of the resources and dominions of any state which we might defeat in war, or any additional strength which we might be enabled to found upon favourable conditions of peace, would not have been consistent with the wisdom of parliament. Upon this principle Mr. Pitt always interpreted this resolution of the legislature; and, in his speech on the 5th of April, 1805, against Mr. Francis's motion for passing a resolution reciting the one which I have already mentioned, he observed, that "no one could object to the motion in the abstract, because it was a principle, expressed upon our statute-book, and founded upon natural justice, that we should not make war *for the sake of extending* territory; but, it did not thence follow, that, if we were *forced* into a *just* and *necessary* war, we were not to conquer, and that, *after conquest, an extent of dominion might become the result of it, for that was the natural effect of superiority in contest: our security might require it, or we might take by way of indemnity.* If it were not so, we should, by pusillanimity, unite all the world to attack us. The resolution, therefore, as it had an aspect *hostile to that principle*, was *unjust to the noble marquis*, because it was a general censure on the whole of his administration, by now putting the whole of that administration together, and following up the historical account of it with a resolution, which either meant to censure that administration altogether—an administration, as full of excellent achievement as any that ever preceded it, and in which the noble marquis had done as many and as glorious deeds as ever were done by any

man—or else the resolution was only a repetition of what was on the statute-book already, and meant nothing but an unnecessary repetition of an undisputed truth. This resolution, taken as one that censured extension of territory, in all events, *was unjust*, not only for the reason he had stated already, but unjust to lord Cornwallis himself, who was that night so highly and justly praised; for even *he had extended our territory in India after the conclusion of a war.* The grand policy of this country, in India, was to keep down the power of France. On the great leading features of lord Wellesley's administration, there could exist no doubt on the merits of the transactions, by which he had conferred such benefits on his country, had secured her interest, upheld her honour, and exalted her glory. He had dispelled a danger the most formidable and menacing, which he never could have done on the principle of the hon. gentlemen opposite;" (meaning the strict and literal interpretation of the resolution) "and dispelled it, during a war in which France wished, through India, to strike a fatal blow against British commerce and greatness. The wisdom of the noble lord had been evinced in adopting the highest, most important, and fundamental policy of the British interests in India; he had procured, in the issue of his brilliant campaigns, INDEMNITY and SECURITY; he had gained *a great extent of valuable sea-coast*, a matter of great consideration with a view to preventing the designs of the enemy. He must object, therefore, most decidedly, to a motion which cast a slur upon the *justice*, the *magnanimity*, and the *good faith*, of the British government."

What can be more conclusive than these words of our ever-to-be-lamented minister! It is obvious that Mr. Pitt did not consider the resolution introduced into the acts of 1782, 1784, and 1793, as a bar to the extension of our Indian territory, when our own security, or the protection of our tributaries and dependencies, rendered such a measure indispensable. By referring also to the debates in both houses of parliament, at the time of the discussion of these acts, it will appear, that the evil against which the resolution was directed, had been of long standing, and had grown to a dangerous maturity, under the mismanagement, irregular ambition, and rapacity of the servants of the East-India company. It was to controul their spirit of dominion, and to restrain their inordinate lust of power, that the legislature was finally compelled to guard the native states of India, by imposing this restrictive prohibition on them, and by taking into its own hands, the general superintendance of our government in India. But, it never was in the contemplation of the legislature, to make our means of security be limited to a mere defensive policy; it was never intended, that we were to reject the indemnities to which we were entitled, after having victoriously repelled the aggressions of powers inimical to our interests. Nothing can more unequivocally demonstrate the real intention of the legislature, than the congratulations which it has repeatedly expressed for territorial acquisitions in India, *subsequent to the insertion of this clause;* and no inference can be drawn from the letter or spirit of the resolution which precludes the extension of territory by negociation or by other just and legitimate means unconnected with schemes of conquest and ambitious aggrandizement. This opinion respecting the principle of the resolution, has been repeatedly argued and maintained in both houses of parliament; so that the only construction which can be put upon it, is, that the legislature formally condemned the preceding transactions in India which had originated in violations of public faith, and an exorbitant spirit of aggrandizement, uncontrouled by justice, and unsupported by sound policy; but, that it never meant to censure any acquisitions of territory, which might be the results of future necessary wars in which we might be involved, and by which, our power in India might become more consolidated. This mode of construction is warranted and indeed sanctified by the practice of our government abroad, the orders of the government at home, and the conduct of parliament from the time of passing this resolution to the present moment. If, however, we consider the resolution as a positive prohibition against any extension of territory, how shall we reconcile to it the conduct of the East-India company, and of parliament itself, during the administration of lord Cornwallis? By the treaty of peace in 1792, after the war against Tippoo Sultaun, the territory of the company was considerably extended; yet, parliament

did not consider that event as a violation of its rule; on the contrary, it fully approved of that war, and all its consequences in the extension of territory—so that if we receive this resolution upon the principles maintained by the persecutors of lord Wellesley, we shall find that parliament has acted in direct opposition to its own prescription. In whatever light, therefore, the adversaries of lord Wellesley choose to consider the meaning of the rule, it will only tend to his exculpation.

It appears from lord Cornwallis's letter of the 7th of July, 1789, that he obtained, in that year, in virtue of the treaty of 1768 with the Nizam, the cession of the Guntor Circar to the company. This transaction, as a mere accession of territory, would have been censurable upon the doctrine now maintained, but it was approved under the circumstances of the case. The same observation applies to the arrangement concluded with the rajah of Benares in 1795, by Mr. Duncan, under the orders of lord Teignmouth, by which arrangement, the company's authority was *extended* over the province of Benares. The state of the Carnatic, of Oude, and of other possessions of our tributaries and dependants, had been a subject of complaint and alarm, as far back as the years 1784 and 1793. The company had, in fact, supported their tributaries in their respective countries, and they owed the existence of their power, and must have owed the continuance of it entirely to the company's assistance. The administration of these countries was grossly abusive, and injurious to the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants, as well as to their general prosperity: internal disorder and external weakness, accompanied by a rapid decay of their resources, were the consequences of these evils. The company was bound by positive interest, and, in many cases, by treaty, to protect and to defend them, and was entitled to derive the means of defending them from the resources of the same countries. But, under the mismanagement and corruption of the native governments, the means of supplying the defence of the country were declining, while the people suffered the utmost extremity of misery. To extend the authority of the company over these countries, was, therefore, no extension of territory; but an augmentation of power, within territories which we were already bound to defend. Such an augmentation of power, so far from weakening, would tend greatly to secure and consolidate the strength of our empire in the east. Nor is it rational to suppose, that our means of protecting those countries could be diminished by the introduction of the civil and military authority of the company into their respective governments. It is evident, the opinion of the government at home has ever been, that the company was bound to provide effectually for the good government of the possessions of our tributaries and dependants, and even to interfere directly for that purpose in cases of exigency. The extension of the company's authority over the Carnatic, was always considered as a measure essential to our security in the event of war; it was accordingly assumed both by lord Macartney and lord Cornwallis in time of war; which assumption of the Carnatic, in time of war, afterwards became a formal article of the treaty concluded by lord Cornwallis with the Nabob in 1792. In the short war of 1799, lord Wellesley did not assume the Carnatic, as he might have done, under the article of that treaty; but, to shew the sense entertained by the court of directors of the necessity of this assumption, and, to exhibit *their mode* of interpreting the law, he received orders from the secret committee, in expectation that he would have assumed it, *not to restore it to the Nabob*, until a new arrangement for its government should be concluded! † In this case, we are furnished with an instance on the part of the court of directors, of extension of authority, and internal interference in the administration of other countries, both of which are prohibited and renounced, according to the acceptation of the clause in the acts of the legislature, by the opponents of lord Wellesley. The court of directors cannot get over this inculpation, nor can they refuse to acknowledge, that what is considered as sufficient to justify their own acts, is a justification, according to the same rule, of lord Wellesley's conduct. The expediency of extending the company's authority over the territories of our dependants or subsidiary tributaries, whom we were bound

† *See printed papers relative to the arrangements in the Carnatic.*

by treaty or interest to defend, is thus completely established by the act of the court of directors, with whom the shrewd proposition, "*not to restore the Carnatic to the Nabob*" originated. Yet, these are the men who complain of lord Wellesley's ambition and injustice!

Subsidiary treaties had been concluded in 1792 by lord Cornwallis with the nabob of the Carnatic, and with the rajah of Tanjore, in which it was stipulated that a considerable extension of the authority of the company should take place over the territory of those princes, in the contingency of ultimate failure in the regular payment of the subsidy. But it never yet has been contended, that, in the event of such a failure, it would have been repugnant to the policy of the act of 1793 to have insisted upon the right of the company to demand the execution of those articles of the respective subsidiary treaties, which, in direct terms, or by manifest implication, entitled the company to an extension of territory in commutation of the subsidiary payments. The following extract from the 39th and 40th George III. cap. 79, (July 28th, 1800) will explain the opinion of the legislature upon the subject at that time: "Whereas the territorial possessions of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the peninsula of India, *have become so much extended as to require further regulations* to be made for the government of the same." According to this passage, the intention of the legislature, when the acts of 1784 and 1793 were framed, is fully explained. When it treats of the extension of the company's territory, it does not express any condemnation of the measure, neither does it inculpate the conduct of those by whose policy that extension was effected: on the contrary, it sanctions and legitimates the measure, by the admission that the territories *so acquired*, demanded further regulations to be made for their government. If, therefore, the acts of 1784 and 1793 had been intended to constitute positive prohibitions of any extension of territory in India, the preamble inserted above would have been improper; it is evident, from the words of this preamble, that the legislature admitted the propriety of extending the company's territory in India, under certain circumstances, and in certain cases, notwithstanding the declaration of the law concerning "schemes of conquest and extension of dominion."

In the 20th chapter of this act of 1800 it is stated, "And whereas *the province or district of Benares has been ceded to the said united company, and been annexed to* the said presidency of Fort-William in Bengal, since the establishment of the said supreme court of judicature at Fort-William aforesaid; and it is expedient that the same should be subject to the jurisdiction of the said court, in like manner as the kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and that the said province or district, AND ALL OTHER PROVINCES OR DISTRICTS, WHICH MAY HEREAFTER BE AT ANY TIME ANNEXED AND MADE SUBJECT to the said presidency, should be subject to such regulations as the governor-general and council of Fort-William aforesaid have framed, or may frame, for the better administration of justice among the native inhabitants and others within the same respectively; be it therefore further enacted, that from and after the first day of March, which will be in the year of Our Lord 1801, the power and authority of the said supreme court of judicature, in and for the said presidency of Fort-William aforesaid, as now and by virtue of this act established, and all such regulations as have been or may be hereafter, according to the powers and authorities, and subject to the provisions and restrictions before enacted, framed, and provided, shall extend to and over the said province or district of Benares, and to and over all the factories, districts, and places which now are or hereafter shall be made subordinate thereto, and to and over all such provinces and districts *as may at any time hereafter be annexed and made subject* to the said presidency of Fort-William aforesaid." In these words, we obtain a further explanation of the intention of the legislature concerning any extension of territory. This act of 1800 not only supposes the possibility of such a case, but stamps it with the sanction of law, by providing for the good government of *other provinces and districts which may hereafter be annexed and made subject to* Bengal. In fact, a part of the cessions from Oude was annexed to the district of Benares, and the remaining cessions from Oude, together with the cessions from the Marhattas, were

formed into another district. The whole was annexed to the presidency of Bengal, and brought under the jurisdiction of the supreme court, by the operation of this act.

The company on various occasions, with the authority of his majesty, has expressed great anxiety to commute the subsidies of the Carnatic and of Tanjore for adequate teritorial security. It never has occured, until the present moment, to represent such a commutation as in any degree repugnant to the wish, the honour, or the policy of the nation, or to the spirit of the acts of regulation.

On lord Wellesley's arrival in India, in April 1798, he endeavoured, in conformity to his *original* instructions from the court of directors, to obtain a commutation of this nature in the Carnatic. It is unnecessary to state the repeated and anxious efforts which lord Wellesley made to effect this object, or to observe, that in pursuing it, lord Wellesley followed the steps of lord Hobart's government, which had proceeded also under the commands of the court of directors.

Lord Hobart and lord Wellesley were equally unsuccessful, but their efforts have received the most unequivocal testimonies of official approbation; nor was an attempt hazarded to represent their endeavours for the improvement of the subsisting subsidiary engagements of the company in the Carnatic as a systematic violation of the act of 1793, although the success of those endeavours must have been accompanied by an extension of the civil and military authority of the company over territory not at that time subject to either.

In the settlement of Mysore, upon concluding subsidiary engagements with the rajah of Mysore, lord Wellesley declared to the court of directors in 1799, that his express purpose was to facilitate the direct control of the company over the whole territory of Mysore, with a view to the more effectual security of the subsidy, and the good government of the country. In fact, the territory governed in the name of the rajah, was actually annexed to the company's dominion by that article of the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam, which empowers the company at any time to assume the direct management of the whole country. But this treaty has not, until the present moment, been quoted to prove the existence of a systematic plan of territorial acquisition inconsistent with the policy of the act of 1793.

In Tanjore, a commutation of subsidy was effected in 1800, founded on the spirit of the governor general's original instructions respecting the Carnatic; and accordingly the territory of Tanjore was subjected to the company's authority.

At the termination of the war with Tippoo Sultaun (while hostilities still continued in various provinces of Mysore), in the year 1800, a new treaty of subsidy was formed with the Nizam: adverting to the former policy pursued by the company since the act of 1793, to the tenor of the governor-general's instructions respecting the Carnatic, and to the experience of the evils resulting from the existing systems of subsidy in Oude and the Carnatic, lord Wellesley formed the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, upon the principle of obtaining territorial security for the payment of the subsidy, instead of depending for the safety of those funds, on the precarious power and imperfect administration of an Indian government. It has never been supposed, that such an arrangement was precluded by law. The government at home was fully apprised of the whole transaction.

The treaties of Surat, and the treaties with the Guickwar, were founded on similar principles with those of Tanjore and Hydrabad, substituting territorial security for an engagement to pay the amount of the subsidy from the treasury of the state. The right to conclude a subsidiary engagement with the Guickwar, was derived from that stipulation of the treaty of Salbye, which constitutes the company to be the guarantee of the succession and government of the Guickwar state.

The new subsidiary treaty concluded with the nabob of Oude, in November, 1801, rested on the same foundations, and effected a commutation of all the nabob vizier's engagements with respect to subsidy, and aid in war for a cession of territory.

The treaty of Bassein concluded with the Peishwah proceeds on the same grounds. In renewing the antient alliance between the Peishwah and the company, it has ce-

mented that alliance by a subsidiary engagement, and by a territorial cession, formed upon the improved plan of policy repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of his majesty, and of the East-India company, and already effected, with other dependent states, in preference to that defective scheme of subsidiary alliance, which had produced innumerable evils in various parts of our dependencies in India; which for many years had constituted an annual theme of lamentation for all the governments in India, and for the honourable court of directors, and the policy of which, appeared to have been exploded by the deliberate wisdom and long experience of that body.

The whole course of the negociations at Poonah, from the year 1798, to the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, was regularly submitted to the secret committee.

The transfer of the civil and military government of the Carnatic to the company (in 1801,) was warranted by the justice and necessity of that proceeding, founded upon the forfeiture incurred by Mahommed Alli and Omdut ul Omrah, and upon the dangers which menaced the security of the company's rights on the coast of Coromandel, in consequence of their treachery. The justification of this proceeding rests upon principles similar to those, by which war is justifiable against any public enemy; and the extension of authority which accompanied the prosecution of a just and legitimate public right, cannot be condemned upon any principles correctly derived from the act of 1793.

In prosecuting the just rights of the company against the nabob of the Carnatic, lord Wellesley resorted to his original instructions respecting the Carnatic, and he framed the new settlement with reference to the acknowledged expediency of effecting a commutation of the subsidy for territorial security, and of rescuing the Carnatic from the evils of divided government and conflicting power, by establishing over that province one distinct authority in the hands of the company, with a liberal provision for the Nabob and his family. It is impossible to comprehend the application of the act of 1793, to any part of this transaction.

The acquisitions of territory which have been accomplished in India, during lord Wellesley's administration, have proceeded, either from the successful prosecution of war, or from forfeiture in consequence of the violation of dependant alliances; or, lastly, from the improvement of existing, or the formation of new, treaties of subsidy and guarantee. The first description includes those provinces and possessions of Tippoo Sultaun retained by the company under the partition-treaty of Mysore in 1799, together with the conquests made from Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, at the termination of the late Marhatta war in 1803. The second description consists of the possessions of Omdut ul Omrah in the Carnatic; and the last, comprehends the territories commuted for subsidy by the rajah of Tanjore, by the Nizam, and by the nabob of Oude, and the territories ceded in payment of subsidy by the nabob of Surat, by the Guickwar, and ultimately by the Peishwah.

The records of the company will furnish sufficient evidence, that every extension of territory, acquired under each of these classes, has originated in principles, not only strictly conformable to the act of 1793, but to the general maxims of justice and policy applicable to our Indian empire.

No extension of territory has been acquired otherwise than by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, or of just and legitimate public right: the result of these acquisitions has not involved the necessity of defending any territory which had not previously furnished increased means of offensive war to our enemies, or which we were not previously bound to defend, either by the obligation of positive treaty, or of our own manifest interest.

Our means of defence, in every case, are now greatly augmented by the annexation of the civil and military government of the territories from which we derive the military resources applicable to defray the charge of their respective protection and security.

The result of the whole progress of these wars and negotiations will appear to be nearly conformable to the following statement.

1. The limits of the company's civil and military authority have been considerably extended since the year 1784.

2. The principles of these successive extensions of power have been conformable to justice and good policy, and regularly brought under the consideration of the authorities at home, and sanctioned, either by direct law, or by orders from the government in England, or by long acquiescence in the arrangements effected in India.

3. The magnitude of our empire in India has been increased by these events, but its strength and resources have also been greatly increased; our frontier in every quarter is improved, our internal government invigorated, and our means of defence considerably augmented.

MINISTERIAL FLIM FLAMS.

SIR.—I attended at the meetings of West India planters and merchants, which have been lately held at the London Tavern, and, on hearing the reports of the deputation, appointed to confer with his majesty's ministers, for the purpose of obtaining relief in the present depressed and overloaded state of the the sugar market, I could not help thinking that they had treated the gentlemen who waited upon them, much in the same manner as our celebrated circumnavigators treat the natives of newly discovered regions who had never before seen an European vessel. They load them with glass beads and all manner of baubles, and send the poor simple creatures back delighted to their countrymen, to persuade them of the rare and inestimable value of the trumpery with which they are adorned. The justness of this comparison will appear, by examining the intrinsic value of the trinkets which his majesty's ministers hung round the necks of our deputation, and graciously empowered them to announce their intention of distributing, by an act of the legislature, to the West India body.

With respect to rum, which, however, is a very subordinate article, I admit that the additional duty on foreign spirits will operate somewhat in its favour; and fortunate for us would it be, if we could contrive, by some new duty on any other commodity, to raise the value of sugar also: for though his majesty's ministers have positively declared, that they will admit of no plan which may tend to diminish the present revenue, yet I must do them the justice to say, that, like many other gentlemen who are ever ready to oblige their friends when they can get any thing by so doing, they have professed themselves perfectly disposed to listen to any plan for our relief, by which the revenue will, at the same time, be benefited. On this principle, lord Henry Petty most amiably condescended, purely for our advantage, for he has not the smallest occasion for any new taxes, to lay this additional duty on foreign spirits; and, on the same principle, he most politely declined pledging himself, to what would have been much more for our advantage, that the public boards should give a more decided preference to rum, over foreign spirits, in their purchases for the use of the navy and army. It seems reasonable, in theory, though the practice is otherwise, that his majesty's ministers should act under those laws themselves which they frame for others, and give that preference to rum, in their own contracts, which, for wise political reasons, they exact from the public. Spirits bought for the service of government, are exempted from duty; the protecting duties, therefore, in favour of rum, which attach upon the purchases of all other individuals, do not attach upon those of the commissioners for the great sources of consumption, the army and the navy. Foreign spirits, which are brought from the neighbouring coast, and are imported in neutral vessels, at a trifling freight and insurance, can necessarily be afforded much cheaper than rum; which is brought from our distant colonies, and loaded with the heavy war charges of importation in British ships; and yet the commissioners for victualling the navy, either oblige the planter to sell his rum at a ruinous depreciation of price, or purchase foreign spirits. The British ship owners lately petitioned his majesty's ministers, that the practice of granting licenses to neutral vessels to bring foreign spirits direct from the enemy's country, might be discontinued; and that, according to the principles of the act of navigation, they might be admitted in British ships alone. Their petition, however,

was not granted, because, if this measure had a tendency to advance the price of foreign spirits, the advance thus occasioned, would have attached upon the purchases made by the commissioners. The plan urged by the West India planters and merchants, of discontinuing the use of foreign spirits in the navy and army, would lessen their value, by diminishing their consumption. That urged by the British ship owners, would render them less productive to our enemies, by saddling them with the charges of a circuitous voyage to a neutral port, before they could be shipped in British vessels. But it was apprehended, that if either of these requests were acceded to, government might be under the necessity of purchasing spirits somewhat dearer than at present; and economy in the public expenditure is now the great Leviathan which swallows up every other consideration. In the true spirit of the old proverb, "penny-wise and pound-foolish," ministers sacrifice British shipping, to foreign shipping; encourage the produce of the enemy, rather than that of our own colonies; give the brave men who fight our battles, raw noxious spirits, hot from the still, instead of those which have been mellowed and rendered salubrious by a voyage across the Atlantic; give a bounty to smugglers, by promoting the consumption, and thereby increasing the value, of foreign spirits, which are always articles of contraband trade; pour wealth, the sinews of war, into France, to be used against ourselves; and, while Buonaparte is using his utmost efforts to exclude the manufactures and produce of Great Britain from every country under his controul, our ministers continue to give every possible facility to the importation of the staple commodity of France, and increase its value, as well as extend its consumption, by purchasing it for the use of the British navy and army.

The impolicy of such conduct, as it regards our enemies, and the injustice of it considered with relation to our colonies, have led me into a longer dissertation upon this part of my subject, than I intended. Sugar is the great staple commodity of the West Indies, and the measures adopted with respect to that article, are the principal objects of consideration. The first of these is a bounty on the exportation of raw sugar, of 2s. per cwt. when the average price in the gazette is under 40s. and 1s. when it is under 45s. per cwt. This would render us essential service, in our competition with the growers of foreign sugar, if our accustomed communication with the continent were open; but it will never induce those who live under the dominion of Buonaparte, to risk the consequences of violating his decree against British colonial produce, and, therefore, can now do us no service whatever. The same observation applies to the additional bounty on the exportation of refined sugar, which I never could comprehend the necessity of granting; for, as to the rivalry to be apprehended from Hamburgh in the supply of Russia, independent of our unfortunately being able, in the present depressed state of our market, to undersell all the world, Hamburgh being now in the possession of France, is an enemy's port, with respect to Russia, and, consequently, one with which she can hold no commercial communication. The project of establishing a public warehouse, where refined sugar may be bonded for exportation, and the bounty received before it is actually shipped, is equally nugatory. Admitting even 2 or 3,000 hhds. to be warehoused there at a time, the amount of the bounty is about £20 per hhd. which would create a capital to be advanced by government of from £40,000 to £60,000. This may, indeed, be an accommodation to speculative shippers, and enable them to purchase to a larger extent at the most advantageous periods; but, considered as a relief to the immense mass of our colonial commerce, it is as a drop of water thrown into the ocean. The plan of exporting refined sugar powdered, instead of whole, is judicious, considered as a matter of future regulation; because, in that shape, it is admitted into some foreign countries, on payment of a lower duty than it is subject to in lumps or loaves: but, as we have now no communication with those countries, this scheme, like the others, is at present entirely useless. All these plans seem to be calculated on the idea of our export-trade flowing through its accustomed channels without interruption; and one would really imagine, that when his majesty's ministers suggested them, they had totally forgotten all the disastrous events which have lately taken place on the continent of Europe. That they may be useful hereafter, in a different state of things, I readily admit; but it is ab-

surd, in the highest degree, to suppose, that, in the present state of things, they can give us either that immediate or effectual relief, from the urgent distress under which we now labour, to obtain which was the object of our application.

With the same propriety that lord Henry Petty offered these measures to the deputation, he might have offered one of the members who is occasionally subject to the gout, a pair of his nice, new, dressed, dancing pumps. Had he so done, this gentleman would probably have returned his lordship many thanks for his politeness; but have observed, that not being, as his lordship might see, in dancing trim, he could not possibly make any present use of them. I will farther suppose, that this gentleman feeling a paroxysm of his complaint coming on, and being scarcely able to stand, had cast his eye on an excellent pair of crutches in a corner of the room, (which we will presume had formerly belonged to one of his lordship's ancestors) and had requested the temporary use of them; but that his lordship, with infinite courtesy, had replied,—"My dear sir, I should be happy to oblige you, but I dare not part with those crutches, which you see are marked *distilleries* and *breweries*, for fear of giving umbrage to some country gentlemen, very particular friends of mine, in the house of commons. To be sure they do not want them, and you do; but as they think they may want them some time or other, I have promised not to lend them even for a moment." I will farther suppose, that the poor gouty gentleman then asked his lordship for a good stout walking stick, on the head of which was engraved—"*maritime rights of Britain;*" and that his lordship expressed his regret, that he had unluckily given that stick away to one of the commissioners from the United States of America, who had taken a particular fancy to it; and that, therefore, he had nothing to offer him but that beautiful pair of dancing pumps; adding, that he must hobble home as well as he could; that he hoped the gout would not rise into his stomach and carry him off; and that whenever he was disposed to caper with eclat, he would find those pumps suit him most delightfully.—This, sir, is really no unappropriate account of the reception we have met with from his majesty's ministers. They give what cannot, at present, be useful to us, and what would be useful, they refuse.

The great causes of the depreciated value of the produce of our West India colonies, are the concessions made by his majesty's ministers to neutral powers, of the right to transport to Europe the produce of the colonies of the enemy, and their having tamely submitted to the prohibitory decree of Buonaparte, without any attempt at retaliation. When we first represented our distressed situation to his majesty's ministers, they desired that we would not only state our complaints, but point out some specific mode of redress.——We did so: and mentioned the substitution of sugar for corn, in the distilleries and breweries; a measure which appeared recommended on the strongest possible grounds, for at the same time that it would have procured a consumption for that superabundance of sugar which we could no longer export, it would have lessened the consumption of corn which we could no longer import; and even if the country gentlemen were apprehensive, (contrary to the experience of all the reports on the table of the house of commons,) that they could possibly raise more corn than the kingdom required, a regulation permitting the free exportation of it to the West Indies, which at present is only allowed to a very limited extent, would have obviated that objection, by finding a new market for that corn which is at present used in the distilleries and breweries. By adopting this system, our colonies would consume British corn, instead of American corn, which they are now obliged to purchase, and encourage British navigation, instead of American navigation. However, for some reason or other, (for the report of the committee of the house of commons has not yet been printed) after two months deliberation, this measure was discountenanced, and we have again petitioned parliament, urging the inadequacy of the expedients adopted, and praying farther and more effectual relief.

I own, I never could see the propriety of our giving his majesty's ministers our ideas of the measures most proper to be adopted. They are the state physicians, we are the patients; and it surely is not consonant to sound practice, that the party who applies for relief should prescribe the remedy. Let me suppose, for a moment, sir, that you were afflicted with a constipation, which I think most resembles our com-

plaint, for we have a dreadful constipation in our warehouses, and can get no passage for our sugars; that you sent for a physician, told him your case, requested that he would procure you what, in medical language, is termed an evacuation; that your physician should say,—"My dear friend, I see that you are in a very bad state, and that something must be done for you; but tell me what medicine you think will best answer the end, and then, if upon consideration I find no objection, I will prescribe it for you."——You, perhaps, would say,—"well, doctor, then send me a dose of castor oil; I think that will do me good." I will suppose, that the doctor went away, and, having duly considered, returned the following day and said,—"Castor oil does not appear to me to be the proper remedy for your complaint; it is of too heating a nature."—"Oh! doctor," you would reply, "I am growing much worse; for God's sake, then, give me a dose of salts, they are cooling enough." I will suppose, that, in due time, he returned again and pronounced salts to be too cold; and, to make short of my story, that if you recommended rhubarb, he objected to it as leaving a tendency to costiveness; that if you recommended calomel, he opposed it, as all mercurial compositions break down the crasis of the blood, and are highly injurious to the constitution. I will farther suppose, that while these consultations were going on, your constipation in the bowels, turned into a mortification, as would naturally be the case, and that you died while the doctor was deliberating. This, sir, is precisely our case, and the treatment which we have experienced from his majesty's ministers. They desired us to point out a remedy: we did so; they objected to it, pointed out none themselves, but some trifling palliatives; we grew worse and worse, and are now in a fair way of dying under the hands of our doctors.

The absurdity of our being thus called upon by his majesty's ministers, to assume their characters, is self-evident. We are merchants, they are statesmen. We stand upon a mole hill, where our view is bounded by the petty circle of our own interests. They stand on a commanding eminence, from whence they survey the whole extent of the political horizon. We can see nothing of the wide range of financial operations, of the relative situation of Great Britain with foreign powers, or of the various other important considerations, wholly foreign from our pursuits, with which the plans we suggest may interfere; but all which are open and familiar to their comprehension. We should justly have exposed ourselves to the charge of arrogance and presumption, had we taken upon ourselves to advise his majesty's ministers without their authority: but I suspect they consulted us not so much from deference to our judgment, as we may flatter ourselves. There is no measure against which some objection, either valid or plausible, may not be urged; and I consider this plan as having been calculated to gain time; for, in dealing with men who complain of grievances which it is inconvenient to redress, the saying of the old king of Prussia may be justly applied,—"He who gains time, gains every thing."

Such is the impression the treatment that we have received has made on my mind; and in order to give old Frederick's maxim the lie, the West-India body are now, I understand, about to act with energy and spirit; to state the distressed situation to which they are reduced; to shew that their ruin will involve that of the most important interests of the British empire; to call upon the ship-owners, and the manufacturers, to join their cause; and upon the landed interest too, for the deficiency of revenue that will arise from the decay of our colonial, maritime, and manufacturing prosperity, must be made up by the latter. What effect this may produce, I know not; but this I know, that if we continue in our present state, our ruin is inevitable; and therefore, the only chance that remains, is a forcible appeal to the nation at large, shewing the extremity to which we are reduced, the wide extended ruin that will follow our fall, and pointing it out to parliament as both their interest and their imperative duty, so to divide the pressure of the public burthens, as to prevent any one class of his majesty's subjects from being totally crushed beneath their weight.

CIVIS.

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS, AND NEW FINANCE PLAN.

Sir,—The distresses of the West India planters are the universal topic of conversation, but as it would require a volume to explain the extent and nature of the grievances under which they labour, I shall content myself with shortly stating the causes. The king's ministers confess entire ignorance of the internal situation of the colonies, and of the actual cost of cultivating and manufacturing sugar;—they have been intreated to enquire into the ability of the planter to pay the heavy duties on his produce, but it has been uniformly refused; because they are conscious the result of such enquiry would expose their ignorance and injustice in the accumulation of duties. The law of reason, and the law of England require, that contributions for common purposes should be equal. To maintain such equality, information is necessary; and the want of it will lead to mischievous error. The revenue of the West India planters instead of being subjected to fair and proportionate taxation has been annihilated, and destruction impends over their capital.

A hundred millions are embarked in the colonies. Strength and wealth to the British empire have resulted from the trade; but the individuals are ruined, not by commercial, but political causes. From ignorance, excessive and intolerable duties have been exacted; and, from the weakness of our public councils, the neutral flag, and particularly that of America, conveys in safety, and at comparatively small expense, the produce of hostile colonies to the markets on the continent, where the planters were told they would meet with no competitor. The British minister imposes a high duty on sugar on the principle that the British merchant had the exclusive supply of those markets, and the next day grants to America and other neutral powers, an unusual facility of commercial intercourse between the enemy's colonies and those markets of Europe. More acute than just in taxation, he sells the same thing to two parties. The planters pay a high duty on the principle of an exclusive supply. The Americans pretend injuries from the British government; and, to keep them quiet, concessions are made, which invade and destroy the right before pledged to the West India planters.

The people of England should consider what sacrifices of strength and wealth are made by such injurious treatment of the British West India planters. The industry of the country will be crippled, and its manufactures ruined. The landholder and the capitalist cannot escape the paralizing effects which the ruin of the colonies must produce. Nine tenths of the property of Great Britain rest on a commercial tenure, and the other tenth will be in extreme hazard from the almost universal beggary, which the ruin of our foreign commerce must occasion. The active principle of national wealth is its foreign trade. Ships and seamen constitute British political strength.—They are both sacrificed to blind and inconsiderate taxation.

It is apparent that direct and indirect taxation has annihilated the income of the West India planters; the capital employed is one hundred millions, and from the peculiar risks of colonial property, it is admitted that the return should not be less than 10 per cent. of course ten millions per annum. This rate of profit was allowed in calculation to the brewers, in the discussion on the first heavy malt duty, whose property is under the protection of the tower of London. Who has gained by this excessive exaction from the West India planters? The landholders and the capitalists of Great Britain; for the manufacturers, though the prices of goods are double what they were, gain scarcely a competency. If the price of raw materials is almost doubled, the landholder receives the benefit. If that of labour is increased in the same proportion, it is the price of subsistence occasions it; there again the landholder receives the advantage. If, therefore, the price of goods is nearly doubled, almost the whole benefit rests with the landholder. The multiplied taxes, must, in part, augment the price of goods; but the revenue of the government is the revenue of the people; it arises from general contribution, and every man should pay in fair proportion to his means. It is clear that the annihilation of the West India income of ten millions per annum has either increased the wealth, or diminished the burdens of the great classes of consumers or contributors to the public revenue, who, virtually are the landholders and the capitalists, or persons who, without industry, live upon their incomes. The value of colonial produce is wholly absorbed by the duties paid upon it, and by the value of British manufactures for the

use of the colonies. If the planter cannot pay the duties, without ruin to himself, the other contributors to the public revenues must pay them. The landholders and the capitalists, who, either directly or virtually, are the contributors to the public revenue, must, therefore, by new taxes to the amount of 2,700,000l. compensate for that defalcation from the public revenue by the non-payment of the duties on sugar. It will fall principally, if not entirely, on the landholder to make compensation for the inability of the West India planter to pay double the former price for the British manufactures, when for his own he obtains but a small increase. As the manufacturer cannot reduce his prices, unless the price of raw materials and of subsistence are diminished, the land, which produces both the one and the other, must suffer in its value. The landholder, who derives all the profit from consumption, must necessarily be exposed to all the loss which arises from a diminished consumption. The instruments of commerce must be duly supported, or it will fail altogether and entail general ruin. If, then, the West India planter has not the means of paying the high prices of British manufactures, because an adequate price is not given for his staple article of sugar, either the one must be diminished, or the other increased. It is absurd to suppose that our colonial system can be maintained in its present ruinous state. The permanent principles of British wealth and strength should not be sacrificed to ill-judged systems of revenue.

The landholder, and the capitalist, must pay, either in increased taxes, or in increased prices, for colonial produce, whatever may be necessary to place the planters in their proper and relative situation to the other classes of the community; not only in respect of themselves, but also in respect of the working classes of the community, who are nothing more than a channel by which national profit and loss passes to and attaches on the landholders and capitalists. If this be not done, the colonies will be broken up and abandoned. Let ministers weigh well the consequences of such a crisis.

If government had restrained neutrals from transporting the colonial produce of our enemies, and thereby secured a good market to British planters on the continent; which they assured the planters would be the case, when they imposed the additional duties on sugar; but which assurance they have not fulfilled—the landholders and capitalists of Great Britain would have escaped all those evils which must necessarily arise from the present state of the colonies; but, even in that case, the landholders and capitalists must, for themselves and those whom they employed, either for personal service or consumption, have paid a much higher price for sugar; for that was the professed intention of the minister when the tax was imposed. It was declared, that the consumer would pay it; and the engine for raising the price was exportation. The minister has failed in this speculation, of which he was warned in vain; and the consequence has been, the ruin of the planter. And the landholders and capitalists must now not only be taxed to supply the insufficiency of the planters contribution, but they are exposed to all those incalculable mischiefs, which arise from shaking the foundations of the most valuable branch of British foreign trade, the surest and most productive source of British wealth and naval strength.

To conclude; in stating the balance of wealth between Great Britain and her colonies, it is evident that the former has, within the last twenty years, gained against the latter the whole of their reasonable and natural income, which should be not less than ten millions per annum, in return for a capital, at great risk, of one hundred millions; and the colonies must either be abandoned, or means adopted to place the planters in their former relative situation. The consumer must pay more for sugar, or the planter pay less to the public burdens.

The minister, in his new system of finance, exults in the view his imagination or policy has formed of our financial property; but he deceives, when he tells you, that the property-tax will cease with the war—that the landholders and capitalists, who pay all taxes, will be relieved, whilst the shipping, and the commerce of England, shall be doomed to pay off all the additional burdens which may be contracted during the war. I repeat, he deceives you: for, although the property-tax may nominally cease, and your commerce and ships continue to be burdened when peace takes place, though at that time they will require more than ordinary encourage-

ment, yet they may be assured, that the mischiefs of such illiberal policy will produce a much heavier charge against the landed and monied capital of the country than any direct tax upon property. I do not object to rigorous taxation for necessary vigorous warfare; but I contend, that taxation should be exercised with due discrimination; and that it is unworthy of a great and opulent nation to establish taxes on speculative principles, and persist in them, when facts have proved the fallacy of such speculation. The West India planters have increased the produce of sugar, encouraged thereto by his majesty's ministers, who, on many occasions, have exulted in parliament on the national benefit from the re-exportation of colonial produce; but, by the timidity of their public councils, in respect of America, they have put an end to this benefit, leaving to the planters to sustain all the disadvantages of an overstocked market; and absurdly and unjustly continuing those duties, which were imposed upon the speculation of high prices, to be created by extensive exportation, unrivalled by competitors. As long as America is permitted to import the produce of hostile colonies into the markets of Europe, the British planters cannot export, except at ruinous prices; and every great interest in the country must be impaired by their ruin.

The land and monied capital of Great Britain must contribute ten millions more than they do at this time, before the colonial system can be placed on its proper basis; or the colonial system will be abandoned, and the capital now invested in it transferred into foreign islands. The vanity and conceit of ministers, on subjects of revenue, produces much error, and no little injury. The display of rhetoric, and the overwhelming multiplication of figures in support of the new financial plan, like the mountain in labour, creates at first anxious expectation, but terminates at last in abortion. There is nothing new in it; nor is it distinguished by a single principle which is not obvious to every man conversant in calculation. *Repose from taxation* is the assumed ground-work of this boasted perfection of financial talent. This, by the bye, is no proof of solid resources. The repayment of necessary loans is, therefore, transferred to a future period, and destructive war-taxes continued to provide the means of it. The brilliancy of this wonderful projet de finance is derived from the operation of compound interest, in effecting the extinction of the debt. The chancellor of the exchequer, and the secretary of the treasury, may puzzle and perplex their minds by simple and complex calculations, without producing any new light beyond the competency of a junior clerk in a merchant's counting-house; but the mischief arising from this vain attempt to gratify the vanity of new men in the office of financiers, is great. The public are led into error by the bold assumption, which prescribes the extent and urgency of war; which proportions the exigencies of war to assumed means, and not the means to the probable events, which, though in the disturbed state of the world, cannot be distinctly foreseen, yet must be contemplated with dreadful apprehension. The estimate of war-charges is formed on a certain scale of exertion. We are all competent to make this estimate—but why so earnestly call our attention to it, and assume credit on a calculation so simple, when the actual state of Europe presents so strong a probability, that this assumed scale of pecuniary exertion will be wholly inadequate to the new and additional vigour which Great Britain must not only exercise herself, but infuse into other nations, and support by large pecuniary subsidies. The discussion produced by this new plan of finance, as it is called, is injurious. To state the necessity for repose from taxation, will be considered by the enemy as a confession of inability to sustain additional taxation, and the pledged continuation of the war-duties on the shipping, and the commerce of the country, has created a general alarm in the mercantile world; and when it is considered, that the additional duty of seven shillings per cwt. on sugar, is one of these war-taxes so to be continued, and that the pledge so given is at a time when the government of the country, by its taxation and policy, has already annihilated the whole income of the planters, one can hardly refrain from smiling at the confidence of the projector of this new plan of finance, however grievously calamitous the condition of the planters, and however severe the effects of it must be, ere long, on the nation. Is it possible, that a minister possessing common sense, can imagine that this state of things can continue long; and, that large classes of his majesty's subjects, driven to despair by their own govern-

ment, will remain passive, and not make some efforts to relieve themselves, either by discontinuing all commercial intercourse with the mother-country? for they cannot be compelled either to buy stores from, or to sell their produce to Great Britain. It is true, all intercourse with other countries may be prevented; but it will be better to subsist on the food of their own soil, than to solicit the charity of their fellow subjects in Great Britain; or, by removing their negroes to foreign islands, where their property is more likely to be respected; but the candour of the British nation will remove the necessity for such dreadful alternatives. They will, before they have entirely beggared us, honestly confess, that they no longer set any value upon the sugar colonies, and permit us to form a connexion with some other state, who places more importance on the colonial system, than the government of Great Britain.

JUSTITIA.

STATE PAPERS.

London Gazette, Extraordinary, Sunday, March 8. — Downing-Street. March 8, 1807.—A dispatch, dated St. Petersburgh, 17th February, 1807, of which the following is an extract, was this day received from the marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburgh, by lord viscount Howick, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs:—

I have the pleasure of inclosing, for your lordship's information, two papers, giving an account of a signal victory gained by the Russians over the French.

Translation of a Letter from General de Budberg, his Imperial Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, to his Excellency the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, 3-15*th February,* 1807.

General Budberg, minister for foreign affairs, hastens to communicate to his excellency the ambassador of his Britannic majesty, the following intelligence, which arrived last night from the army.

General Bennigsen, after having fallen back for the purpose of chusing a position which he judged better adapted for manœuvring the troops under his command, took up a position at Preussich-Eylau. During four days successively, his rearguard, commanded by major-general Barklay de Tolly, had to withstand several vigorous attacks, and on the 26th Jan.--7th Feb. at three o'clock in the afternoon, the battle became general throughout the whole line of the main army. The contest was destructive, and the night came on without the enemy having been able to gain ground. On Jan. 27.--Feb. 8, early in the morning, the French renewed the attack, and the action was contested with great obstinacy on both sides; but towards the evening, the enemy was repulsed on all sides, and general Bennigsen remained in possession of the field of battle.

Buonaparte commanded in person, and under him marshals Augereau, d'Avoust, Soult, Ney, and Bessieres, at the head of the guards, who suffered the most. Our loss is from six to eight thousand men; whilst that of the enemy is estimated at from twelve to fifteen thousand. We have also taken twelve stand of colours, and about fifteen hundred prisoners, amongst whom there are thirty officers.

The courier who brought the dispatches having been sent off immediately after the battle, the minister of his imperial majesty does not yet know all the details of the above-mentioned day. General Budberg has the honour to be &c.

Translation of a Letter from General the Baron de Bennigsen to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, delivered by Lieutenant-colonel Stavitzki, Aide-de-camp to his Imperial Majesty.

On the Field of Battle, Preussich-Eylau, Jan. 27.--Feb. 8, 1807.—SIRE,—I am truly happy to have it in my power to inform your imperial majesty, that the army, the command of which your majesty has deigned to confide to me, has been again victorious. The battle which has just taken place has been bloody and destructive. It began on the 26th of Jan.—7th of Feb. at three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted until six o'clock in the evening of the 27th of Jan.—8th of Feb.

The enemy was completely defeated; one thousand prisoners, and twelve stand of colours, which I have the honour herewith to transmit to your majesty, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This day, Buonaparte attacked me with his best troops on my centre, and on both wings, but he was repulsed and beaten on all sides. His guards repeatedly attacked my centre without the smallest success. After a very brisk fire, they were repulsed at all points, by the bayonet and by charges of the cavalry. Several columns of infantry, and picked regiments of cuirassiers were destroyed.

I shall not fail to transmit to your majesty, as soon as possible, a detailed account of the memorable battle of Preussich-Eylau.

I think our loss may perhaps exceed 6000 men; and I certainly do not exaggerate, when I state the loss of the enemy at considerably more than 12,000 men.

BATTLE OF PULTUSK.

From the St. Petersburgh Gazette, Jan. 18. *O. S.*—Subsequent to the provisional short account which has been published, of the victory gained by the troops of his imperial majesty, on the 14--29th December, 1806, at Pultusk, over the French army, consisting of 60,000 men, commanded by Buonaparte in person, and the field-marshals D'Avoust and Lannes, the following circumstantial accounts have been received here, relative to that battle, which has crowned the victorious Russian warriors with fresh wreaths of glory. They are dated head-quarters, Lomza, December 27 (Jan. 7,) and are transmitted from general baron Bennigsen, by the prince Golizyn, adjutant to his majesty the emperor:—

"As soon as the corps of his imperial majesty, under the command of general baron Bennigsen, consisting of about 45,000 men, excepting a part of the 3d and 4th division, had arrived in the environs of Pultusk, on the 13--24th December, after a very fatiguing march, (the roads being exceeding bad) and continually harassed by the enemy; the said corps was immediately so posted, that its right wing was supported by the village of Mosezina, and the left by the small town of Pultusk, with a view to cover the road of Ostrolenka, and the bridges near Pultusk and Zamsk, to keep open the communication with the general of infantry, count Buxhowden.

"The van, commanded by major-general Barclai de Tolly, consisting of three regiments of jagers (the 1st, 3d, and 20th,) and supported by the regiment of Tengisk musketeers, and the Polish regiment of cavalry, took a position on our right wing in the bushes; whilst the detachment of major-general Baggowut, consisting of the regiments of Staroskolsk, Willna, and one battalion of Revel musketeers, with two squadrons of Kiow dragoons, was posted before the left flank, to cover the river Narew and the road leading from Sierock to Pultusk. These regiments had no sooner made a movement, to occupy their positions aforesaid, than they were attacked about noon by a French detachment, under the command of general Suchet. The fire between the latter and our advanced posts of cavalry commenced, and was kept up for near three hours; whereupon the enemy was repulsed with considerable loss. It afterwards appeared, that this attack on the part of the enemy was only made with a view to reconnoitre.

"On the following day, being the 14--25th of December, when our troops were refreshing themselves, but placed in order of battle, at 11 a. m. they were attacked by a French army of 60,000 men, commanded by Buonaparte in person, and consisting of the corps of the field-marshals D'Avoust and Lannes, and the detachment of general Suchet.

"The first attack was made by the enemy in six columns, under marshal D'Avoust, with great impetuosity, and directed against our left flank, which consisted of the detachment of major-general Baggowut, with a view to take Pultusk, to get into our rear, and to cut off our communication with the division of the lieutenant-general Aurep, which was posted beyond the river Narew, two leagues from Pultusk. Soon after this, the van of major-general Barclai de Tolly, on the right flank, was likewise attacked by six of the enemy's columns.

"During these attacks of the enemy, made upon both our flanks, he had posted a chain of horse jagers, behind whom stood several columns, which were to fall upon

our centre; but the enemy's views upon it were completely frustrated, owing to the powerful and well-directed effect of our batteries, which were erected before our front.

"The impetuous attack made by marshal d'Avoust with 15,000 men, in six columns, upon both flanks of the detachment of major-general Baggowut, obliged the latter to fall back a little, as he had only between 4 and 5000 men with him; but in his retreat he checked the enemy's progress with the 4th regiment of Jagers, which spread itself before the infantry. In the mean while, the lieutenant-general count Osterman arrived with the regiment of Tula, and one battalion of the regiment of Pawlowsky grenadiers to support him, and the enemy's further progress was checked. Major-general Baggowut, with the grenadier battalion of the regiment of Staroskolsk musketeers, and a battalion of the 4th regiment of Jagers, then threw himself, with fixed bayonets, upon the centre column of the enemy, by which he had been pressed, whilst major-general Koshin, with the regiment of his imperial majesty's body cuirassiers, and two squadrons of the regiment of Kargopol dragoons, penetrated to the front and flank of that column, and the result was, that the whole column was immediately cut to pieces.

"In the meanwhile, the other battalions of the 4th reg. of Jagers, and the reg. of Tartarian horse, with two squadrons of Kiow dragoons, attacked the enemy's columns, which had advanced from the left, and compelled them to retreat: however, the enemy receiving an immediate reinforcement, advanced a second time with impetuosity, but were completely overthrown, as we had formed a firm front of the Jagers, and these had thrown themselves upon the enemy with fixed bayonets, and our cavalry had also broke through the columns with their sabres.

"At the same time, major-general Durochow, with the regiment of Isium hussars, made a premeditated retreat before the other columns of the enemy, which were on our right, and then suddenly turned about on the left with his regiment, by which well-timed manœuvre he brought those columns right upon our batteries, which made great havock among the enemy.

"All the rest of our cavalry, which was posted in our front, and made partial attacks upon the enemy, received orders to march through our front of infantry, to leave an open field for action, and to post itself in the rear.

"At this moment all our batteries opened their fire on the enemy's columns, which were advancing against our centre, but which, in consequence of the happy effect of these batteries, were not only checked in their progress, but also driven back.

"The enemy's corps, notwithstanding their being thrice defeated, attempted, on receiving a fresh reinforcement, to repeat their attack, on all the points of our left flank, with renewed ardour, and pressed forward upon it with several co-operating columns. The detachment under major-general Baggowut was also compelled by the superior force of the enemy to fall back, once more, as far as the trench in its rear. But being in the mean time, joined by Murom's regiment, and two battalions of the regiment of Revel, and lieutenant-general Osterman having occupied the height in the rear of the trench, and opened a brisk fire from the battery planted thereon, major-general Baggowut attacked the enemy's columns with fresh ardour, and succeeded in throwing them into disorder. At the same instant, major-general Somow rushed upon the enemy with the Tula regiment of musketeers with fixed bayonets, and thus completed their total discomfiture; the enemy was routed, driven from the field of battle, and pursued until the approach of night. Thus, the result of the enemy's attack on our left flank, in consequence of the intrepidity and judicious dispositions of lieutenant-general Osterman, terminated, in this quarter, in his own destruction, and the whole corps under marshal D'Avoust was totally defeated and dispersed.

(To be continued.)

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by N. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 12. Saturday, March 21, 1807. Price 10*d*.

NORFOLK ELECTION.

At length I have found the paper, which, through an oversight, had escaped my attention for the last fortnight; and I feel it to be incumbent upon me to declare that it does not, in any shape, countenance the opinion which I had made up my mind to publish upon the decision of the house of commons. It is, therefore, but an act of justice due to all the parties, to state here the cause of my mistake. In the *Times* newspaper of the 19th of January, and in the *Morning Chronicle* of the same date, there appeared a string of resolutions, which had been moved at and adopted by a meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Norfolk, holden at Norwich on the 15th of that month, together with an account of the proceedings at the meeting. Some time after, when the merits of the Norfolk contested election came under the consideration of the committee of the house of commons appointed to determine upon those merits, Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke were declared *not duly elected to serve for the said county*. No specific cause was assigned *why* they were not duly elected (at least, in the daily papers which fell within my observation) but the fact was stated *generally*. Upon the strength of this statement, the resolutions moved and adopted at the meeting of the freeholders naturally recurred to my recollection; and as I had conceived, that the meeting had solemnly protested against any violation of the Treating act, I formed the determination to insert their resolutions, and to subjoin the report of the committee, which, I afterwards learnt, had annulled the election, on the ground of the returned candidates having been guilty of treating. But, having since read over with attention these resolutions, I am bound to acknowledge that no such assertion appears amongst them; on the contrary, the clergy, gentry, and other freeholders, many of whom signed the resolutions, have plainly avowed that treating was in fashion at the last Norfolk election, and what is more extraordinary, they have had the assurance to justify the practice, although it be *a direct violation of the law of the land*. These are their words: "That there was nothing in the means adopted upon that occasion (the election) for the conveyance of voters to the place of poll, or for their reception and accommodation afterwards, different from what had been practised at all former contests in this county, or, as we believe, in every other; nor different from what we conceived *must continue to be practised, unless it should be thought right to change the system of county representation, and to deprive the distant and less opulent freeholders of the opportunity of exercising their franchise*. That, whatever the means were which were adopted for the above purposes, and *which differed in no respect from those ordinarily practised*, they were adopted alike by both parties, with *no suspicion*, as it would seem, *of any illegality* being attached to them, nor with a hope entertained by the friends on either side, that, by carrying the same to a greater extent, they should obtain any advantage over their opponents.—That, in these circumstances, a petition has been presented by certain electors, and since approved by others, for the purpose of setting aside the election, principally, it is presumed, on the pretence that the expenses above described *ought to be considered as illegal*."

It is evident, therefore, that it is out of my power to chaunt an *Io Triumphe*; but though this be impracticable, the very arguments of these Norfolk gentlemen, afford me sufficient ground to give them a serious lecture on the illegality, corruption, and dangerous tendency of their doctrine. I affirm that they have, by the publication of their resolutions, attempted to justify a violation of the law; for, when they take upon themselves to declare that the means which they employed, must continue to be practised, notwithstanding that the law prohibits the application of such means, what can they mean but that the laws are cobwebs only which the wealthy can break through with impunity? If any circumstance more than another attach men to this country, and prevent them from abandoning it, it is the sense of security

which every one derives from the general and strict obedience paid to the laws. In despotic or anarchical states, the laws are eluded, and the circumstance proves of itself the existence of despotism or anarchy; but in a well-regulated community, in which the very least feel the care, and the greatest are not exempted from the power of the law, the essence of public security depends upon the reverence with which the law is observed by every description of men. Whether the Treating act be a wise one or not, is a question totally unconnected with the matter before us; because, it is our duty to comply with its provisions, as long as the act itself is in force. To hold a different doctrine, or to act differently, is neither more nor less than INCIPIENT REBELLION. It is no palliation of disobedience to affirm, that unless the Treating act be violated, "the distant and less opulent freeholders would be deprived of the opportunity of exercising their franchise."—We ought to pay a greater respect to the wisdom, good sense, and patriotism of our forefathers than we appear to do by preferring such a pretext for a breach of law—we ought also to give them some credit for understanding thoroughly, the nature, object, and extent of the law which they enacted for the *future* regulation of elections; and when we reflect upon their public spirit, honesty, and general disinterestedness, compared with our venality, selfishness, and sordid avarice, we shall be at no difficulty in discovering the free and generous motives in which the Treating act originated. The elective franchise they justly regarded as the noblest appendage of political freedom, and as the distinguishing characteristic of a free man. Hence, they concluded that the most efficacious mode of securing the freedom of election would be by prohibiting the candidate from defraying any expense to which the elector might be liable in the course of exercising his *peculiar privilege*. The right of election being the initiative of free government, our ancestors never dreamt that their descendants would become so base as to require a fee for the exercise of that right, much less that a body of respectable gentlemen should be found capable of defending the measure. *Their* notion was, that if the elector were either unable or unwilling to disburse his own expenses to the place of poll, he was unworthy to give his vote; and this ought to be the case, for property is, after all, the *alpha* and *omega* of all human legislation; and they who have none, or who are unwilling to expend a small pittance of their stock for the preservation of the [illegible], and for the transmission of it without deterioration to posterity, ought not to be allowed to exercise the right of an elector. In what would the distinction between a freeholder and a non-voter consist, if the only political characteristic of the freeholder were, to be treated once in six years, with a ride to a county town, and with a drunken bout or two while there, in order *to qualify* him to exercise a right which was before inherent in him according to the principles of our constitution? At the time when this Treating act passed, our public roads were no better, and in many parts, not so good as our cross-roads now; the difficulty, inconveniencies, and delays, in traversing them were consequently greater than at present: notwithstanding these obstructions, the framers of the Treating act, moved by the public spirit which reigned throughout the country, declared every election void, in which a freeholder's expenses had been paid, in any shape, by the candidate. The objects of the act were evidently to give importance to the character of the freeholder; to raise him not only in his own estimation, but also in the opinion of his countrymen; and principally, to empower him to exercise his right as an independent man, or not at all, as a political pauper. By the force of this statute, the freeholders of England, in former times, walked or rode to the place of election, at their own expense, proud of their consequence in society, and not ashamed to be seen on foot by any purse-proud upstart, while on his way to fulfil the highest function of the subject of a free state. The man who will not imitate this example, and who demands or accepts a previous fee for the execution of his duty is no longer a free-agent, but, a corrupt slave; who ought to forfeit his qualification as a freeholder. Besides, if it should be generally received and acted upon, that no freeholder is to stir an inch towards the place of election, until a candidate indemnifies him for his expenses, we shall arrive at that point of baseness and corruption, when the qualification of a county member will be estimated not according to his worth, integrity, and independence, but according to the length of his pocket; and when the yeomanry of England, once the most valuable class of the community, will be transformed into an hired and licentious rabble. If that day should ever arrive, I

am of opinion, that absolute monarchy would be preferable to this pageantry of public freedom, wherein the substance of our constitution will have disappeared, and nothing remain amongst us but a shadowy deception of the forms of ancient liberty. "The system of county representation," therefore, as projected by the Norfolk gentlemen in their resolutions wants no change; on the contrary, it only requires that the provisions enacted for the support of that system, should be rigidly enforced; or, in a word, that the law of the land, should be respected and obeyed by all men.

There is another consideration connected with this subject, which ought not to be passed over in silence, namely, the scale of expense, by which the electors are to be indemnified for their journey? Is it at the rate of one shilling or eighteen-pence per mile, from their homes to the hustings? or, do we not discover, upon such occasions, that some miles are *shorter* than others; that five English miles make one German mile, and many *sundries* are tacked to the expenses incurred by so fatiguing a journey? According to this method of calculating distances, a freeholder living twenty miles (German) from the hustings, will require to be paid for *one hundred* miles (English.) This is the most infamous and unblushing apology for bribery and corruption, that ever was offered to the public. It is a wretched subterfuge by which an ambitious candidate bloated with wealth, or strong with ministerial influence, may become "*the base pander of the worst passions of the people.*" In this venal and degenerate generation, amongst whom, the love of wealth predominates over, if not altogether suppresses the sense of honour, the spiritless freeholder is, in general, as ready to *take* as the treacherous candidate to *give*, the price of his infamy. Instead, therefore, of proposing an alteration in the provident and public-spirited system of our fathers, we should exert every human means to prop and fortify that system against the inroads of corruption, and the vicious inclinations of their unworthy descendants. The law should stand untouched, but shrouded from insult or violation, by the severest additional penal sanctions. We hang for crimes much less obnoxious to morals, and in their consequences, much less injurious to the public welfare, than this monstrous invasion of the rights of election. We have only to revert to the spirit of the laws which our forefathers enacted in behalf of public liberty, to see that few amendments are necessary to perpetuate them. I have shewn, that so far from encouraging the payment of the freeholder's expenses, the Treating act positively disclaims, and with indignation too, the very idea of it—that this act was passed at a time, when the opportunity of the freeholder's attendance was more difficult than at present, and when the facilities we now enjoy of travelling expeditiously and commodiously in any manner, did not exist. The intention of the legislature in framing that act, is, therefore, unequivocally explained. The house of commons has, in several instances, during this session, given the same interpretation as the above to the act; and it was in virtue of its full and necessary operation, that Messrs. Windham and Coke, in defiance of the resolutions of the Norfolk meeting, were pronounced to be, *not duly elected.*

If both, or either of these deposed representatives of Norfolk, revolt at a decision thus founded upon their open violation of law, let them propose the repeal of that law, and substitute in its place, *a new system of county representation in which the distant and less opulent freeholders may have an opportunity of exercising their franchise, by making a market of their duties, and receiving* ALMS *from the candidates to enable them to exercise their obligations as Britons, and as men.*

ON THE PROPRIETY OF SELLING THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

"*Where more is meant than meets the ear.*"

Little was it to have been expected, after the high language pronounced against the slave trade, and the impetuosity displayed in effecting its abolition, that something like a repentant spirit should have been manifested, notwithstanding the powerful majorities by which the measure was carried through both houses of parliament. But the dangerous tendency of the declaratory preamble, was so palpable, that the ministers themselves were the first to propose that it should be withdrawn. On the 9th inst. when the report of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade was brought

up in the house of commons, lord Howick is reported to have said, that as *many persons* had supposed the preamble of the bill, declaring, "that whereas the African slave trade is contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy," might be productive of a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, by making the negroes discontented with their situation and ripe for insurrection (though he entertained no such opinion); yet wishing to conciliate as much as possible every prejudice which might exist, provided he could do so without departing, in the least, from that great principle to which parliament was bound by the resolutions passed last year; and as a measure of *concession* to the opinions of many very respectable gentlemen, he was content to alter the preamble, &c." This has been done accordingly; so that instead of the words mentioned above, the following equivocal expressions have prefaced that famous bill, which was introduced and supported in vindication of justice, humanity, and sound policy; "whereas the two houses of parliament have, by their resolutions of the 10th and 24th of June, severally resolved, upon *special grounds* therein stated, to abolish the African slave trade, therefore be it enacted, &c."

In the opinion of every *unprejudiced* person, this alteration in the preamble cannot be otherwise considered than as an abdication of the principles of the bill, which, after the manner in which the bill itself had been carried, ought to have been most religiously preserved; for, it is admitted that the bill will conduce materially to the injury of the colonies, and it is announced, that, even if the injurious consequences should be so extensive as to involve these colonies in general ruin, still the paramount considerations of justice, humanity, and sound policy, ought to prevail; and the private interests of a body of men, ought to be sacrificed at the shrine of immutable justice. There is an appearance of puerility, and certainly of timidity, in this dereliction of the fundamental grounds upon which the abolitionists have proceeded. Hitherto they planted their standard on the vantage ground of popularity, but now, by rescinding the inducements which led to the resolutions of last year, they have changed their position; and from the commanding eminence whence, as vigorous philanthropists and speculative statesmen, they contemptuously looked down upon the West India planters and merchants, they have taken their station behind the counter of sober calculation, and are engaged in balancing accounts, in order to find out the difference between theory and practice. If they had exercised their judgments in this manner *previous to* the passing of the bill, they would not have been now reduced to their present dilemma; which, if it be not ridiculous in the extreme, is, at least, derogatory from the lofty pretensions which they formerly avowed. This circumstance proves also, the improvidence of so much precipitation as we have seen, in determining upon a question of such vast importance as the immediate, and unconditional abolition of the slave trade.

But, though it be manifest, that some apprehension is entertained relative to the future consequences of this bill upon West India commerce; the zeal of the enemies to that commerce has not abated. With headlong inconsiderateness, they are following up their successful blow against one of the most fertile sources of our maritime dominion, and are now endeavouring to unsettle the foundations of all security in the islands, and of cutting off even the forlorn hope of the planters; by proposing that all the future children of persons now in slavery, should, from the time of the passing of this bill, be free. The incalculable and confounding ruin which must follow the establishment of such a law, does not appear to have been sufficiently weighed by the rash advocates of the measure; nor was it possible for the West India proprietors, or for any persons connected with them to imagine, that such premeditated and comprehensive destruction would be suspended over their heads so very soon after the stripes which had been inflicted upon them by the unrelenting hand of the legislature. The extent of the evil, however, I foresaw and predicted; not from any superiour degree of penetration, but as the necessary consequence of the precipitate manner in which the question of the abolition was agitated. In the 65th and 66th pages of this volume, I shewed, that the total emancipation of the slaves would be the natural effect of the abolition of the slave trade; because, if it be unholy, inhuman, and impolitic, to kidnap men, and to transfer them from their own country into another, where they are kept in a state of perpetual slavery; it is equally repugnant to those principles, to retain them in that condition, after the original cause of their removal had been branded with every odious epithet, and so-

lemnly revoked as disgraceful to a civilized community. The two principles of the slave trade, and colonial slavery are inseparable as cause and effect; hence, the cause cannot, without a deviation from the rules of right reason, be denounced with the vengeance of a legislative anathema, without comprehending the effect also in this sweeping proscription. Perceiving the indissolubility of this connection, I did not hesitate to announce to the public, that the abolition of the trade was only a preparatory step to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves,—an event, which can never be accomplished without an entire demolition of those maxims respecting the security of property, which have hitherto been esteemed the most sacred and conservative buttresses of public safety. An invasion of property of such a magnitude was not believed likely to occur, nor could I induce any of the West India planters, with whom I am acquainted, to believe, that the saints and the philanthropists would *not* stop at the point of their favourite abolition, nor cease to stimulate the blind passions of the people, until the emancipation of their slaves had been effected. "Surely," they observed, "parliament will not listen to a proposal fraught with such immediate and overwhelming destruction to the colonial proprietors!" But now observe: while I was actually engaged with the pen in my hand, in preparing that very article for the press wherein these just apprehensions were detailed—at the very day and hour, did parliament listen to a proposal of this nature from lord Percy. What is the result? These same planters are astounded; they are bewildered in the contemplation of their approaching calamities; they are trembling at the vast mass of undistinguishing ruin which menaces all the West India property; and, in the first emotions of their indignation, they vent opinions which had never been known to have escaped the lips of the West Indians. Where will all these extravagances end? Whither will misdirected philanthropy lead this deluded nation? If you attack one species of property, which has been legitimated upon your statute-book for two centuries; which has been guaranteed to the possessors not only by the most positive stipulations, but for which you have also frequently recurred to arms; there can be no safety remaining for any other species of property. Perhaps, the church property will be the next object of attack; and after we shall have become familiarized with these successive invasions of right, there is nothing in our constitutional polity, which may not equally fall under the rapacious gripe of a factitious humanity. The property of a West India planter must not be estimated according to the rules of calculation in Europe. It is not the quantity of acres, but the number of slaves which constitute the most valuable part of his property; and yet, we are not satisfied with depriving him of the means of replenishing his exhausted stock, (for I say nothing of increasing his capital) but we are about to limit the term of his possessing *any* property, by barring the entail of the uncertain and perishable property we have left to him. Our system is, "we permit you to hold the title to your estate to-day, that we may beggar you to-morrow; for though our ancestors as well as ourselves have been accomplices in the inhumanity of you and your ancestors, yet that we may escape damnation in the world to come, we are resolved that you shall be damned in this." We have seen that the planters have in vain reminded the British people of the justice of correcting the evils which press upon their fellow-creatures at home, before they extend their philanthropic genius of innovation to remote regions, with whose habits and institutions, they are utterly ignorant. It is in vain, that the West Indians have maintained, that though benevolence be of no country, yet, that it is *not just* to leap over the circle in which we ourselves move, and wherein abundant objects of commisseration present themselves daily to our view, for the purpose of making a philanthropic experiment amongst a race of men, to whom the sentiments of freedom, the habits of civilized life, and the forms of European subordination, are wholly unknown.

There is an admirable maxim in the civil jurisprudence of this country, that a complainant should not come before a tribunal with unclean hands; a maxim founded on a perfect and practical knowledge of human nature, and which, every saint cannot fail to recollect is sanctioned by divine authority—"thou hypocrite, *first* cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and *then* shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Matthew, ch. 7. v. 5. It is not necessary for me to enumerate all the cases wherein the beam figures in the eye of the men of this country; there is one instance, which is too prominent to be overlooked, too frequent in its repetition to be unknown to a single individual, and too politic for any

Briton to wish to see it ever abolished. I allude to the kidnapping, or, as it is here called, *the pressing of seamen*. To accomplish this purpose, the whole order of society is reversed in this country: outrage is committed on the personal security of the unoffending subject: the castle of an Englishman, his greatest boast and pride is invaded; the law outstretches not her protective hand to save him, though in every other instance, her uplifted arm strikes at the violator of the poor man's cottage: the sailor is torn by the force of a remorseless usage, from the arms of his wife, his children, his kindred, and the security of his castle, and sent on board a floating prison, which, for suffering and immorality, renders the slave ship an enviable birth!*

Upon this subject I might descant for two or three hours, which is, I believe the shortest space of time that Mr. Wilberforce and the leading philanthropists allow themselves upon the question of the negroes; and I have no doubt, though I cannot pretend to the eloquent powers of that gentleman, that I should succeed in extorting a tear even from the eye of a saint. But, I shall make use of an abler advocate; of one who unites the elegance of language to the most profound conceptions of political wisdom: treating "of some remarkable customs," Mr. Hume mentions the *pressing of seamen*, and thus expatiates upon it. "The exercise of an irregular power is here tacitly permitted in the crown; and though it has frequently been under deliberation, how that power might be rendered legal, and granted, under proper restrictions, to the sovereign, no safe expedient could ever be proposed for the purpose;" (they might have sent for ship-loads of Chinese) "and the danger to liberty always appeared greater from law than from usurpation. While this power is exercised to no other end than to man the navy, men willingly submit to it, from a sense of its *use* and *necessity;* and the sailors, *who are alone affected by it*, find nobody to support them" (no, not even a solitary saint!) "in claiming the rights and priveleges, which the law grants, without distinction to all ENGLISH subjects. I pretend not, by this reasoning, to exclude all possibility of contriving a register for seamen, which might man the navy, without being dangerous to liberty. I only observe, that no satisfactory scheme of that nature has yet been proposed. Rather than adopt any project hitherto invented, we continue a practice seemingly *the most absurd and unaccountable*. Authority, in times of full internal peace and concord, *is armed against law*. A continued violence is permitted in the crown, amidst the greatest jealousy and watchfulness in the people; nay proceeding from those very principles: liberty, in a country of the highest liberty, is left entirely to its own defence, without any countenance or protection: *the wild state of nature is renewed, in one of the most civilized societies of mankind; and great violence and disorder are committed with impunity;* while the one party pleads obedience to the supreme magistracy, the other the sanction of fundamental laws." †

Until the abolitionists can prove, that this mode of pressing the seamen is not inhuman and unjust, they will never be able to reconcile their practice at home to their philanthropy abroad. It would not be difficult for me to shew, by the experience of other states, that it is *possible* the navy *might* be manned, in a more unexceptionable and less forcible manner. I could quote the example of Denmark, where, every inhabitant of the maritime districts engaged in the fisheries, or in commercial navigation, is inscribed on ordinary and extraordinary registers, for the convenience of which, the coast is divided into so many divisions. The registers are made up by a navy officer, in concert with the civil power. The enregistered sailors may enter into the Danish merchant service, by giving notice to the naval officer before mentioned, whither they are bound. They are allowed also to engage in the service of foreign vessels, on their entering into an undertaking to return at the expiration of two years, and leaving twenty rix dollars as a security. If a registered sailor remain for good in a foreign service, he is considered as a deserter. When a sailor attains fifty years of age, he is put upon the extraordinary list; so that when a naval levy is made, the sailors are taken according to the date of their enregistera-

* *Vide Dr. Pinckard's notes on the West Indies, vol. 2. p. 9. &c. I do not know of any work, which gives a more entertaining or useful account of the manners of the islands (Jamaica not included) than this. The author, it is to be observed, is no friend either to the slave trade or to negro slavery, for which reason, I cite his authority.*

† *Hume's Essays, vol. 1. 395 and 396.*

tion, and the degree of experience which they are supposed to have acquired; special care however being taken, that, in the first instance, no fathers of families, nor sons who have infirm parents to support, should be called upon. The inscribed sailors enjoy many advantages and immunities, even while they are not in the active service of the state. From the moment of their being called out on duty, they receive pay, which is augmented in proportion as the service becomes more active. When they are actually at sea, their pay varies, according to their skill, from two to five rix dollars per month, and they share in prize-money. By this regulation Denmark can at any time put into active service, *thirty thousand seamen*. The population of Denmark amounts to not three millions of souls; *therefore*, if, three millions of souls give 30,000 seamen, what will *fifteen* millions of souls give? This is a mere hint; but suppose I were to push this doctrine as I could do much further, what would be thought of me? Would not the honest-part of England say, I was artfully intending, by canting and groaning, the overthrow of the means of public safety, and the superiority of our maritime power? To be sure they would; and in my opinion, if I were to propose the abolition of the pressing of seamen, I ought, even without trial, to be hanged on a gallows as high as that of Haman, that is, fifty cubits high. Esther, chap. 7. v. 9. The introduction, therefore, of this regulation, which the policy of the Danish government has substituted instead of an impress of seamen, is not irrelevant; for it proves, that if we were to enter strictly into all the abstract principles of justice and humanity, we should soon discover that these pismire principles are in direct opposition to our practical ideas of sound policy. The argument is as strong in behalf of the abolition of the kidnapping of white as of black flesh; and unless we admit the application of the doctrine in cases exactly similar, our philanthropy is a mere commodious bugbear, by which fanatics and hyprocrites vainly hope to frighten Satan out of the flesh. It is, after all, a vile hypocrisy, under pretences of religion. But, it is not by such means that they can chase out sin. "Therefore, be not, as *the hypocrite, of a sad countenance*, for *they* disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward." Matthew, 6th chap. and the 16th verse.

Having now fully shewn the moral and political difficulties, if not absurdities in which we are involved by the discussion of these abstract points, I shall in the next place, make a few remarks on the *manner* of the discussion, and then conclude all that I have to advance upon the subject, with an illustration of the advantages which will result from the adoption of the proposal, that forms the title of this article.

The manner of conducting the discussion, has been incautious, fanatical, therefore revolutionary, and contrary to all the acknowledged rules of evidence hitherto observed in this country.* It has been urged, that sufficient evidence has been adduced, during the last seventeen years upon the subject. This I deny. In that space of time, parliament was occupied principally in hearing evidence respecting *the treatment* of the negroes on board of the African trade ships, and not upon the direct question of the necessity of the trade itself. In the course of those prolific and lengthened examinations, the grossest perjuries were not only exposed, but some of the perjurers who had been suborned by the saints, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to infamous punishments. The main object of the planters was, to repel the allegations of their opponents by contradictory testimonies. In this they succeeded: for it should be particularly remarked, that all the evidences of tyranny and cruelty, urged against the planters, were extracted from the circumstances of ages past, in the infancy of West India colonization, when the first settlers in our islands, driven by penury or political causes from their native land, and exerting their industry in the insalubrious climate of the torrid zone, without the polished urbanity of modern times, or the benefits of an enlightened education, stretched the power of human nature to an unnatural point, in order to return with accumulated wealth to their native land, and to efface the recollection of their former fortunes, by the splendour and magnificence of their present estate. They were, in fact, as greedy and tyrannical, as the savages of Leadenhall-street, who desolated India for whole generations,

* *No allusion is here made to the solemn, deliberative, and dispassionate judgment of parliament.*

until the wisdom of parliament intercepted their bloody and rapacious career. † But, I defy the most inventive malice, the most ingenious antipathy of a saint or a philanthropist, to adduce a single instance, within the last quarter of a century wherein the liberal and enlightened planters of the West Indies have displayed an act of cruelty, at which the sensitive nerve even of a methodist or a quaker can shrink. I defy them to produce one instance. Surely, then, we are not to ransack the abuses of a barbarous period, in support of arguments against the utility of any political system. If we should, the bloody fragments still on record; the vindictive morsels of legislation yet unrepealed, which exist in our public code, ought to be admitted as evidences against the necessity of continuing that magnificent structure of British polity, which has been raised by the collected wisdom of ages, which has been cemented by a sanguinary experience, and the splendid capitals of which, have been fashioned out of the faults of rulers, and the errors of mankind.

Instances, therefore, drawn from the primitive epochs of West India colonization, when the European cultivators of the Antilles may be justly said to have repudiated from their minds the remembrance of their native laws, when even the country from which they migrated had but recently emerged from the barbarism of turbulent times, the calamities of civil wars, and the shackles of feodal slavery; cannot be admitted as authentic vouchers, on which we can feel ourselves justified in despoiling the modern proprietors of their property, in hunting them down as the victims of offended humanity, and in divesting ourselves of all the substantial elements of commercial opulence, and maritime power.

Before I dismiss this portion of my reasonings, I feel it my duty to address a few questions to Mr. Wilberforce, namely,—

1st. Did he, or did he not, send out to Jamaica, a respectable clergyman, to inspect, and to pry into the condition of the negroes, and the conduct of the planters towards them in that island?

2d. Did he, or did he not, receive a letter from the aforesaid respectable clergyman, wherein he most solemnly assured him, on his death bed, that all the reports he had heard respecting the misery of the negroes, and the cruelty of their masters, were utterly false?

3d. Did he, or did he not, in the said letter, dictated by the pen of a dying man, declare, that the negroe slaves in Jamaica, were better entertained, more comfortable, and more happy, than the cottagers in our own country?

4th. Did he, or did he not, also state in the same letter, that Mr. Wilberforce had been grossly deceived, and that the greatest injustice had been done to the planters of Jamaica, whose estates he had visited, when, and where he pleased?

I call upon Mr. Wilberforce, as a conscientious man, and as a gentleman, characters to which I believe him fully entitled, to avow, whether this letter be in his possession or not? and if it be, that he produce and read it. Let us now return, and close for ever this discussion.

The cause of the planters has become so unpopular, that I really believe, if a clause were introduced into the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, ordaining that every West India proprietor should be hanged for the sake of justice, humanity, and sound policy, it would give great and general satisfaction to all the congregations of the caterwauling brethren.

Since the above observations were written, I find, that the suggestion made by lord Percy of introducing a clause for the emancipation of the future children of the slaves, must no longer be considered as an emanation from a youth of nice feelings, but that it is adopted and fathered by the veterans in tenderness. This is exactly what I foretold. During the debate on Monday last, the treasurer of the navy, is reported to have said, that, *certainly the abolition of the trade was to be considered as a step to the abolition of slavery itself, which would follow in due time:* and Mr. Wilberforce is also said to have remarked, *that, "he must confess he would have another object after that in view, and that he looked forward to a still more happy change in the state of the negroes in the West-India islands."* Whether that happy change be an allusion to the *pendant* clause which I have suggested as likely to be introduced, or

† *By Mr. Pitt's bill for regulating the affairs of the East India company*, 1784.

to the general manumission of the slaves, we have not yet been informed. But, unquestionably the planters have fearful odds against them, when the saints and the no-saints are in league together to despoil them of their property. The question was debated in the house of commons on Monday, with much more sobriety than upon any former occasion. The word *policy* was frequently mentioned, and it was well argued on political grounds by lord Castlereagh, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Plumer. Nevertheless, the bill passed, and Mr. Wilberforce was ordered to carry it to the lords, where, it is to be hoped, it will be reviewed and examined with that gravity, prudence, and temperance, which distinguish the proceedings of that branch of the legislature. There, perhaps, the ministers will be asked, whether any instructions have been sent out to our settlements on the coast of Africa, to advertise them of the impending change in our African trade? Whether information has been given to the traders in the negroe-towns, which, for the purpose of carrying on the slave-trade, and of receiving European commodities in return, are erected immediately under the walls of our forts? and whether government have anticipated any surprize, or sudden attack of those settlements on the part of the blacks, who, finding themselves cut off from their accustomed market, may feel disposed, in the paroxysm of a vindictive spirit, to massacre the Europeans who are stationed there? A few salutary questions may be appropriately put also respecting the silent and smooth current, on which the Sierra Leone transfer bill has passed both houses of parliament. But, whether these communications have been made to our settlements or not, it behoves us to prevent, in due time, the calamities which are likely to ensue from our present policy. We all recollect with sorrow, the mischiefs and consequent separation, which followed the provokation of abstract principles in the American contest. Is it believed that the West-India proprietors, will be as zealous in the future defence of our colonies as they have been hitherto? Upon numberless occasions, they have taken up arms, in the maintenance of the cause of the mother-country, and evinced the warmest zeal in her service; no expenses, no exertions, have been spared, to prove their loyalty and patriotism. Will this be so henceforwards? I think not. Let a small French force appear before any of the islands, and we shall have real cause to tremble for the result. But, it may be said, Englishmen will spill the last drop of their blood rather than become the subjects of a sanguinary usurper. No doubt, this spirit would animate every Englishman, as long as he finds his interests consulted, and his property secured by the mother-country; but when these sentiments cease to operate; when the planters no longer consider themselves encouraged to draw close the ties of political obligation; the spirit of resistance against an enemy, who promises guaranty to them to their former institutions, may cease also. No matter whether the planters act in repugnance to our just notions of patriotism, or contrary to the precepts of political morality; sufficient evil will arise from their thinking and acting wrongfully. Where a man's property is, there is his heart; and though we might brand them with the epithets of cowardice and disloyalty, *they* will console themselves with the reflection that they have pursued the line of their interests, and obtained a protection for the enjoyment of a system, which is to them productive of security and opulence. That the French government saw through this alternative, and resolved to avail itself of our imprudence at a future day, is evident, from the evasive correspondence of Talleyrand with Mr. Fox on the subject of the slave trade, during the late negociation. That correspondence was obviously written with a view to paralyse the loyalty of the British West Indians, in the event of the abolition of the slave trade; and if we add to it, the strange and unaccountable language entertained, in the house of commons, according to the newspaper reports, that the colonies have not been one of the chief productive sources of our commercial opulence and maritime power; it becomes a question of policy, whether we ought not to seize an early opportunity to prevent them from falling into the hands of an enemy, who may hold them in a very different estimation. It is true, that all our naval and military commanders, who have been in the West Indies, have borne the most favourable testimony to the kind treatment of the slaves; and have uniformly declared, that our colonies have been the main springs of our naval superiority: but, as they have been in the islands, and have been eye-witnesses of the facts to which they spoke, they ought not to be believed on those accounts. That

a great additional force must be sent from this country, and at a great expense too, to protect the islands, is now manifest, and indispensable; therefore, we ought to rid ourselves of this burthen as soon as possible, taking, however, proper precautions that these islands should not fall under the dominion of the eternal enemy of the British name. We have before us, a recent occurrence which proves, beyond the power of contradiction, that the West Indians will not revolt, so fiercely as we imagine, at the idea of being transferred to the power of France. The cession of Tobago, at the late peace of Amiens, is a proof of this assertion. That island is tenanted chiefly by Englishmen; yet, before the signature of the definitive treaty, I met several English gentleman at Paris, who felt no remorse, no qualms of patriotic feeling, in telling me, that they had come to that capital, *for the express purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to the French government.* They laughed at me, when I asked them how they could reconcile it to their feelings, to become the subjects of an usurper, and coolly answered, as most men will answer, "we are the subjects of the state, under the authority of which, our property is vested." Can any one blame their conduct? He must have reached an high exaltation of public spirit indeed, who can bring himself to renounce his property for the sake of living a beggar in his native land: few men, now-a-days, can say with truth, *ubi libertas, ibi patria.*

To prevent, therefore, the West India islands from falling into the hands of the French, and to draw closer the links of amity, which, it appears, our ministers are earnest to stretch across the Atlantic, it deserves consideration, whether we ought not to sell the West India islands to the United States of America for a valuable equivalent in money? We should thus extinguish the views of French ambition, and rivet America so firmly to our interests, that we should become the best friends in the world; especially, as the commerce and shipping of the United States would become so extensive, as to enable them, in a few years, to furnish us with 50 or 60 line of battle ships, to *assist us in maintaining our liberties and independence.* I have conversed with several West India planters upon the subject, and they have declared unanimously, that they would accept with thanksgivings, this politic measure, if parliament in its wisdom and mercy towards them should consent to adopt it; and, to evince their gratitude, as well as *to spare the government of America the necessity of deliberating upon it*, they are willing themselves to pay the whole pecuniary consideration for the transfer of our sovereignty. By this happy exchange, we should, in the first place, expiate the sins of the nation, which is an important point; secondly, we should outwit M. Talleyrand and his master; thirdly, we should obtain a large sum of money towards the liquidation of the public burthens, a benefit much to be desired; fourthly, we should be able to employ our naval and military forces, in the pursuit of gold and silver in Spanish America; fifthly, we should obtain every species of West India produce cheaply and expeditiously *in American bottoms*, from our trusty and well-beloved allies the Americans, whereby, we should husband our resources, and avoid the expense of convoys, and of ship-building, as well as procure a great augmentation of seamen for our naval service; sixthly, parliament would be able to turn its attention to matters of higher concernment, inasmuch as many long speeches upon the state of the colonies would become unnecessary; and, lastly, the policy of the planters would keep pace with the wisdom of this country, and the American government readily avail itself of our justice, humanity, and sound policy. The planters need be under no apprehensions that the American government can or will prevent the importation of slaves. For, while we are busily employed here in abolishing the slave trade, for the honour of the nation, the state of South Carolina, at the same moment, refused to pass a bill to the same effect; and though the most penal decrees have been made in the state of Rhode island, against the commerce of slaves, it is well-known that the principal wealth of that state is derived, not from the clandestine evasion of the law, but from the open, uninterrupted, and bare-faced violation of it.

I have now done with the subject; and leave to abler men, the consideration and final adjustment of this important question.

HISTORICAL.

The intelligence received from the continent, is as satifactory as the most sanguine mind could have expected. No one, in his senses, imagined that the victorious army of France, habituated to war, and led on by able and experienced officers, would yield immediately to the stubborn firmness, but less expert valour of the Russian forces. Every thing that could have been reasonably hoped for, has been accomplished: it was our wish that the Russians would be competent to check the rapid progress of the French, and that wish has been realized. The official narratives of the battles of Pultusk and Eylau, have been published in the Petersburgh gazette, and will be found amongst the state papers. From that account, it is evident, that the French have been completely foiled, and that the Russians have learnt, from the disasters of other armies, to avoid that mode of fighting, which has uniformly ensured success to the French. But, though they act with great caution, the Russians act also with great courage: they give great and fatal blows to the enemy; and if they retreat, they always retreat fighing. By persevering in this system, and by avoiding, as long as possible, a general engagement, they will become as good masters in the art of war as their enemies.

After the battle of Pultusk, we left the French in the mud, and it appears that they have remained in it ever since. Buonaparte, endeavouring to impose on the credulity of Europe, had announced that his army had gone into winter quarters; and no doubt, it was his wish that they should have obtained a short respite from successive defeats, *provided* the Russians would permit them to remain tranquil. But, there has been a continued series of actions, which so entirely frustrated the scheme of rest which the enemy had proposed, that he resolved, at length, to risk a general engagement, for the purpose of dislodging the Russians from their position, and of leaving a considerable space between the hostile armies. With this view, Buonaparte left Warsaw on the 29th of January, and two days after, his army began to move from the banks of the Orcye and the Narew to Preussich Eylau. For four days, the Russians retreated before the enemy, during which period, their rear guard was incessantly engaged, until they reached that position which general Bennigsen had selected as the most proper either for defence or attack. These evolutions led to a general battle, which was long and furiously contested; for, according to the French account, "three hundred pieces of cannon, fired during three hours, dealt death on every side," and "victory, was for a long time, uncertain." Both the French and the Russians claim the victory; but, it is to be observed, that general Bennigsen does not mention in his dispatch, that he was about *to resume his winter quarters;* on the contrary, he dates it from the field of battle, and states, in the most unequivocal language, that "the enemy was repulsed at all points."

Thus, the result of a general battle has been decidedly favourable to the Russians; and therefore the anxiety which had been entertained respecting the danger of encountering the French tactics, upon so extensive a scale, is wholly removed. The fortune of Buonaparte has, at last, proved to be vincible; and he has been humbled at a moment, when he was most insolent in victory, and by a general, whose name was unknown to Europe, until the recent lustre of his exploits, had justly acquired him the admiration and applause of mankind.

The weather has, as usual, been very unfavourable to the French. At the battle of Pultusk, it will be recollected that they were in the mud; at Eylau, the snow fell "so thick as to prevent people from seeing two paces before them;" in consequence of which, "the point of direction was lost." It is also remarkable; that trees are extremely obnoxious to the French; for, "two lines of Russian infantry were penetrated, and the third only maintained itself in consequence of being covered by a wood." These impediments to the arrival of the Corsican at Petersburgh, start up almost at every step he makes. Thus, we are told in the 58th bulletin, that the victory *would have been* decided, "beyond all doubt, if a *wood* and *some obstacles* in the nature of the ground had not prevented it." It is unaccountable, that so many obstacles should always intercept the career of the hero of Jaffa, whose high destiny has called him to take upon himself the sovereignty of the world. By what

fatality is it, that the mud, the snow, the frost, the thaw, and the woods, never are complained of by the Russians, who are perfectly indifferent about the weather, as long as they can come into contact with a Frenchman? Berthier wrote to the wife of Buonaparte, as follows, "*we shall be at Koningsberg to-morrow;*" this gascon little suspected that, on the morrow, 1900 French lacqueys killed, and 5700 wounded, would bear testimony that the best road to Koningsberg was not by the way of Eylau; neither did he imagine that it would be necessary to insert in a subsequent bulletin, that "the French had *no interest* in pursuing the Russian army beyond the Pregel." *We shall be at Koningsberg to-morrow*, says Berthier; the 61st bulletin mentions, on the other hand, "it was fortunate for Koningsberg, that it was *not among the objects* of the French general to *drive* the Russian army out of their position before that city." A retreat to the other side of the Vistula is certainly not the road to Koningsberg; and the following proclamation of Buonaparte to his army, evidently shews that he has been beaten into humility:

"Soldiers! We began to enjoy a little rest in our winter-quarters, when the enemy fell upon our advanced corps, and shewed themselves upon the Lower Vistula. We marched against them. We have pursued them upwards of thirty leagues. They have fled to their intrenchments, and again passed the Pregel. In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hof, and Eylau, we have taken sixty-five pieces of cannon, sixteen standards; and killed, wounded, and taken prisoners 40,000 men. The brave men, who have fallen in the bed of honour, have had a glorious death. This is the death of a true soldier. Their families shall experience our care and benevolence. Since we have baffled the designs of the enemy, we shall again return to the Vistula, and occupy our cantonments. Should the enemy then dare to disturb us, it shall be to his sorrow; for beyond the Vistula as well as beyond the Danube, in the middle of a hard winter, or in the beginning of autumn, we will always remain French soldiers, and soldiers of the grand army."

In the midst of all these disasters which have befallen the tyrant, there is one circumstance which, I conceive, has tended more to appal his mind, than the stone walls in the form of living creatures which perpetually rise up to oppose his progress; this is, the mute silence and immoveable apathy, with which he has been received in Poland. It was there, I expected to find, the chains of Europe forged: however, with the exception of a few ambitious chiefs and their followers, the great mass of the Polish population, have remained tranquil spectators of the scene before them; and, in consequence, Buonaparte has not realized the promise he made to the deputation of Polish traitors, who humbled themselves before him at Warsaw, that he would proclaim Poland to be a nation. Kosinsky, one of the Polish insurgent generals, has been taken prisoner by the Prussians, who will, I trust, cause him to be shot forthwith, in return for the murder of the Prussian officer, who was shot by the order of Buonaparte, for raising an heroic band of Brandenburghers, in support of the cause of Frederick, their legitimate sovereign.

On the 16th ult. a sharp action took place at Ostrolenka, between the 5th division of the French army, under the command of Savary, and the corps of general Essen, which was on its march to form a junction with the army of general Bennigsen. It will be extremely important to the future operations of the Russian general, and indeed to the future issue of the war, that general Essen's corps should have formed a junction with the grand Russian army, before the arrival of the hand-cuffed conscripts now on their march to the French army. From the French accounts, this event must have been effected before this time; for though they assume the victory on the 16th ult. yet they say, that "as general Savary's orders did not permit him to leave his position, he was obliged to give up the pursuit."

An article from Zurich, dated February 10, mentions that some disagreeable communications have been made by the French ruler to the Swiss government, in consequence of its delay in forming Swiss regiments for the service of their Corsican oppressor. Vial, the French envoy, addressed a circular letter on the 15th of January to the cantonal regencies of Helvetia, calling upon that wretched, unhappy, and once free people, to come forward with their contingent of blood, to fight the battles of the destroyer of their liberties. The following is the ferocious epistle of

Vial to the insulted governors of Swisserland; at the same time, it demonstrates the desperate condition to which the imperial barbarian is reduced.

"I have received, on the part of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, positive orders to declare to the Landamman, and to the cantonal regencies, that his majesty in nominating, three months ago, the officers of the Swiss regiment, No. —, flattered himself that the Swiss, following the example of their ancestors, would attach themselves to the new service with eagerness and zeal; but his majesty's hopes have not been realized; this has arisen from the want of proper means from intrigues, or disaffection, which have impeded the new levies, or caused them hitherto to be neglected. His majesty knows the Swiss, and is convinced that five-sixths of them wish to enter into the service of France, and, that consequently, difficulties, and probably premeditated obstacles may have impeded the successes of the formation of the regiments, by which it was his majesty's intention to render the connection between France and Swisserland still more intimate to the advantage of the latter. In this state of affairs, the undersigned envoy is charged to declare, that if the 16,000 men, who, according to the convention, should form the regiments demanded, are not raised by the first of May, Swisserland will be considered as having renounced the advantages of the convention; and that France, though with regret, will look upon this alliance as broken."

Every French general is a recruiting-serjeant for his tyrant; and the ranks, which have been swept away by the sword of legitimate resistance, are supplied with the citizens of each subverted state. When I revert to the history of man in every age of the world, when I turn over the volumes which contain the catalogue of his misfortunes, I am at a loss in what manner to account for this transcendant instance of French atrocity. The slightest investigation will convince us, in a moment, that it stands without a parallel in the records of human villainy. The genius of conquering tribes has occasionally led them to incorporate the *whole* of the people whom they had subdued; but never, until the epoch of *regenerated* France, has an instance been found of men being handcuffed, and drafted into the legions of their merciless conquerors, in order to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, and to fight, on the ruins of their *own* country, the battles of its despoilers. The victories of Mahomet and his successors were the fruits of a courageous enthusiasm, and of a bolder and more generous policy. Their empire was over the minds of men; they preached and fought to make converts; where conviction failed, they exterminated; but they never dreamt of swelling the tide of conquest by the help of auxiliaries, who refused to acknowledge the prophet of Mecca. The Mussulmans always incorporated other nations with their own, as soon as they had embraced Islamism; which done, all distinctions ceased; and they went forth together, a people of religious warriors, to acquire dominion, and to extend their faith. It is true, the martial policy of Rome encouraged the enrolment of the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and sent them to a distant frontier, remote from their native land. But while they fought in the Roman armies against acknowledged barbarians, they shared in all the rights of Roman citizens. Thus, the youth of Britain served regularly as auxiliaries of the Romans, but they gained by the event; for, wherever Rome extended her conquests, she communicated her knowledge and magnificence, established her tribunals, and diffused the refinements of social life. When the Roman eagles were uplifted, arts, literature, and civilization, flourished around them. But every thing has retrograded with the conquests of France. Wherever she has planted her standard, civilization has gone back a century, and the morals of the people have become vitiated. Instead of spreading widely science, letters, and urbanity, she has robbed and stripped nations of the only means which they possessed of maintaining them.

Wherever the footstep of a Roman was seen, monuments of improvement reared their heads—wherever the bloody track of a Frenchman is visible, every vestige of humanity disappears. The splendid advantages which Rome conferred on a conquered world, compensated, in some degree, for the violence of conquest, and softened the loss of independence; but these modern victors take delight only in ruins and desolation, and dispense no other benefit except unconditional slavery. Above two hundred thousand men have been forced away from their native countries, to fight the battles of an inhuman stranger, and to be sacrificed for his ambi-

tion. Intermingled with the conscripts of France, and scattered amongst her armies, they have been imperceptibly drilled into habits of immorality and depredation, until they have arrived almost to an equal degree of profligacy with the French themselves. Their military career opens with parricide, with cutting the throats of their own countrymen, and then they become fit auxiliaries for France. Italians are sent to hold Belgians in chains, Belgians are marched over the Alps to hold Italians in chains; and we now find, that the peasantry of Swisserland are summoned to the field, to contribute their proportion of strength, in rivetting the chains of Europe.

If we reflect upon the abandoned lives and conduct of French soldiers, and upon the contagious influence of their example over men, who, despoiled of a home, are induced to look for property from abroad; we cannot wonder at every conquered people being made instrumental in extending the conquests of France, and the miseries of other nations. Their condition is the image of a man borne down by a torrent, and finding resistance hopeless, strives to keep himself afloat, under the hope of reaching, at length, some shoal of safety, on which he may find a resting place. Unless all Europe awakens from its torpid slumber, to resist with *the whole of its population*, this military system, they must fall the successive victims of that mis-shapen colossus, which aspires to bestride the world, and to wield the sword of terror over its affrighted nations. Attila made a continual traffic of the fears of the Romans—the Corsican has derived equal advantages from the timidity of the continental powers. At the mention of 500,000 Frenchmen, every minister is dumb. But let not Europe be deceived. We have not to deal with men whose sole resources are in their sabres and in their intrepidity: whatever means can be furnished by intelligent, intriguing, and enterprising spirits, tutored in the stormy school of revolution, and exercised in the most difficult labours of war and peace, are now collected under the tent of Buonaparte. Whatever can be effected by the refinements of policy, by the arts of division, flattery, and corruption; whatever can be accomplished by the craft and subtilty of the devil, to give force to the power of arms, Buonaparte knows how to employ. Of this truth, Austria cannot be insensible. Her opportunity of interference is now or never. Already the most violent symptoms of insurrection have broken out in the rear of the French army; and nothing is now wanted to redeem the fortunes of Europe, but the vigorous co-operation of the Austrian forces. In the Landgraviate of Hesse, a considerable part of its population is actually in arms against their oppressors; and the following proclamation of Lagrange, the French governor-general, evinces not only the temper of the people, but the savage measures to which that monster has resorted, in order to smother the spirit of revolt.

Cassel, Feb. 21. The states of Hesse, convoked by the French governor-general, assembled on the 9th instant in this city. They have hastened to provide for the necessities of the country by a loan, in order to relieve the inhabitants from a heavy war contribution, upon the condition of their payment of the provincial debt, and which contribution would otherwise have been inevitable. The following proclamation has just been published:—

"Inhabitants and soldiers of Hesse,

"The greatest number of you have suffered yourselves to be carried away by the torrent. Disorders have been excited, and the insurgents have even dared to fail in the respect they owe to the arms of his majesty. A French soldier has been assassinated at Hersfield. Inhabitants and soldiers! His imperial majesty has been outraged by this conduct. What means have you? What audacity could thus induce you openly to insult the victorious arms of his majesty? *He has ordered the town of Hersfield to be burnt.* That of Eschwege would have shared the same fate, if it had not hastened to deliver the guilty up to their punishment, and *who have paid for their crimes, in suffering an insurrection within their walls, by the forfeiture of their lives.* Senseless men! look at the result to which your audacity has led you. *Many have been condemned to suffer the just and necessary punishment of death: A greater number have been conducted into France, to be imprisoned there till peace is concluded.* In these examples, see what awaits you, should any more persons be found among you whose temerity shall lead them to perpetrate similar crimes. Depend no longer upon your prince; *he and his house have ceased to reign.* This is a fact which I

have already announced to you, and which I confirm to you to-day, for the second time.

" You inhabitants who have remained tranquil during these disturbances, it is yours to feel the dangers to which your country has been exposed. Watch over the rigid execution of all the measures which have been adopted, in order that you may preserve that tranquillity which has been restored. *The country has been disarmed: each individual who in contempt of this order shall conceal any arms, shall be apprehended and immediately shot.* Those who shall attempt to collect a number of people together, or shall dare to sound the tocsin for that purpose; in fine, all those who do not obey the government, or do not acknowledge its authority, together with that of the public functionaries, or who may cease to obey the magistrates only for a moment, shall be punished with *the same rigour.*"

Immediate hostilities are now become duties of self-preservation. Austria and Denmark should avail themselves of the present perplexity and difficulties of the ruler of France, in order to repress for ever, the storm of usurpation. Each of them may reason as Mithridates in his letter to Arsaces; and each may revolve on the result.

An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem Oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? neque quidquam a principio nisi raptum habere, domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? convenas, olim sine patria, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul juxta sitos, inopes potentisque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non serva et maxume regna hostilia ducant.—Romani in omnis arma habent, acerruma in eos, quibus victis spolia maxuma sunt; audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguent omnia, aut occident—fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus, latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo, hortorque, neu malis pernicie nostra unum imperium prolatare, quam societate victor fieri.

SIR HOME POPHAM.

The result of the trial of this enterprising officer has excited general astonishment. After the weighty accusations brought forward against him by lord Howick, during the debate on the address to his majesty at the commencement of the present session of paliament, it was not to have been expected that these gigantic charges should have appeared, upon the return of sir Home Popham to England, in the dwarfish shape of a mere act of discretionary power. Throughout the whole of the trial, as reported in the newspapers, I cannot find one word respecting the detention of the frigate sent from Europe with money for the payment of our troops in India; notwithstanding that this circumstanstance was alleged to have been a great aggravation of his culpability. Nor has it been proved that any force was diverted from its original destination, for the purpose of promoting the object of sir Home's expedition against the Spanish settlements in the Rio de la Plata. The weightier part of the accusation therefore, involving the charge of an abuse of discretionary power, was neither established, nor even insinuated, upon the trial. Hence, the whole of sir Home Popham's offence was, that, " with the view to attack the Spanish settlements in the Rio de la Plata, for which he had no direction or authority whatever, he did withdraw from the Cape the whole of the naval force, which had been placed under his command for the sole purpose of protecting it, thereby, leaving the Cape, which was his duty to guard, not only exposed to attack and insult, but even without the means of affording protection to the trade of his majesty's subjects, or of taking possession of any ships of the enemy which might have put into any of the bays or harbours of the Cape, or parts adjacent."

This is the charge, every part of which was completely disproved at the trial. For, sir Home produced the most irresistable evidence, that the Cape *was not exposed* to attack and insult; and that, on the contrary, it had been placed by sir David Baird in such a state of perfect security, that the general did not hesitate often to repeat, he wished Buonaparte and 10,000 or 12,000 of the flower of his army would attack it, and he would give him such a drubbing, that he would

wish himself back in his own country.* This opinion of sir David Baird was pronounced repeatedly *after the whole naval force had been withdrawn from the Cape, and the detachment of troops under general Beresford, had departed with the squadron to attack Buenos Ayres.* It is evident, therefore, from the specific nature of the charge, as worded by the admiralty, that there was great latitude for the exercise of a discretionary power in the employment of the squadron under the command of sir Home Popham; for it had been entrusted to him for the *sole purpose* of protecting the Cape, and that purpose was completely attained without the necessity of the least co-operation on the part of the squadron; it follows, either that the squadron must have remained there in an idle and useless state, or that, from the nature of the case, and for the good of the service, it should have been employed on some duty that was likely to be productive of advantage to his majesty's arms. The case would have assumed a very different aspect, if the security of the Cape had been, in the least degree, problematical; but, when the person best competent to judge of its safety, had declared it to be invulnerable; after he had readily furnished a detachment of troops from the garrison for the purpose of co-operating in a distant expedition, and followed it up by sending a *second* detachment to act in support of the first; if sir Home Popham had not engaged in some active service, I think he would have been deservedly reproached for indolence or stupidity. It is ridiculous in any one to assert that naval or military commanders are precluded, on every occasion, from exercising, according to circumstances, a discretionary power. The very nature of distant warfare implies this power; and after the lamentable experience which Europe has had of the futility of a different mode of acting; after the repeated examples that we have witnessed of the most splendid successes having been reversed, and the most fortunate occasions lost, by the necessity to which the Austrian commanders were reduced, of remaining motionless until they had received their instructions from the Aulic council; it was not to have been expected, in this country, at least, that a ministry could be found hardy enough to impeach a conduct, which had been crowned with universal approbation, and which they themselves had announced to the public, with the usual demonstrations of triumph. Besides, what proves that a latitude of conduct was allowed to sir Home Popham is, the very striking fact, that his instructions did not enjoin him to continue at the Cape after its reduction.

With respect of the other part of the charge, that sir Home Popham left the trade of his majesty's subjects without protection, the most satisfactory evidence was adduced to repel it. Only one French frigate had appeared off the Cape, and it was proved that if sir Home's squadron had been there at the time, it would have been impossible for him to have captured her. To this we may add, that no commercial vessels, going to or from India, could have proceeded, without a sufficient convoy, while admiral Linois was in the Indian seas. When the case of sir Home Popham came under discussion, at the meeting of parliament, I stated, that his conduct was warranted by precedents in our history; some of these, he adverted to upon his trial; but even supposing that he could not have pleaded a single precedent in justification of his measures, still they would have been commendable from the knowledge which he had of the views of the late government relative to the Spanish settlements, as well as from the political and defenceless state of those settlements. We do not live in times when it is necessary for any government to follow the example of the inexorable severity of a Manlius, who unmercifully put to death his own son, though victorious, for fighting contrary to his orders. On the contrary, the circumstances of our age, and the character of the enemy with whom we are at war, require that a more than ordinary latitude of conduct should be allowed to commanders after they have accomplished the original object of an expedition. But, with what propriety could the admiralty send sir Home Popham to trial for having withdrawn a part of the force necessary for the defence of the Cape, as they allege, and yet reconcile to their own principles, their total neglect of it after it had been taken? And, if the policy adopted by sir Home accord so fully with their own views, it becomes a question, whether the ministers ought not to have been impeached instead of that com-

* *Vide the evidence of Mr. Thomas Brown.*

mander for their unpardonable procrastination, and supine indifference in not sending out a sufficient force to secure and extend the conquest which he had so ably achieved. The malignity with which sir Home Popham's character and operations have been aspersed in the ministerial journals, shews that ministers are ashamed of their own negligence. While they were engaged in a diplomatic correspondence with the French government; while they vainly fancied they might conciliate Buonaparte with their assassination story, not a single ship or soldier was sent to assist in consolidating the capture of Buenos Ayres. But, when that mischievous negociation failed, they began to look about them, and to prepare for an expedition to the Rio de la Plata. Since that expedition quitted Europe, the settlement has been recovered by the Spaniards, and now the ministerial journalists pass a general condemnation on the conduct of sir Home Popham for the precipitation with which he fitted out the expedition, and for the egregious crime of having captured a most valuable settlement with an handful of men. They pretend that our future operations against the Spanish dominions upon the continent of America will, from these causes, be attended with increased difficulties; so that, if any force sent out by the present government should succeed in re-capturing Buenos Ayres, the whole credit would devolve upon the men in power, and no obligation would be due to the original projector of the expedition. It is, however, now manifest, that if they had been as active in sending out two regiments, immediately on receiving intelligence of the conquest, as they were in dispatching the turtles to Paris, Buenos Ayres would have been to this hour in our possession. As to the absurd imputation, that the success of sir Home Popham's expedition, and its subsequent misfortune, will occasion additional obstacles to the future progress of our arms, no one will give credit to it who has made the political and relative state of Spanish America the subject of his reflections.

I believe no person ever entertained the romantic idea of bringing the whole continent of Spanish America under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain; but there is nothing irrational, or improbable, in the facility with which an adequate British force might effect an eternal separation between that continent and Old Spain. By an adequate force, I mean a force sufficient to disarm all those who are dependent upon the existence of Spain and her American settlements, and who may be considered as an entirely distinct race of men from the Spanish creoles. No force that we can send from this country will be found equal to the task of subjugating the continent of Spanish America; but a comparatively small force would suffice to separate it from the mother country, to guarantee its independence, and to secure to the commercial interests of the British empire a free, permanent, and uninterrupted communication with it. This was evidently the motive of general Miranda's expedition, and it must be allowed, that no man is so capable of making a just estimate of the disposition of the inhabitants, and of the best means of effecting this great change in the moral and political state of Spanish America. Sir Home Popham's expedition may be considered as the first step towards the accomplishment of Spanish American independence; and if the present ministers had dispatched a competent force to overawe the agents of the mother country there, and had invited the people to separate themselves from its dominion, we might now have enjoyed the exclusive commerce of Spanish America. Spain is vulnerable at two points, and our maritime superiority deprives her even of the hope of shielding herself from the deep wounds we are capable of inflicting upon her. These points are the rich and defenceless state of Peru, and all the settlements bordering on the Atlantic. It is not necessary, in order to obtain a footing in Peru, that an armament should be planned in the East Indies, and that Manilla should be subdued, as a port in which it may be fitted out. By adopting proper measures, no ship would be able to pass from La Vera Cruz or the Rio de la Plata, nor could any European vessel arrive thither, without our permission. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother country, the inhabitants of New Spain would cheerfully put themselves under the protection of the power which is able to supply their wants. It has been, at all times, the policy of the court of Spain, to keep the rest of the world in darkness, respecting the importance and richness of her Trans-atlantic possessions. Nothing can be a greater proof of this than the jealous spirit which influences all the

Spanish regulations. Employments are given to native Spaniards only, and but for a limited time, never beyond three years. Every officer, from the highest to the lowest, inherits the avidity which a new and lucrative post inspires: ravenous because his time is short, he oppresses the people, and defrauds the crown: another succeeds him with the same dispositions; and no man is careful to establish any thing useful in his office, knowing that his successor will be sure to trample upon every regulation which is not subservient to his own interests: so that this enslaved people have not the power of putting into use the policy of the fox, of letting the first swarm of blood-suckers stay on, but are obliged to submit to be drained by a constant succession of hungry and impatient harpies. Such a state of society invites and emboldens the enterprising spirit of our army and navy. It is alone a sufficient justification of sir Home Popham's expedition. The interests of the British nation could not have been better served, even if sir Home had captured Buenos Ayres by way of experiment; for, as I have already observed, the subjugation of Spanish America by us is impracticable, and its colonization would be impossible if its subjugation were practicable. This country would best consult its interests, not in ransacking the bowels of the earth to open new mines of gold and silver, not in depopulating the country by incessantly causing those old mines to be worked, the most terrible scourges with which God could afflict the inhabitants; but in raising out of those poisonous caverns the victims of avarice, and in restoring to the Indian world that liberty and happiness of which they have been deprived for ages. The natural productions of these countries, fostered by the generous hand of liberty, are more than would suffice to compensate avarice for the extinction of a system of tyrannous exaction, beneath which the face of nature itself seems blighted and accurst. Unbounded scope for discovery and improvement would be opened to the naturalist and cultivator; and our commerce, flowing through a multitude of channels hitherto unexplored, would change entirely the face of the world. What rational prospect there was of success against these settlements, and what prospect sir Home Popham had of an hearty co-operation on the part of the oppressed Indians, may easily be formed from the natural feelings of a race bowed down with the sense of the common bondage of prince and people.

For having paved the way for the attainment of this great good, Sir Home Popham was recalled with many marks of envious petulance, and of mean persecution, which materially strengthen the general suspicion, that an effort has been made to render him the victim of the implacable hatred of a malignant mind, rather than to punish him for any supposed misconduct imputed to him. The manner in which his communication of the capture of the Cape was acknowledged; the cold blooded style of Mr. Marsden's letter; the mode in which he was sent home; and the terms in which the charge against him was couched; all evince, that personal revenge had more concern in this transaction than public good. The nation, however, has also passed sentence upon Sir Home Popham: their sentence is issued from the highest tribunal upon earth, beyond which there is no appeal—the sentence of a conscientious and applauding people. Let this be contrasted with the following sentence of the court martial, which I defy any man to understand, and the sense of which I do not believe any man in England can expound.

"And this court having duly and deliberately considered the evidence for the prosecution, as well as what Sir Home Popham has advanced in his defence, is of opinion that the charges against Capt. Sir Home Popham are proved. "That Captain Sir Home Popham having withdrawn his Britannic majesty's forces from the Cape of Good Hope, and taken them to attack a settlement in the River de la Plata, without orders, is highly reprehensible; but in consequence of various circumstances in Sir Home Popham's defence, that have been proved on this trial, the court do only sentence that Captain Sir Home Popham be severely reprimanded; and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly."

THE CATHOLIC BILL, AND THE DOWNFALL OF ALL THE RANK, WEIGHT, AND TALENTS OF THE KINGDOM.

Cunctorum si facta simul jungantur in unum,
Præcedes numero.——
Tollite de mediis animarum dedecus umbris.
Adspexisse sat est. Oculis jam parcite nostris,
Et Ditis purgate domos.

Claudian in Rufinum, lib. 2, 520.

THAT my readers may be enabled to enter fully into those sentiments of universal exultation which now pervade the whole country, on the expected and indispensible resignation of the present ministry, I shall state first, the origin of the differences which, so happily for this nation and for Europe in general, have taken place in the cabinet; and, in the next place, I shall offer such remarks upon the occasion, as the vast importance of the fact requires.

On the 4th instant, it pleased Heaven, in mercy to this country, to put it into lord Howick's head, when moving that the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee on the mutiny bill, to acquaint the house, that he intended to bring in a separate bill for the admission of catholics into the army, and securing to them *the free exercise of their religion when in the army*. The admission was to apply to *the navy* as well as to the army. On the 12th, his lordship, under the pretext of a saint's day, postponed the second reading of this precious bill, to a few days after; but, it soon became known to the public, that St. Patrick's day was only a pretence to give a colour to a transaction which had justly excited the highest indignation in a certain quarter, and the deepest anxiety and alarm amongst all the members of the national established church. That we may rightly comprehend the object and extent of the ministerial manœuvres, we should listen attentively to their organs. The *Morning Chronicle* thus announces its first apprehensions on the 16th instant:

"We have abstained from all animadversion on the subject of the very unpleasant misunderstanding which is known to have taken place in regard to the Roman catholic officers bill, in the hope that it would be speedily adjusted. At a moment so important to the general interests not merely of the British empire, but of Europe, we should lament that any difference of opinion should arise to distract the attention of ministers from those external operations that are so essential to the deliverance of the world, and for which such vigorous preparations have been made. The beneficent views of the ministry in favour of every order of his majesty's subjects give a lustre to the time in which we live—and, if through an unfortunate misunderstanding, prejudice, or jealousy in any quarter, their good intentions should be frustrated, or if obstacles should arise to make them hesitate in the prosecution of objects which they think right, we must deplore the difficulties they have to encounter, and hope for a more favourable season hereafter. At any rate, we trust that it will lead to no serious division. On Saturday night there was a full cabinet; and yesterday, again, ministers met on the subject. The result, as we understand, is, that the bill will be modified or totally withdrawn for the present."

On the same day, the *Times*, a ministerial paper, and uncommonly well conducted, thus feelingly expressed itself:

"We have reason to believe that the difference of opinion which has prevailed among the members of administration, on the bill now pending in the house of commons respecting the catholics, has not yet been adjusted. It has been stated that the leading ministers had consented to abandon the measure: but we are disposed to consider that report as premature.

"It is from this circumstance, we presume, that the meetings of opposition have been of late so frequent, at the duke of Portland's. We cannot, however, but express our hopes, that no divorce will take place among the persons who compose the existing government of the country."

On the 18th, the Chronicle, began to enlarge, and to lament, thus:

"We lament that we cannot confirm the report of yesterday, that all the objection to the bill now pending in parliament in favour of the Roman catholic officers, was removed. We believe, that a late hour last night the misunderstanding was not settled, and it therefore is become the subject of most grave and serious consideration, though there can be no doubt as to the course which on an occasion like the present honourable men, entrusted with administration, and animated by the principles of the constitution, have to pursue. No inconvenience from a change of ministers, even at a crisis so important as the present, can at all be put into comparison with the national danger and calamity, of men submitting to continue in place when deprived of power."

The same evening, lord Howick, in the house of commons, is reported to have delivered himself to the following purpose.

"Mr. Speaker—Since I had the honour of introducing to this house a bill for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects, in his naval and military forces, circumstances have occured which have induced me twice to postpone the second reading of the bill. The second reading was fixed for to-morrow; it is my duty now to state to the house, that those circumstances still continue, and that I shall not to-morrow move for the second reading of that bill; it is also my duty to state, that I cannot precisely say when I can make such a motion. I am perfectly aware, sir, that the statement I have made may excite much general observation, and cannot satisfy it. It is not for me, however, now to explain that statement *(hear! hear!)*. I rely confidently upon the indulgence of the house, and am sure that that indulgence will not prejudge it *(hear! hear! from all parts of the house.)* I could not enter into that explanation without being authorized; and, when I say that I am not so authorized, the house will think me justified in now withholding it *(hear! hear!)*. I can only say, sir, that when the opportunity shall arrive I shall willingly embrace it, in the hope of giving to the house that satisfactory and decisive communication, which urgent necessity, in the present instance, compels me to withhold."

The next morning, the *Morning Chronicle*, which, as I have more than once observed, is to be considered as the echo of the opinions of the whig club junto, issued the following political bulletin.

"Much anxiety has prevailed in the public mind upon the subject of the present reports of a difference between his majesty and his ministers. We therefore cannot forbear from stating what we believe to be the real grounds of this transaction; and without incurring the reproach of partiality, we may at the same time venture to say, that the removal of the present ministers will be a matter of most serious regret to the feelings of every individual in this country.

"If this event takes place, we are confident it will not be in consequence of the resignation of the present ministers. Lord Howick's speech of last night promises a future explanation of what has passed — an explanation which will accord with that consistency and openness of character which has marked the conduct of this government from the origin of its existence. All we shall now say, and we state it with confidence, is, that every disposition has been shewn on the part of his majesty's ministers to accede to his wishes, and to make every concession that it was possible for them to make consistent with their characters, as soon as those wishes were made known to them; but, having so done, they found themselves further called upon to enter into engagements as to their future conduct under all possible contingencies—engagements which had not been exacted at the formation of the government, or even intimated, and which no public man could possibly be justified in entering into, as it might involve the very existence of the country.

"Underthese circumstances, it remains to be seen what conduct will be pursued by those who have taken upon them to advise upon the present occasion."

Yesterday, the Chronicle, in despair, became insolent and outrageous; thus:

"We yesterday stated distinctly the present posture of affairs, and the matter remains still in the same state.—His majesty's ministers have, in the most respectful

and temperate, but also most firm and equivocal terms, declared that they can only pledge themselves to give him such advice in the administration of his realms, as under the state of things from time to time, their judgment and duty shall direct. And it remains for the king to exercise his undoubted prerogative in retaining the servants who act upon this principle, or in calling to his councils persons who may be more tractable.—It is quite certain that as this principle is congenial with the spirit and practice of the British constitution, the present ministers will continue to act upon it until his majesty shall signify his pleasure to them to retire. And no intimation to this effect was given to them at a late hour last night.

"It is only known, that in consequence of a message from his majesty, Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury went to Windsor yesterday morning at an early hour, and had an audience for near three hours. On their return to town they waited on the duke of Portland."

The baseness of the attempts thus made to render the sovereign unpopular, is only exceeded by the black treachery with which it was attempted, in an underhand manner, to swindle his majesty into an acquiescence with a project that is not only repugnant to his conscience, but in direct defiance of the coronation oath, of the articles of union with Scotland, and of the peace, safety, and prosperity of the British empire. In a former number, I endeavoured to expose the dangerous views of the Roman catholics in Dublin; and if my limits would permit, I should now enter into a full investigation of the conduct of their advocates—the present administration. But this subject must be postponed until my next. In the mean while, I sincerely congratulate the country on the fall of the most contemptible and inefficient ministry which ever disgraced a nation; a motley and anomalous collection of individuals, who arrogantly assumed to themselves the comprehension of all the rank, weight, and talents of the kingdom; who have made nothing but promises, and committed nothing but faults. The nation will again lift up its head. For, whoever may be the persons into whose hands the administration of the affairs of state may be confided, I am confident they must be in better hands than the present worst of all bad administrations. But, I cannot forbear expressing a wish, that those who may succeed the present disgraced and discarded ministers, will make the policy of that GREAT AND EXCELLENT STATESMAN, THE EVER TO BE LAMENTED WILLIAM PITT, not only the subject of their professions, but the rule of their conduct. The people of England will stand by their beloved and patriotic sovereign in this great crisis, wherein his conscience is placed in the balance against the enterprising ambition of his designing ministers; and they will not fail to scout, with honest indignation, the principles and conduct of the men who dared to insult the feelings of the sovereign, and to compromise the safety of the state.

DEFENCE OF THE MILITIA.*

Sir.—As it is very seldom that I have occasion to dissent from the opinions advanced in your valuable work, I cannot do so upon the present occasion without regret: but, as I consider the remarks on the subject of the militia, in your last number, page 179, as calculated to have an effect very opposite to that which is intended, and to be in fact dangerous in the extreme: I shall trespass upon your candour for the insertion of the following observations in reply to them; and though I despair of conveying my ideas in the light the subject demands, yet, such as they are, they may serve to suggest weightier arguments to your readers, and at all events, awaken their attention to the subject.

Your proposal goes, I conceive, to abolish the militia as a distinct force, by

* *My correspondent is under an error, when he supposes me to be friendly to the dissolution of the militia. The article to which he alludes, was not written by me, though owing to an oversight of the printer, the author's signature was omitted. Although I did not assent to all the positions maintained in that article, there were in it, nevertheless, several excellent observations, which justly entitled it to the attention of the public.* H. R. Y.

moulding it with the regular army; and you attempt to justify this change in our constitutional force by saying, that "the militia, strictly speaking, is no longer a militia: it has wholly changed its nature as a popular constitutional force, and is become a standing army, with all the defects and radical inconveniences of a militia. The men, individually considered, are the finest soldiers in the world, and they are well instructed in every part of mechanical discipline; but it must be allowed by their most passionate admirers, that their officers, generally speaking, are entirely destitute of practical knowledge of their profession, and of those essential qualities which can only be acquired in the field, and on actual service in the face of an enemy. If, unfortunately, an enemy should, at any period, effect a landing in these kingdoms with a considerable force, is there any man of common intelligence and reflection, who would wish to see the public force led on to decide the fate of the nation by colonels who had never seen an enemy before in their lives."

Now, sir, with great deference, I would submit that there is not only much fallacy and contradiction in this mode of argument, but that it is reasoning upon the worst of all foundations, the abuse of the thing. That the militia is no longer a militia, or that it has *wholly* changed its nature as a popular constitutional force, I can by means admit: but that it is not precisely what it was at its first formation, is but too true. And why?—because ministers finding it an easy mode of raising men for the line, have, by their continual drafts for that purpose, unsettled the men and disgusted the officers, and thereby very much diminished their zeal for the service. But I cannot concede that because a good measure has been frittered away and deteriorated, by the mismanagement of those who have directed it, that therefore it ought to be abolished. I rather think, that, on the contrary, it is a reason for restoring it to its original purity and vigour, by a solemn parliamentary pledge that it shall for the future remain inviolate. Much of the mischief and inconvenience have arisen from the militia system being extended, in point of numbers, so far beyond its original dimensions: and though I will not suppose that its supplementary numbers were added as a trap to seduce the men thus far on their progress to the regulars, yet, it undoubtedly produced that effect, as well as the more baneful disgust which it has created among the officers, by finding themselves thus made, in a great measure, mere recruiting serjeants to the line.

I admit, sir, that the altered state of Europe calls for military measures of a new description in this country; and that the standing army, of which our ancestors were so jealous, must now not only be endured, but ought to be extended by every legitimate means. But the stronger the reasons are which call for an extension of this unpopular force, the more they strengthen those for still adhering to a constitutional militia in all its purity. Your whole reasoning proceeds, as I have already suggested, upon the abuses and alterations which have been admitted into the militia system. If the militia were limited within proper bounds, as to numbers; if substitutes were expressly confined to the particular parish, hundred, or at least county of the drawn men, and a solemn pledge given by parliament that no more drafts from the militia should take place; you would then see the country gentlemen applying for commissions, and vying with each other in their zeal for the service. And, sir, though you are pleased to condemn with so much severity the ignorance of the militia officers, I cannot but think that the mode of officering the militia, by qualifications of landed property (which is still adhered to in the higher commissions, and ought to be in all) is one of the great advantages of the system, and one which the necessity of the times calls upon the government to encourage. Why is the pay of the officers in the army so small? Not, as some persons will say, because we cannot afford to increase it; but because it is desirable that the officers in the army should not be mere hirelings, but should have an income beyond their pay, and a personal interest in the soil they are to defend. Upon this principle, sir, I think it both advisable and likely that the militia should be, as regards the officers, that very channel to the regulars, which it should not be as regards the men. Nothing can be more desirable in the present state of things, nothing can tend more to soften the natural disgust entertained against a standing army, than that it should be officered by persons who have local interests and

attachments; and it would not, perhaps, be a bad regulation in our army, were it made a distinct stipulation that half, or some other proportion, of the officers of every battalion, should have landed qualifications. And how, sir, are such officers more likely to be produced, than by bringing young men forward in the militia; thus by degrees weaning them from domestic habits, and inducing them to extend their services to the regulars? and that this is every day the case is consistent with every man's experience; for it is well known to every man conversant with the army, that officers are continually exchanging from the militia into the line, who, had they not been in the former, would never have adopted the military profession at all.

The militia of Great Britain, now embodied, is above 50,000, to which we may suppose there are about 3000 officers attached. At least one third of these have considerable landed estates; which would be the case with a much larger proportion, had the militia system remained inviolate, or were it again restored to its pristine state. And are you prepared, sir, to deprive the country of their example and services, by sending to their homes the great body of land owners who would certainly leave the army, were the militia moulded into the line? Or are you prepared to put an end to this nursery for the army, where young men of birth and fortune acquire military tastes and habits so important at this eventful crisis?

As for your charge of ignorance and inexperience in militia officers, I must premise that it is not borne out by facts; which as far they exist contradict your statement. Happily these favoured countries have had no occasion to call for the active services of the militia, except during the unfortunate rebellion in Ireland; where I never heard that the officers of the Irish militia, or of those regiments which volunteered from England, ever gave any practical proofs of so much ignorance as you impute to them: on the contrary, I believe the official reports and general orders issued during that period, convey information of a contrary description. Nor do I see how so much ignorance in the officers is quite consistent with the "mechanical discipline" you attribute to the men, or with their being "the finest soldiers in the world." But admitting, as I most certainly do, that the officers of the militia, cannot, from the nature of the service, be as experienced as those of the regulars, I do not see how that forms any stronger objection to the militia system, than it would to say that the infantry are in some respects inferior to the cavalry, or all of them to the artillery; and I must confess that you appear to me to adopt, in this instance, the same false reasoning which you have so often and so ably refuted when applied by Mr. Windham to the volunteers. I cannot persuade myself that it is in the nature of a military or any other comprehensive establishment, that all its branches should attain to the same degree of perfection. The militia stands in the same relation to the army, as in the navy a frigate does to a seventy-four, or as a merchant vessel to a ship of the line. The latter is not expected to possess the same force and skill as the former; yet, Lincis found in commodore Dance as powerful a champion as I have no doubt a militia regiment would prove on its own soil to the hated corps of the Corsican usurper.

Buonaparte, whose military example is alone worth following, knows well the value of this description of force, to which the protection of the whole interior of France is at this time confided. And this country from her insular situation is still better adapted to this species of force. Nor is it a small consolation that in the present Quixotic zeal for distant expeditions, there exists a part of our force which cannot be sent out of the kingdom.

In short, sir, the militia is justly dear to the best prejudices of the country, from the contrast it forms to a standing army. As a means of actual defence it has fortunately never been tried, and I hope never will be. It would be madness in the country to trust it toalone; but as one of the many links in the chain of our defence, I look upon it as possessing advantages which fully compensate for the deficiences you assign to it: and speaking, as every man must do, from my own experience, I know, on the one hand, of no one measure that would be more generally deprecated by the country than any further inroads upon this constitutional force; nor, on the other, of any thing that would be more acceptable than such a pledge from parliament as I have alluded to. I am, sir, &c. A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

March 14, 1807.

REAL ESTATE BILL.

LETTER II.

Nolumus leges Anglia mutari.

Sir.—Though the bill brought into parliament for subjecting real estates to the payment of simple contract debts, has hitherto met with little opposition in the house of commons, it has fortunately experienced a still more feeble support; and though, like Mr. Tierney's Treating Bill, it may linger to a third reading, there is little prospect of its ever passing into a law, or rather of its abrogating one of the good old laws and pillars of the constitution.† For the more its subject and provisions are understood and considered, the more obnoxious they must appear to every man who has the prudence to extend his view of a legislative measure, beyond its momentary effects, and beyond the plausible reasons by which it may come recommended both to and from narrow minds. I need not suggest to you, sir, how necessary this foresight is in judging of all such subjects; for there is hardly any measure so bad as not to admit of some recommendation, and very often plans ultimately the most objectionable, possess the fairest outsides.

Many persons it will be sufficient to remind that the measure in question comes from that party in the state from whom innovation is most to be expected, most to be dreaded, and ought most to be resisted. If ever a love of change were more than at any other time to be deprecated; if ever the outworks of the constitution called upon us for a watchful and steady defence, it must be on the accession of a party to power, to the resistance of whose new fangled doctrines and wild schemes of reform, we owe, under Providence, the salvation of the country. But I am unwilling to rest the reprobation of this bill upon an argument which, though of infinite weight or importance upon this occasion, goes, I am aware, to perpetuate manifest and glaring errors. Yet is this proposal of that description, or has its necessity been grounded upon any general arguments whatever? Its learned mover to be sure informs us he has, in the course of his professional practice, met with several instances of great injustice done to creditors by the law as it now stands; and another Chancery lawyer has for once stated a case without a fee. Such as these are all the practical reasons that have been assigned for it; and are precisely such as in a former number I ventured to augur would be urged in its behalf. Really, sir, one is unwilling to treat with levity or disrespect the arguments of grave men; but there seems no end to this mode of legislating; and because Mr. Thellusson's will was made the ground of an act of parliament; that therefore every trifling case should be dignified with the same importance. A distinction should be drawn between public and private inconvenience; and it appears to me, that a surgeon who had attended half a dozen persons run over in the streets, (perhaps through their own carelessness) would have just as good grounds for proposing a law to prevent carriages driving along the Strand, as have been alleged for the bill in question. Lawyers, sir, have of late, with few exceptions, proved themselves but sorry legislators, and are, on this occasion, aiming at higher game than they are qualified, or I hope likely to reach. If report speaks truly, they will, in this instance, (as some of the very same persons were in lord Melville's case) be foiled by the oracles of their own profession; for it is confidently asserted that all the twelve judges are inimical to the principle of this bill. Whether this is actually the case or not, it is impossible to affirm. Should the bill reach the house of lords, that fact will most likely be put to the test; as it is not probable that that grave and wary assembly will entertain a measure of such vast importance, and which proposes so great a change in the law of landed property, without calling for the opinions of the judges upon the subject. In the mean time, the press cannot be better employed than in directing the public attention to it; and, with that view, I shall not hesitate to trouble you with a few additional remarks.

Apart therefore, from its intrinsic merits or defects, I cannot but consider this measure as one of the many sacrifices which the landed interest have been called

† *This bill has been thrown out.*

upon to make to trade. Year after year, have new burthens and restraints been imposed upon them, and excluded as they almost are, from the lower house of parliament; the lawyers instigated by the merchants (who have together a commanding influence in the house of commons) have, in this bill, prepared for them a draught, which, if they are compelled to swallow, will prove a quietus to their few remaining privileges; and the few estates which have not yet been purchased by the overgrown bankers, underwriters, and contractors, will soon be transferred to those liberal minded gentlemen. Already has the diminution of old families in the country produced the most lamentable effects; which this bill, by the extent and facilities it will afford to the mischievous system of credit, will increase to an extent, which, will go nigh to produce the very worst consequences to the country.

Again; this bill proceeds upon a supposition, that there is less morality and common honesty in persons of landed property, than among other descriptions of men. Sir, I shall not go out of my way to adduce half the proofs that present themselves of the reverse of this assertion, but will readily leave the gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn, the Stock Exchange, and Bear Quay, in possession of just as much superior honesty and morality as they can make out. I will not travel out of the record to detail the virtues of litigation, the honest forgery of false news, nor tell of the healing powers of a commission of bankruptcy, which has, ere now, enabled some of these moralists, in a short time, to drive their dashing equipages over their honest unpaid creditors. These and many other such things, too intelligible to your town readers, and almost unintelligible to those in the country, I readily omit; but must be allowed to express it as my own opinion, that if any pure sense of honour is left amidst the general corruption of the times, it is most to be found among the old landed proprietors, whose occupations have not led them to sacrifice the sweets of conscience at the shrine of inordinate gain. But all this is immaterial, since some few men have been found who would not pay their predecessor's simple contract debts out of their landed estates. Sir, I beleive, were the instances of this sort known, they would be found to form a few trifling miserable exceptions to a general practice to the contrary; and that, of the instances that could be produced, most of them would be found to have arisen from circumstances fully justifying them; for that there may be a justification of the practice, I am immoral enough not to hesitate to declare. Were I a son, a brother, or a collateral descendant succeeding to a landed estate, I would pay the *just* debts of my predecessor, and I would pay no more. If demands were made upon me, which ought years before to have been made upon my predecessor, but never were; if demands were brought in to me by creditors who had been the panders to his worst appetites and follies, by lawyers who had been his instruments in procuring usurious loans, or who had involved him in groundless litigation; by tailors, coach-makers, tavern-keepers, and swindlers, who might all have been paid during his life time, by giving only proper credit, with reasonable charges; not one of these demands would I pay, nor should I admire the morality of any law that would compel me. Yet, sir, it is only to meet extreme cases like these, to punish the hundredth at the expence of the other ninety-nine, that we are called upon to sanction this serious encroachment upon the most ancient and valuable part of our laws,—that part of them which preserves to the country an hereditary aristocracy as a counterpoise between the extremes of monarchy and democracy.

But, sir, if, in spite of the hopelessness of the endeavour, this work of regeneration is to go on, and under the auspices of a reforming government, parliament is to set about the long-protracted, herculean task of making all men honest; surely, the poor country gentlemen, bad as they may be, do not present the only objects of attraction, but there may be found a few worthies east of Temple Bar, to whom this salutary influence may be applied. Did the gentlemen, who so kindly impute such dishonesty to the landed interest, never hear of fraudulent conveyances and deeds of trust for the express purpose of cheating creditors; or an amicable commission of bankruptcy, of which a brother or a friend is made the assignee? Did they never hear of fictitious capital, by the aid of which men acquire credit they intend to discharge; and under colour of which when called upon to come to the

exigencies of the state, declare (upon oath too) that they have no property liable to the same heavy tax the land owner is compelled to pay? Did none of these moralists ever sink their ships to cheat each other; and has the pillory, or the debtor's door at Newgate, never exposed them to the sympathy of their amiable associates? These are painful and invidious topics, but such as naturally present themselves when an attack is made upon a particular body of men who, of all others, are least obnoxious to such imputations.

But, to return to the bill itself. Objectionable as its principle is, its provisions are as curious as they are concise. That they should be concise is not surprising; for supposing the measure adviseable, one would think it were only necessary to enact, that real estates should be assetts in the hands of executors for the discharge of all debts which the personal estate would not extend to pay. Though this may, perhaps, be the English of the bill, it is not precisely its language; nor is this measure by which the saints of Chancery-lane and Lombard-street propose to correct the immorality of the landed interest, to be brought about by any such simple expedient; for the bill enacts, that where persons die thus situated, their real estate "shall be assetts *to be administered in courts of equity*, for the payment of all their debts." Now, sir, this may be very right and necessary; nay, it may afford a sort of malicious satisfaction to the land-owner, that the benefits of this bill, are only to be obtained through the medium of a chancery suit; but to an ignorant man like myself, this appears to smell vastly of the shop, and looks something like the fable of fortifying the town with leather. A chancery pleader refers every thing to a court of equity; and by the same rule, I have no doubt, had this measure been brought forward by the respectable gentlemen, who, in the last parliament, represented the county of Hereford, he would have contrived to hook in the college of physicians.

I am aware, sir, that I have been treating this subject with a degree of levity, which can be justified only by the thorough conviction I entertain, that it is one which can never find its way to the statute book: but that I may correct this levity by another's seriousness, I will conclude what I had to offer with the following extract from the speech of lord chancellor Bacon to Mr. Sergeant Richardson, on his being presented by the commons, as their speaker: "For laws, says he, they are things proper for your own element; and, therefore, therein ye are rather to lead than be led. Only it is not amiss to put you in mind of two things. The one, that ye do not multiply or accumulate laws more than ye need. There is a wise and learned civilian that applies the curse of the prophet, *pluet super eos laqueos*, to multiplicity of laws; for they do but ensnare and entangle the people. I wish rather that ye should revive good laws that are fallen and discontinued, or provide against the slack execution of laws which are already in force; or meet with the subtile evasions from laws which time and craft hath undermined, than to make *novas creaturas legum*, laws upon a new mould." I am, sir, &c. TERRÆ FILIUS.

March 17, 1807.

INSCRIPTION.

Sacred to the ministerial memory of
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT,
The lineal representative of
The genius, the eloquence, and the virtue,
of the ever
VENERATED CHATHAM,
Who, succeeding to the station, and inheriting the wisdom of his illustrious father, like him retrieved the errors of preceding administrations, and realized the hopes of his country, by raising it to the highest pitch of
HUMAN GLORY.
At the early age of twenty-two years he became
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER;

And equally astonished his countrymen and Europe, by his eloquence as an orator, and his wisdom as a statesman.

Formed by nature for an exalted office, and trained by his immortal parent to fill it; he supplied the deficiencies of experience and years, by the extraordinar y cl-tivation, extent, and accuracy of his perceptive powers.

Overleaping the distance between youth and experience, he grasped the wisdom of riper years, and, in the earliest struggles of his administration, exhibited a mind, so luminous, sagacious, and enriched, that even his eloquence was considered as secondary to his judgment.

When he came into office, he found the British nation deprived of an empire in the west.

When he went out of office, he left the British nation in possession of a new empire in the east.

When he assumed the management of its finances he found an exhausted treasury, a declining revenue, a decaying commerce, and a mass of floating debt, which, with the unprovided means of liquidating past burdens, threatened the extinction of public credit.

When he resigned the management of its finances, he left its revenue improved, its commerce re-animated, its exports tripling their amount in the most brilliant days of peace, and its debt, which former statesmen had predicted to threaten the constitution, provided for by a fund destined, not merely to expunge the expenses of his own administration, but to realize the bolder conception of closing the mass of its taxation, by extinguishing within the probable period of less than forty years,

THE WHOLE NATIONAL DEBT.

Posterity in deriving the benefit of this financial measure, will admire the genius, and revere the memory of the minister, who, living less for his own age than aftertimes, could thus by so grand an operation, secure to them unimpaired, the blessings of

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION,

Without the burthens that it cost preceding ages to preserve it.

When he came in, France possessed the blessings of a regular government, an immense revenue, an extensive commerce, a powerful navy, rich colonies, and the esteem and respect of Europe.

When he went out, France exhibited what may be termed a blank in the map of civilization. Her altars and her rights, equally the sport of atheists and usurpers, her soil stained by the blood of their victims, her people drooping over the loss of their trade, their credit, their capital, their colonies, their navy, and their liberties; and her government and principles alike the scorn and detestation of the

CIVILIZED WORLD.

France in her misery, was left a monument, of the folly and wickedness of her rulers; Great Britain, in her increased prosperity, remained an example of the superior wisdom and virtue of her minister.

READER!

These were his services.—His crimes were great in the eyes of a few. He taxed the people, and saved the constitution. He aroused the virtues, and armed the energies of his country against the moral pollution of its shores. His enemies charge him, that in the sacred cause of religion and social order, he would not surrender the British nation to atheism and impiety; but that in the fall of surrounding nations, and the wreck of civil society, he preserved it, undefiled, from the dominion and contagion of France. The jacobins reproach him with extinguishing the torch of sedition in Great Britain, and quenching the flames of rebellion in Ireland. They alledge, he beat down the enemy with a bold and victorious arm; and that braving the northern league, he successfully asserted the maritime rights of the united kingdom, against a confederated world in arms; and, finally, they assert, that after having extended its fame, its commerce, and its empire; and fenced its laws, its liberties, and its religion, within the folds of triumphant banners, by the destruction of the trade, the annihilation of the navy, and the seizure of the most valuable possessions of the enemy; in duty to the honest conviction of his mind, on

a great state-question, he resigned his station in preference to relinquishing his opinion, exhibiting thereby an elevated example to the present, and to future ages; that in him, the love of power and of station were subordinate to his reverence for public virtue, and his sense of public duty. These are the reproaches of his enemies; but his countrymen, more just, admire the sacrifice, and trace his glory, where they charge his shame.

On his retreat from office, unlike to former ministers, he shrunk from the fence of faction, and kept within the pale of his principles, supporting zealously his successors, out of office, as he had strenuously opposed his antagonists when in power; thus clearly evincing that the love of his country, and not the lure of situation, was the ruling passion of heart.

A NATION
Saved from anarchy and desolation, by the genius and intrepidity of
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT,
raises this fragile column,
In testimony of its gratitude to the preserver of its liberties and constitution; until the future historian shall erect a more durable monument to perpetuate his renown, by recording his name on her imperishable page, and classing him with those illustrious statesmen whose actions have adorned the annals of the world.

LYING JOURNALS OF FRANCE.

Quis fuit, horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!—TIBULLUS.

Sir,—"There is a generation of men," says Owen Feltham, "with whom it is a custom to clack out any thing their heedless fancy springs: who are so habituated to falsehood, that they can outlie an almanack, or what is more, a chancery bill; who will lie so often, that at last, they are not conscious that they lie at all; and who, besides creating whole scenes of their own, cannot relate any thing clearly and candidly, but must either augment or diminish." How just a portraiture is this of the French journalists! This tribe of sycophants, strangers to veracity, and votaries of deceit, sport for the moment, like puny insects, in the transitory sunbeams of their ruler's prosperity. To gratify the caprice or ambition of their *magnanimous emperor*, they paint in glowing colours, his mighty deeds in arms, boast of his humanity and gentleness of heart towards the vanquished, celebrate his victories, talk of the conquered nations that swell the magnitude of his hosts, and call upon the humbled monarchs of the earth to assert the irresistibility of his power. At first, because it was HIS pleasure, they ingeniously discovered a similitude between him and lion-hearted Cæsar, the hero of antient Belgium. Yet, though a few triumphs over the hapless Germans might afford the Corsican a pretext for usurping the title of the Roman soldier, neither his *hardy conscripts*, nor the *superior bravery* of his immense flotilla, could accomplish that great undertaking, for which Cæsar obtained such universal commendation—THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN. Perceiving, at length, that the appellation of *Cæsar* was not altogether appropriate to their chief, the French historiographers seem to have racked their brains for another hero above the common stamp. Accordingly, in a subsequent publication, these learned beings, after descanting with much volubility upon the battle of Pultusk, inform the world, that on this spot, Napoleon in imitation of Charles the XIIth. of Sweden, hewed his way to glory's shrine. But, here, they only contribute to their former error. Well may each of them say in this case,

——————floribus Austrum
Perditus, et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.

At the fight of Narva, the Swedish monarch, with an inferior force, defeated the whole army of Peter the Great. In the same manner, and almost on the same ground, was Buonaparte victorious over the Prussian monarch at the commencement of the campaign. But mark the sequel. Charles, too eager in the pursuit of fame, and ambitious of dethroning the Russian emperor, pressed forward inconsi-

derately, till the want of provisions, the sickness of his men, and the fatal assault of the Muscovites at Pultowa, convinced him, alas! too surely, that rashness and confidence of success will oftentimes prove destructive to the best-concerted expeditions.

The situation of Buonaparte is nearly similar; he sees the danger of his position, the difficulty of waging war at this inclement season, and the misery of his soldiers, whom he is unable to relieve. May the battle of Pultusk prove eventually as decisive as the contest at Pultowa—may our modern Charles be foiled in his endeavours, and may the bleeding countries he has trampled under foot, once more raise their degraded heads, and throw off the yoke of tyranny and oppression!

London, March 11th, 1807. SEMPRONIUS.

Sir,—The within written letter, just received from an Irish tenant, appearing to contain some small share of originality, I have thought fit to enclose it for your perusal. Sir Murtagh, a gay young man, and consequently inattentive to his estate, is the landlord.—I am, sir, &c. OBSERVATOR.

May it please your Honour's Honour,—I am a poor Irish bog-trotter, dwelling in the county of Roscommon, with a sick wife and a parcel o' hungry childer, and not one little potatoe to put into their mouths at all at all. Here we all be, plase your honour, in a dirty, wet cabin, wife, childer, pig, and my own self, as the Devil found sixpence, all in a lump. Sir Murtagh, his honour, is always a big way off, and his honour's man* won't grant me a lease, and he is after raising the rent, tho' he knows I can't pay it, and we must all be turned out when he plases. My own brother, by St. Patrick, he was more lucky; he *did* get a lease, but the cratur must out wi' his house and his own self when his honour's man plased, and so because he forgot one day to send duty ducks †, and by mistake ate them his own self, sir Murtagh sent for the cratur, when he was after thatching his hut a bit, and so, plase your honour's honour, the rain fell in and the childer died. "Bad luck to you, sir Murtagh;" says he.—"You may dig your 'tatoes yourself, you dirty spalpeen! It's better to be kilt than be starved; I'll be after both'ring your gig." And so he went off to the White Boys ‡. But poor Teddy was caught, and they made him dance upon nothing || for being a rebel.

And some of their honours in England be after giving big heaps o' money to them foreign folk; but we, Irish lads, are not thought of at all at all. We ha' pigs, but his honour's man takes 'em for rent; we ha' cows, but his honour's man milks 'em, and we ha' ducks, but his honour's man keeps 'em for duty. And will not your honour's honour be after saying that the poor bogtrotters of the county of Roscommon must ate as well as their honours. And if they'll be plased to think of us the next time, we'll not be after going off to the French, when they come here again; but, "with a sprig of shellalah, and shamrock so green," we'll give them a *bateing* till they jump down their own throats, and plague us no more.

Your humble servant, as in duty bound, BARNEY O'BOTHERAM.

STATE PAPERS.

Account of the Battle of Pultusk—concluded.

"During this furious attack upon our left flank, a numerous body of the enemy's infantry, under the command of marshal Lannes, divided into six columns, and, according to the statements of the prisoners, accompanied by Buonaparte in person, attempted, by penetrating through the wood, to surround our advanced guard under the command of major-general Barclai de Tolly, which had taken a position to

---

* *In many parts of Ireland, the stewards, in their master's absence, rule with unlimited authority.*

† *A sort of tithe, which in many instances is highly oppressive.*

‡ *A gang, that some time since raised great disturbances in the interior of Ireland.*

|| *Hanging him, literally.*

cover our right flank. The object of the enemy on this side was to break, or at least to repulse our right flank, and by this means to cut off our communication with a part of the army under count Buxhowden, posted in the village of Makow and Ostrolenka. The attack of the French on this side was extremely violent and impetuous. Our advanced guard, notwithstanding a display of the utmost valour and intrepidity on the part of both the commander and troops, was compelled to fall back, by which movement our battery, which kept in check the enemy's columns on the road from Noweiniasto, soon fell into the hands of the enemy; but the Tenginsk regiment of musketeers, in conjunction with the Jagers, charged the enemy with the bayonet, routed him, and re-took the cannon of which he had got possession. In the mean time, by order of the commander-in-chief, general baron Bennigsen, a masked battery had been planted in the wood, and the cannon were loaded with grape-shot. A few discharges from this battery killed a great number of the enemy, and checked their impetuosity. But immediately after, the enemy made dispositions to take the battery in reverse, and major-general Barclai de Tolly was thus a second time forced to give way to their superior numbers. The commander-in-chief, general Bennigsen, the moment he observed this movement, instantly ordered to change front, and to throw back the whole of the right wing, to prevent an attack in flank, at the same time detaching the regiment of Tschernigow, and, immediately after, the musketeers of Lithau, to reinforce major-general Barclai de Tolly.

" Major-general Barclai de Tolly, as soon as he had formed a part of the infantry which he had with him on one side, and sent orders to major-general prince Dolgorucki to march with the regiment of the Tschernigow musketeers on the other side, boldly rushed forward at the charge of the bayonet on the enemy's columns, drove them back, and by this means stopped the progress of the other columns of the enemy which were rapidly coming up. But the French, who still kept a fire of musketry and artillery, did not abandon their intention of attacking our right flank until the commander-in-chief took the resolution of attacking the enemy in his turn.

" With this view he ordered lieutenant-general count Osterman to move forward with the remaining infantry of the left wing, twenty squadrons of cavalry to march from the right flank, and the battery under the command of major Stawizkji to advance at the time, which thus taking the enemy's line of infantry in flank, by a vigorous and well directed cannonade totally routed and dispersed it. In the mean time the remainder of our cavalry was posted in the centre to keep that of the enemy in check. The French fought desperately, but were at length compelled to yield, at all points, to the uncommon bravery of the Russian warriors, accustomed to victory, the ability and resolution of the commander, and the heavy and destructive fire of the artillery.

" The battle continued from eleven in the morning, until seven in the evening, and did not finish until it was completely dark. The enemy was beaten and defeated at every point; but the darkness of the night, the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue of the troops, prevented the pursuit of the enemy.

" In this battle we made about 700 prisoners; and, according to the statement of some who were taken the day after, the enemy, besides three generals who fell in the action, lost in killed and wounded about ten thousand men.

" The total of the loss on our side amounts in killed and wounded to between two and three thousand. As soon as correct returns shall have been received of the staff, and other chief officers killed and wounded, they will be forthwith communicated to the public.

" The commander-in-chief, general of cavalry, baron Bennigsen, testifies, that the troops of his imperial majesty, who fought on this day, gave inexpressible proofs of valour, and from the generals to the ranks acquired never fading glory by their firmness, intrepidity, and zeal. He mentions in particular terms of commendation, the regiments of Jagers, who, as the enemy themselves acknowledge, displayed with the happiest effect, an uncommon degree of activity and address.

[Here follows a list of officers who particularly distinguished themselves in the above battle. Among them general Bennigsen mentions, " captain count Woron-

zow, who acted in the capacity of aid-de-camp to general Osterman, and who displayed the most signal intrepidity in conveying his orders to the different officers through the hottest part of the battle."]

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY,

By the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Russian Army.

By a long series of the most unfortunate events, your country has become a prey to the most cruel and insolent of foes. The manifold sufferings to which you have been subjected are known to the emperor, my most gracious sovereign; and his majesty is so much the more disposed to take the warmest interest therein, as he himself has sprung from German blood; and mindful of the intimate ties which exist between his imperial house and many of the German princes, he has never ceased to entertain, with regard to the German nation, all that esteem to which a people, so numerous, enlightened, and virtuous, are justly entitled. With this sentiment of the warmest interest in the fate of Germany, are naturally and inseparably conjoined his majesty's wishes to deliver this empire from its oppressors, and restore it to its just freedom and independence. His majesty will think no exertion too laborious to attain this great object.

Inhabitants of Germany! the whole Russian army fights for your interests! Under circumstances so favourable, shall you alone remain inactive? Shall you be so blinded, as in the present state of things, to do nothing for yourselves?

The enemy is at a great distance from his frontiers, in territories, and at a season of the year, which not only do not afford him sufficient means of supply, but also impede all his operations. Will you voluntarily contribute to his relief? Will you act against your own interests? Forget not that you have all possible aid to expect from the brave army entrusted to my command. I trust that I shall victoriously drive back the common enemy of Europe, and convince him that there still remains a people, who, faithful to their country and their monarch, have both the inclination and the power to resist the imposition of his iron yoke. But however probable this success may be, his majesty will still regard it as incomplete, so long as the foe shall not be driven back beyond his natural boundaries; and as this is the only means of restoring the independence of your country, and obtaining a general peace upon secure foundations, his imperial majesty relies, with the fullest confidence, that at this finally decisive crisis, the inhabitants of Germany will not only lend no kind of support to the common foe, but, on the contrary, that they will, by a general resistance, render his further stay in Germany impracticable, and throw every possible difficulty in the way of his retreat towards his own frontiers. By this intimate union of the whole Russian force with all the means of the German empire, the common object may be attained, and peace, so anxiously desired, be once more restored to suffering Europe.

Take courage, then, brave and virtuous Germans! Reflect on the immortal renown of your ancestors, who, in former ages, maintained their independence with the most signal bravery. Unite yourselves under the colours of such of your princes, in whom the unfortunate events of our times have not yet extinguished a sense of honour, and of their own dignity. To this grand and noble purpose of delivering your country from a foreign yoke, sacrifice every private quarrel, every consideration of internal discord, and then shall you compose a formidable whole, capable not only of disputing every inch of ground with the common enemy, but also of ultimately vanquishing and repelling him for ever within his natural frontier.

In your efforts to attain so glorious an object, you may rely with the fullest confidence on the powerful and continued assistance of the emperor, my most gracious sovereign. The universally acknowledged principles of his imperial majesty afford you a guarantee, that not only will his majesty not abandon you in the present struggle, but that on the happy termination thereof, he will particularly direct his attention to the restoration of the venerable constitution of your country, which for a succession of centuries rendered your forefathers the happiest people on the face

of the earth, and which could only be destroyed by the domineering ambition of an enemy, who makes no scruple of treading under foot the most sacred treaties.

Given at the imperial Russian head-quarters,

Baron VON BENNIGSEN, general of cavalry, military governor of Lithuania, &c. &c.

" *The following Address has been circulated at the Out-posts of the French Army:*—' Soldiers of France!—Formerly, when foreign armies meditated the conquest of your country, and came even into the bosom of your land to attack you, you repelled them with a valour and perseverance which the whole world admired. The report of your brilliant exploits reached even us. Your courage, your loyalty, was known to us, and the soldiers of France became the objects of our esteem. But it is no longer your country which demands your efforts. A war foreign to your interests tears you from your families, your friends, your homes. A tyrant, whose insatiable ambition knows no bounds, drags you into distant climates, and sheds the blood of Frenchmen, that he may bestow crowns upon his relations. He forces you to combat against people who are ready to offer you pledges of their ancient affection, but who will shed the last drop of their blood in the sacred cause of their country.' BENNIGSEN."

THE DOUBLE ACQUITAL.

IMPROMPTU.

When *Judas Iscariot* poor Popham assail'd,
At Jervis and Grey's instigation;
The Lordling in all his vile purposes fail'd,
And was scouted with just indignation.

Again to attack the stout Knight they essay,
And his *Life* from Court Martial demanded;
But, for all the dread charges of Vincent and Grey,
Sir Home is but just *reprimanded!*

March 12, 1807. POP.

BULLETIN.

AN EPIGRAM.

For lies the Tyrant racks his recreant head;
Lies upon lies o'er Bulletins to spread.
This head so crammed with cruelty, and sin—
Mankind might wish it had—a Bullet-in.

A CALL FOR HEROES.

" Britons, strike home," we whilom sung,
While British love to Britain clung,
And scorn'd abroad to roam.
We now want heroes that *will strike;*
Such as French sycophants dislike;
Men that will POP'EM HOME!"

TIM. TELLFREE.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 417, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 13. Saturday, March 28, 1807. Price 10*d*.

HISTORICAL.

The intelligence which has been received from every quarter of the globe, in the course of the last week, renders this department of the Review uncommonly diversified and interesting. We must now add the Turkish empire to the list of our enemies, as it appears by the Vienna gazette, that war was declared against Great Britain by the Porte, in consequence of the ascendancy of French politics at Constantinople. The Vienna article thus relates the circumstance which gave occasion to this precipitate and impolitic measure. "An English frigate (the one in which the English ambassador escaped) had passed the Dardanelles, and sent an express to Constantinople to declare, that admiral Louis would certainly approach the capital and lay it in ashes, unless the Grand Signor would consent to renew the antient treaties with England and Russia. This declaration did not produce the effect intended. The Divan immediately resolved upon war with England, and to seize the ambassador's person. Mr. Arbuthnot, notwithstanding, contrived to mislead the Turkish commandants, and to pass the Dardanelles, in consequence of the frigate firing a salute of 17 guns, who did not imagine this was the frigate with the ambassador on board. It is added, that Mr. Arbuthnot carried all his property away with him; and that besides the renewal of the treaties with England and Russia, he demanded that all the French should be sent away from Constantinople."

From the very reserved and cautious manner, in which Mr. Arbuthnot noticed the declaration of war made by the Porte against Russia, being engaged in hostilities against Turkey, appeared a reasonable conjecture. Indeed, it became our duty to commence hostilities against the Porte, from the moment that power refused to renew its engagements with the court of St. Petersburgh; for we are not only bound to support Russia in her struggle against France, but we are also pledged to consider every power as an enemy which co-operates with France against the arms of Russia. It is certain that the Turkish war will create a considerable diversion of the Russian forces from the grand object of operation; therefore, it is to be hoped, that the *new* ministry, whose appointment will revive the sinking spirit of the continent, will lose no time in bringing our troops that are in Sicily into immediate and active service. We have 20,000 excellent soldiers in that island; who might be most advantageously employed in carrying the war into the very heart of the Morea; and if a proper general were appointed to command them; one who had become familiarized with the oriental mode of warfare, such as lord Lake, or sir Arthur Wellesley, the projects of Buonaparte would be completely thwarted in that quarter, and the aid he expects to derive from the co-operation of the Turks would be totally dissipated. Twenty thousand British troops, with such generals, would, I am persuaded, conquer the Morea in one campaign, as they would experience no opposition from the inhabitants, whose religion, habits, and moral condition, are, in every respect, opposite to the Turkish, and who have, more than once, solicited their emancipation from the Mussulman yoke. It is indeed a matter of regret, that the Turks should have been induced to declare war against Russia, at this time, inasmuch as the army of general Michelson, which would have afforded a great accession to the grand allied army now acting against the French on the banks of the Vistula, has been compelled to march against Turkey; but since that stupid and infatuated government has, with its eyes open, surrendered itself to the discretion of France, its chastisement should be prompt and exemplary. We have seen, during the last ten years, how two or three miserable vagabonds, at the head of a few thousand rabble, have over-run considerable portions of the Ottoman empire, both in Europe and Asia. It will be in the power of a British squadron to separate this empire in such a manner, as to prevent the Turks in Europe from deriving any effective support from their Asiatic dominions; while a British and Russian army advancing, the one from the south, and

the other from the north, would shake to its center, the whole fabric of that ill-cemented and miserable government, which has been hitherto sustained only by the mutual jealousy and sufferance of the neighbouring powers. But, to effect this desirable purpose, we must abandon our marauding expeditions, and concentrate our forces, with a view of promoting, not our insular interests, but the great cause of the civilized world. If this object be not steadily pursued; if it be lost sight of for a moment; this war will terminate, like every preceding one, in ruin and subjugation. Under any other circumstances of the world, the security and independence of the Turkish power would have been points of the highest political importance; to guarantee which, we should have been justified in resorting to arms. But, under the alteration of circumstances, what would have been deemed politic ten years ago, would now be the height of impolicy. Turkey, in siding with the enemy of all social order, and of every established government, has made herself an accomplice in his crime, and she cannot with justice appeal to the reason and interference of her neighbours. She must now share, not only in the fortunes of her adviser, but she must feel also, and largely, the vicissitudes of human greatness. That this improvident war on the part of Turkey, will terminate in the fall of that power, I think is extremely probable; and therefore, I cannot perceive by what human ingenuity Austria will be able to remain two months longer, an inactive spectator of these impending dilapidations of empire. Austria must either join in the chase, and share in the spoils of the prey, or she must unite her arms with those of Turkey, to repress the invaders of its dominions. From the well known policy which the court of Vienna has hitherto pursued; from the remembrance of past wrongs, and the desire to efface the recollection of her misfortunes, it is probable, that the Austrians will co-operate with the allies immediately after the recal of Bobby Adair; in which case, we shall see the whole civilized population of Europe in arms against tyranny and barbarism.

Four days after Buonaparte had declared to the world, "that the thaw was so dreadful, and that the season would permit nothing great to be achieved, *for it was the season of repose,*" general Bennigsen arose out of the *mud*, and appeared, like a terrific spectre, to the aching heart of the tyrant, on the left bank of the Passarge. On the 25th and 26th ult. several actions were fought at Peterswalde and Braunsberg, in which the French, of course, claim the advantage. But, from the relative positions of the hostile armies, it is certain, either, that another general engagement has taken place, or that the tyrant has taken shelter behind the Vistula. Notwithstanding all the vapouring bulletins of the French, it is evident their cause begins to decline. Buonaparte has felt severely that Bennigsen will not allow him one moment's repose; the Prussians are also on the alert; and a system of war is carried on against his armed helots, for which they were not prepared. An hundred different detachments, headed by expert partizans, intercept his convoys, his communications, and, not unfrequently, hook his generals, and carry them off in triumph. This is war in the Calabrian style; and it is that very species of war to which the French are not equal. No rest is allowed them; and these harassing incursions not only distract their attention, but divert a considerable part of their force. Thus assailed by hardy and intrepid troops in front, by scouring parties on his flanks and rear, and by mud, snow, thaw, frost, woods, morasses, and bad roads every where, the flagitious tyrant *solicited* a truce from general Bennigsen, and made proposals of peace to the king of Prussia. Both these proposals met with an immediate rejection, and the Russian general retorting upon Buonaparte his gasconading manner, answered, "that he came to fight, and not to negotiate."

The French pretend that their soldiers are under the very walls of Koningsberg, a place that cannot stand a regular siege, and yet they confess that their head-quarters are at Osterode, taking care to mention this place with Elbing and Liebstadt, which are not at a great distance from the object of their wishes. After the battle of Eylau, the most extreme want prevailed in the French army, which is represented to have been in a worse condition than the Prussian army after the battle of Jena. Their distress was so great, as to cause them to order a supply to be sent from Posen to Thorn, whither, according to the last advices from the continent, though not officially, their head-quarters have been removed. It seems to be the object of the

Russians, regardless of their own loss, to exhaust the enemy, whose situation thus becomes every day more critical; for neither the conscripts, nor the forced auxiliaries of Saxony, can supply the place of the veteran troops of Buonaparte, which, according to the reports of general Bennigsen, are falling every day. In the mean while, Germany lies open to any assailant; and it is not difficult to say how small a force would be sufficient to rouse the immense population of Germany against their ferocious enemies. The Swedes are collecting in great bodies at Stralsund; and Hessia, Hanover, and Westphalia, are left almost without troops. The appearance of a British force in those parts, might completely change the fate of the war, for it is well known, that, since the battle of Eylau, even the most timid and melancholy begin to entertain lively hopes, that the tide of fortune will soon be turned from the cause of insolent tyranny, to that of freedom and humanity. Sensible of their beaten condition, of the evils still brewing against them, and of the universal detestation with which they are execrated by all Germany, the French have softened the tone of their bulletins, and now talk in their 64th rhapsody, that the spectacle of so many human beings slain, "*is calculated to inspire princes with the love of peace, and an abhorrence of war.*" How comes it that their master did not make this calculation before he formed the stupendous project of desolating Europe, and laying it a bleeding victim at his feet?

The history of the adventures of the American Catiline, Mr. Aaron Burr, is amply detailed in the message of the President of the United States to the senate and house of representatives. It will be seen from this interesting state paper, that a conspiracy had been formed by a set of worthless, needy, and desperate adventurers, without means, numbers, or connexions, to accomplish no less objects than a separation of the states beyond the Alleghany mountains from the Union, and an attack on Mexico. Some of the criminals have been apprehended, and delivered over to the tribunals of justice, and the rest have betaken themselves to flight. The whole of this transaction appears to have originated in the insane ambition of Mr. Burr, who reckoned upon a degree of support and countenance, which the American character by no means warranted.—(To be continued.)

DISMISSAL OF ALL THE TALENTS.

Alliances, subsidies, extension of commerce, useful laws for our internal security, effectual defence against our foreign enemies—such were the services which the late times required; such were the services which men of real worth and excellence had various opportunities of performing. But in all these you never took a part; not the first, not the second, not the third, not the fourth, not the fifth nor sixth, no, not any part whatever; for it would have served your country. Say, what alliance did the state gain by your management? What additional forces? What regard or reverence? What embassy of your's? What instance of your ministerial conduct ever exalted the reputation of your country? What domestic interests, what national affairs, what concerns of foreigners have prospered under your direction? What arms, what arsenals, what fortifications, what forces, what advantages of any kind have we received from you? What generous and public-spirited effects have either rich or poor experienced from your fortune?—Nous.

Demosthenes pro Corona.

The motto which I have adopted from the renowned orator of antient Greece, is strictly applicable to the times in which we live. There is not a single proposition contained in it, which does not arraign the imbecility, or bespeak the condemnation, of that contemptible coalition of ambitious sycophants and hypocrites, whose existence, thanks to the firm integrity of our honest sovereign! is no more. It will be expected that I should participate largely in the general exultation which their downfall has occasioned, since it has been my painful duty, from the moment of their appointment to office until the present day, to expose their errors, to detect their fallacious pretensions to superiour merit, and to call for the necessity of that change, which has, at length, been brought about by their own presumption and folly. Never did any body of men confederate together for the sake of enjoying power, with so little ability and discretion to preserve it. Their tyrannical practices, their proscriptive measures, their insolence in office, had rendered them hateful to all

those loyal friends to their country, who had been accustomed to revere and admire the long, useful, comprehensive, liberal, and glorious administration of Mr. Pitt—their rashness, their hasty dissolution of the most salutary and patriotic portions of our system of national defence, had rendered them odious to their fellow-citizens—their discordant and opposite principles had rendered them suspicious of each other—and, finally, their indecent and ungentlemanly treatment of their sovereign completed the mass of their follies, and justly rendered them obnoxious to him. These manifold causes of national abhorrence might, perhaps, have continued to operate for a little time longer, had not the introduction of the catholic bill, which was an outrageous invasion of the conscience of the King, intercepted their career, and levelled their power to the ground. At first, they proceeded in the measure by sap; but finding themselves detected by the wary vigilance of his majesty, they attempted to carry their point by storm, and in this attempt they have been also foiled by the courage and patriotism of their sovereign.

There are persons who fancy that religious opinions ought not to operate as a bar to the admission of any class of our fellow-subjects to fill situations of public trust. Considered as an abstract question, this notion may be just; and I will even go so far as to concede, that in the primary concoction of a government, the principal might, perhaps, be admitted, without hazarding the peace of society. But, there are points closely interwoven with the question, which render it a matter wholly distinct from the philosophy of politics. The first of these is pregnant with such direful and necessary consequences, that, to state it simply, will suffice to justify the conduct of his majesty in the opinion of every true and loyal subject. *If his majesty had given his assent to the Catholic Bill, he would thereby have given the present king of Sardinia, a papist, and an Italian, a legitimate title to the British throne.* The revolution of 1688 was brought about by the general co-operation of every description of protestants, against the establishment of a Roman catholic hierarchy in this kingdom; and subsequently, the act of settlement, keeping this principle ever in view, and indeed making it the *substratum* of the hereditary devolution of the crown, provided that the catholic branch of the royal family of England should be for ever excluded from the throne, and that the protestant branch, though more remote from the existing royal house, should be called to fill the throne of these realms. By virtue of this great fundamental law of the state, the house of Brunswick became the legitimate sovereigns of this country, to the exclusion of the Roman catholic posterity of the Stuart race, who were the nearest of the antient blood royal.

But, it is not merely in the fact of this exclusion from the throne, which was a new case in our political history, that we must rest the importance of resisting the catholic claims: we must take all its accompanying circumstances into our consideration, and collect from them, together with the assistance of the light of history, the motives and objects of the provisions enacted by our forefathers. By the statute of the 12th and 13th William, c. 2. it is enacted, that "whosoever should hereafter come to the possession of the crown, should join in the communion of the church of England, as *by law established*," not as by law *to be* established; but as *actually* established by a previous law to which the clause refers. That law is the act by which this nation, as a state, renounced the Roman Catholic religion for ever, and acknowledged the present ecclesiastical establishment to be *the sole religion of the state*: so that the preservation of our church, and the exclusion of the catholics, are correlative terms, and form the basis of our constitutional polity. Since the æra when the church of England assumed its present form, repeated laws have been enacted to guard it from catholic invasion; and it is distinctly stated, in the same act of settlement, which limits the succession to the crown, that the church of England is "the birthright of the people of England." It is, therefore, as necessary and important a part of the constitution, as king, lords, and commons; nor can it be demolished, without dissolving the constitution itself at the same time.

In resisting, therefore, the catholic bill, and in dismissing his obnoxious ministers, his majesty not only abided by his coronation oath, but actually rescued the constitution from great and imminent danger. For the throne would be exposed to incessant shocks, if that pantomimic religion, which our fathers discarded with disdain, were to find its way into the established constitution of the state. There are but

few persons who seem to have viewed the exclusion of the catholics in its just and proper light. The matter is essentially *political:* toleration and political priviledges being totally distinct properties. No man would desire to see the principles of intolerance enforced here, as long as the security of the church, as established by law, can be maintained without recurring to it; but it is a very different affair to allow the most unlimited indulgence to the consciences of men, and to admit them to a participation of political privileges, against the exercise of which the throne of these realms was raised as a perpetual barrier. If the principle of general admission to political priviledges be insisted upon, in the case of the catholics, it must also be admitted in its more enlarged sense; and we shall then be compelled to accede to the claims of universal suffrage, and to various other speculative theories, which can be resisted solely on the ground of inexpediency. The catholics enjoy, at this time, the most perfect toleration; and when they plead, that their exclusion from office is an argument of intolerance, they confound political with natural rights. Freedom of conscience is a natural right; but it does not follow, that this natural right should be converted into a political one. The principles of the constitution are in direct hostility to the exercise of it. Nor do I see how any of the king's ministers, conformably with their oath of office, could possibly suggest the measure of catholic emancipation, as it is called, without committing a gross and flagrant act of perjury, as privy counsellors. The tenure of the British throne is holden by the exclusion of the catholics;—the confidential advisers of his majesty, therefore, could not have advised the removal of this exclusion, without endangering the throne itself. This is a sufficient proof, consequently, of their wickedness. Every man who reflects at all upon this subject politically, and not theologically, must be aware, that innumerable mischiefs would ensue from the catholic bill, as proposed by the late detestable and contemptible ministry. If the catholics were to be admitted to exercise, by statute law, their religion on board of our ships of war, they would, of course, require a catholic priest; and it is well known, that the majority of these heathenish rascals are decidedly the auxiliaries of Buonaparte;—therefore, our men of war would soon come to an anchor in Brest harbour. The natural antipathy of these men to the protestant cause is, in no instance, more clearly demonstrated, than in their rejection of every offer made to render them dependent upon a protestant government. People talk of a rebellion in Ireland; they say, that the rejection of the catholic claims will dissever that island from the mother country. This is a ridiculous, and an ambitious, lie. The common people of Ireland, are perfectly indifferent to this political point. A few intriguing lords and commoners want to obtain power; and, to comply with their wish, the late ministry insolently dared to compromise the safety of the state itself. Surely, we ought not to be satisfied with their removal—the nation should raise its voice, and call for exemplary punishment upon them. I do not mean that parliament should resort to an act of attainder involving their lives and fortunes; but that the protestant people of the empire should open all the stores of national vengeance, and devote them to eternal infamy and execration.

When I hear protestants plead the cause of the catholics, I am inclined to believe that these men have no religion at all. Indeed, in the course of my conversation in life, and, latterly, with many members of both houses of parliament, I have observed an uncommon degree of indifference relative to the danger of the church of England. I have seen religion trodden under foot; but that event did not take place until the church establishment had been destroyed. But this was a catholic church.—True, I reason as a politician; and I maintain, that if you wound the church establishment, you open the door to revolution. I was well acquainted with Condorcet and Robespierre, and both of these men have, in their conversations with me, regretted the downfall of their church. Why? Because they saw and felt, when too late, the licentiousness of the unbridled rabble, who, left to choose a religion, abandoned that of their fathers, and adopted none. But, in the present case, the question cannot admit of dispute. The sacred oath of the king, his inflexible and virtuous conscience, the safety of *his* throne, the rights of *his* people, and the defence of that religion on which, *alone*, he sits upon the throne, required, that he should chase from his presence, and, I trust, for ever, the ministers

who advised the adoption of measures that would have rendered that throne insecure, in consequence of the danger of that church by which he is supported.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

It is with infinite satisfaction that I can now lay before my readers the list of the ministers whom his majesty has been pleased to call to his councils:

Duke of Portland, First Lord of the Treasury.
Mr. Canning, }
Lord Hawkesbury, } Secretaries of State.
Lord Castlereagh, }
Lord Camden, President of the Council.
Lord Westmoreland, Privy Seal.
Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Eldon, Chancellor.
Lord Chatham, Ordnance,
Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Bathurst, Master of the Mint.

My readers will perceive, from the above statement, that the new administration is composed entirely of those able and experienced servants of the crown, who had uniformly supported the measures of our ever to be regretted WILLIAM PITT. Of inexperience, we have had enough: of insolence, too much. I am sorry that a weighty domestic calamity prevents me from entering more fully into this subject than I could wish to have done; but I trust my next number shall convince my readers, if they have not been convinced before, that the late ministers were the greatest enemies to this country that ever existed.

England has prospered for three and twenty years under the administration of Mr. Pitt. Each year produced some moral or political good; and if misfortune reached the country, it was redeemed by the grandeur of his policy. Alas! where shall we find his equal! But, if we cannot find his equal, where shall we look for protection, but from those men who have been the coadjutors of his ministry, and the intimates of his heart?

At all events, we have gotten rid of an administration which hypocritically professed itself the friends of the people, and have uniformly proved the enemies of those people whose cause they professed to espouse.

With the exception of those persons above stated I know not who may be the servants of the crown; but I think it my duty to observe, that the new ministers, if they expect, with their sovereign's confidence, to retain the people's affection, they must adopt measures to make the people happy. The division in parliament, upon the question of Mr. Perceval's appointment, is rather a personal than a public feeling, as I conceive. He has left a profession of which he was a distinguished member, to assume a situation, arduous and difficult in the extreme. But he is fitted for his station. No man, in the house of commons, has more victoriously exposed the imbecility of the late ministers than this gentleman, to whom I know the nation looks up with confidence and satisfaction.

What line of conduct I shall adopt, may be easily conceived. The principles of independence, upon which I commenced this paper, will be continued; and though as is well known, I am partial to many of the persons who are now called to his majesty's councils, yet, I trust that my readers will perceive, I shall keep a wary eye upon the government, and condemn them if they act wrong.

Upon this principle, I cannot avoid observing that their measures should be popular, and that their whole policy should be directly reverse of their predecessors. Among other things, I must recommend that a bill should be brought into parliament to exempt small incomes, and the wages of mechanics, from the operation of the income tax. Next week I shall enter more into detail upon the subject.

The VOLUNTEERS, that great patriotic body, will, I trust, be rescued from insult and disgrace; and without any material charge to the country, be rendered serviceable to the constitution of Great Britain.

Unfortunately, my limits will not permit me to enlarge. It is enough that I express my joy and exultation at the dismissal of this most weak, contemptible, and detestable administration. On Saturday next I shall investigate the subject fully. But I cannot close this article, without declaring my extreme regret, in which I believe I am joined by every *honest man* in the kingdom, that the lords Wellesley and Melville are not officially named as his majesty's confidential advisers. Lord Melville is an injured man; the gratitude of his country is universally felt. The rare endowment and consummate talents of the marquis of Wellesley, fit him to govern an empire. I know of no man in the whole British dominions, so able to cope with Buonaparte, as lord Wellesley, the illustrious saviour of India.

To conclude, I cannot refrain from remarking, that, in the present state of Ireland, a SON OF THE KING might, most advantageously, be sent as viceroy of Ireland. It would gratify the Irish people; and the beams of royal favour, thus dispensed, would reconcile the inhabitants to the British constitution. And, if he should issue a proclamation explanatory of his majesty's conduct, and of his firm and virtuous conscience, and of the intrigue of his ministers: if a heavy tax were imposed on absentees, not to be paid into the exchequer, but laid out for the benefit of those who are injured by their absence; if, in short, the ministers pursue popular measures, the house of commons must support them; and if, in this pursuit, the house of commons does not support them, they ought to be dissolved.

TO THE MARQUIS OF TITCHFIELD, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER THE SIXTH.

"That there are circumstances in the present times to justify serious apprehensions for the safety of the Established Church, must be obvious to every man of observation and reflection. If the members of the church, then, will not combine their efforts to avert the impending danger, by repelling the insidious attacks of popery, on the one hand, and the united assaults of fanaticism and profligacy, on the other, they will be guilty of a most scandalous neglect of duty, and will richly deserve to lose the vast benefits which they, at present, enjoy in the possession of a *pure* faith, and a *protestant* king."——Anti-jacobin Review.

MY LORD.—When I first took the liberty of addressing to your lordship my observations on the misconduct of the present administration, it was my fixed intention that my remarks on each subject, should be made in the exact order of time that the supposed errors were committed. But events of a superiour consideration have already obliged me to violate this "lucidus ordo," and I greatly fear, that, from the present most alarming appearances of our domestic affairs, it will be some time before I can return to it; for so rapidly does one act of political insanity follow the other, that, like the figures in a *phantasmagoria*, our astonishment has no sooner been excited by one object, than our attention is immediately called to another, infinitely more wonderful and more interesting than the former. A writer, therefore, whose other avocations leave him but little leisure for works of supererogation, must, in order to follow such incidents, "*pari passu*," either catch each flitting shadow as it passes, or else be involved in a labyrinth of difficulties, from which it will hardly be possible for him to extricate himself.

The present digression, my lord, is occasioned by the agitation of two measures now pending in parliament; measures, which, if suffered to pass into laws, will be found pregnant with the most momentous and disastrous consequences that the most fearful imagination can conceive, to our religion, our liberties, and our laws; and which, if the watchful guardian of our British Hesperides be now allowed to slumber, will shortly rob us of all the golden fruits of those admirable trees, which, a

the Reformation and Revolution, were planted, by the determined hands of our renowned forefathers, and nourished with their blood. Your lordship's discernment will have led you to anticipate that the measures which I allude to, are

"*The catholic claims, and the plan for the education of the poor.*"

These measures, abstractedly considered, will, at first sight, appear to have little, if any, connexion with each other; but an attentive observer will soon perceive, that like two converging roads, although setting out from *different* points, they both tend to, and will ultimately end in *one*—The total subversion of our establishments in church and state.——I mean not to insinuate that there has been any thing like a collusion to the above effect, between the honourable movers of these different questions, who may be unwittingly pursuing an ignis-fatuus, which might lead to their own destruction; but I must say, and I trust it will appear in the sequel, that since the plans of that fiend of hell, *Voltaire*, and his diabolical satellites, for the subversion of Christianity, nothing has been submitted to the public eye so fully fraught with the destruction of all order, religious, moral, and political.

With respect to the consideration of the "catholic claims," I am happy to find that the subject is already in the hands of a much abler advocate. By a perusal of No. 10, vol. 2. of Mr. Yorke's Review, I see that this distinguished writer has turned his mind to a question of such vast importance to our general safety. I have no doubt, therefore, that the ample means of information which he possesses, will enable his comprehensive mind to consider it in all its bearings, and that his extensive talents will be employed in depicting the pernicious tendency of such a measure, in all those glowing colours, and with all those convincing proofs, which so eminently mark his patriotic writings. In such hands I feel most happy to leave this question; but, before I finally quit this important subject, and proceed to consider Mr. Whitbread's plan, I shall take the liberty of submitting to your lordship a few observations, which may serve to attract your closer attention to the present subject, and serve as fundamental hints, whereon Mr. Y. may be enabled to erect a more splendid superstructure. Your lordship will please to recollect, that, so far back as the second letter which I had the honour to address to you, I stated that it was in contemplation to re-agitate the question of what is mis-called "catholic emancipation." I believe that I was the first writer who ventured to announce to the public so mischievous a plan. I know that my opinion was then derided, by many, as chimerical; as the interested effusion of party spirit, or the ungrounded fear of an over-heated imagination. But "*magna est veritas et prevalebit.*"—The plan which I then denounced, is beginning to develope itself, and I am confident that it will proceed (if not timely arrested in its course) step by step, to remove all distinctions between protestant and papist, until this nation is involved in one vast scene of ruin and confusion. It must be admitted, that the promoters of such measures have begun the attack with most singular cunning and precaution; for, perfectly aware that British eyes could not bear the sight of a *whole*-length picture of this *Medusæan* monster, they artfully shake out from her grissly head only *one* viper at a time; but I will venture to predict, that, unless this reptile be strangled at its birth, it will, one by one, be succeeded by an hundred more, to prey upon the very vitals of the constitution. I have but one thing more to say on the "catholic claims," and I shall then commit the subject to the care of one so much more capable of doing justice to it. It is to state to your lordship and the public, that the man to whose fostering care this spurious offspring of ill-timed concession, and mistaken policy, has been confided, is the same who before the committee of the Irish house of lords, in 1798, was proved by Neilson and Hughes, to have associated with united Irishmen and rebels, and to have been privy to their plans; and that he is also the same person to whom the *Irish catholics* are stated to have made the very liberal offer of defraying the expenses of his last election;—doubtless as a reward for *past*, and a retainer for *future* services.

In my next, (which, as the importance of the subject demands, shall appear with all convenient speed,) I propose to examine Mr. Whitbread's "plan of public education." In the mean time, I cannot conclude the present subject better, than by a quotation from an author whose veracity can only be equalled by his zeal in defence of our beloved king, and excellent constitution.—"What will possibly surprise an

Englishman much more, will be to hear that the representative of majesty, of a *protestant* king, has issued his orders to all persons, within the sphere of his influence, *not to write against popery*, and has made his *chaplain*, a *protestant clergyman*, the herald of his pleasure, on this occasion!" And this representative, too, is a whig who admires king William, annually celebrates the revolution, and fervently joins in the convivial wish, that the princes of the house of Brunswick may never forget the principles that placed their ancestors on the throne!!! And what were those principles, but the principles of *resistance to popery*, which it was the boast of the Whigs to oppose, and crush in every possible way,—"Ecce iterum Crispinus."—Here is another distinction between the *new* and *old* Whigs. But I am obliged to conclude for the present, and have the honour to be, my lord, &c. &c.

February 17th, 1807. EUGENIUS.

TO H. R. YORKE, ESQ.

Sir,—The chief purport of the letters I have lately addressed, and intend for a short time longer to address to you, was, and is, to comply with the request of Mr. Whitbread; by "condescending to refer to the particulars of the *glorious*, and active life" of Mr. Fox. Active, to be sure, it was; and if the making a great noise be the only requisite to constitute *glory*, the latter epithet must also be indisputable. On this point, however, opinions differ most widely: Mr. Whitbread calls him the "greatest of patriots;" and the gentleman of whom I made mention in my last, alluded to him as "a traitor." Now, as Mr. W. appears to have made nothing at all of *his* allegations, I shall venture, though comparatively unacquainted with public affairs, to try whether something satisfactory may not be produced on the other side of the question.

I shall at present chiefly advert to what regards the British navy; and here we shall find our pretended patriot, during his former administration, actually offering to give up "the right of search," on which the prosperity, and even the very existence of our navy depends, in return for some paltry temporary treaty with Russia! Surely, if an attempt to sacrifice the wooden walls of old England, the grand source of our national security, independence, and glory, be not *treason*, it is something so very much like it, that I confess my intellects are not acute enough to discern the difference. Let me now ask Mr. Sheridan, if this be the case, how *he* comes to be a Foxite, after professing, as he did at the late Westminster election, that "if there was one man in the kingdom more attached to the navy than any other, it was himself?" Such an assertion, sir, in you, or me, or any one else, would, I think, have appeared very silly; but in him, who, it seems, has 7,000 l. a year, as treasurer of the navy, this language is natural, and perfectly intelligible. But then, where would have been his treasurership if Mr. Fox had ruined the navy? Let us next turn our attention to the meeting at the Nore, and observe the conduct of this *glorious* man at that most critical juncture. When every honest man in the kingdom was, doubtless, in the greatest alarm, and anxious to do every thing in his power to support his falling country, what did this lump of political virtues do on the trying occasion?—He deserted his post, and ran away in the hour of danger! Had he seceded for ever, I, for one, should have hailed the mutiny as having, in one instance, brought good out of evil; but no sooner was the danger over, than he returned to renew his opposition to the pilot that was weathering the storm! Perhaps he approved of the mutiny, as he professed to approve of the peace of Amiens, "because it was advantageous to the enemy." Let Mr. Whitbread, or some of his defenders, *condescend* to account for this conduct, and, until they do so, we are warranted in supposing the great patriot to argue thus: "If I remain in public I cannot be neutral at such a crisis as this, and as the mutiny is what I *will not* condemn, and *dare not* vindicate, I must have recourse to retirement, in order to avoid suspicion;"—though in fact it rendered him only the more suspected. But Mr. Sheridan's conduct, on the above awful occasion, was the very reverse of this. How then, let me again ask, can he, with any consistency, be a Foxite?

The last danger I shall mention to which the British navy has been fearfully exposed, was caused by the attempt most obstinately persisted in by the "man of the

people," in defiance of the people, both high and low, rich and poor, his own creatures only excepted, to conclude an obviously ruinous and destructive peace. The present war cannot, like others, be terminated at pleasure—it is a burthen, and a judgment laid upon us by heaven itself, and must be borne—we do not say for ever, as some, even worthy people, have objected to us, but till heaven in its mercy shall relieve us from the dire necessity. The British navy, if laid aside at present, could never be recovered. All Europe would be formed into one great dock-yard for Buonaparte. The sailors and naval stores of the whole world would be put into requisition; and many of our own artificers and gallant tars would be starved into the service of him who bore the purse of Europe. Then, indeed, the fable would be realized, by a *most desirable* peace between the wolves and the sheep, where the dogs would not be hostages only, but assistants to the wolves in any future wars with the stupid unhappy sheep, who had so lightly discarded them. Surely these things are undeniable, even though they may convict Mr. Fox of being "the enemy of the British navy." How can such a man as Mr. Sheridan, leged admirer of it, a man who has indeed repeatedly exposed the tyrant in the noblest strains of vindictive oratory; how can such a man be still a Foxite! In particular, I was astonished and shocked at the insult offered to the navy itself, by you, Mr. S. at the Westminster election, when you caused the "anarch head" (see vol. I. p. 522) of such an one as I have here described, to be carried in triumph with that of our glorious and immortal hero, lord Nelson!

Thus, by a legerdemain of *party*, the friends and enemies of our great national bulwark may be made to appear in the same point of view. But all that have been hostile to it have not experienced similar honours. No one ever thought of toasting, "the immortal memory of president Parker," nor "of John Aitken, alias John the Painter," though both of them were violent sticklers for modern *liberty*. The latter of these in particular was so confirmed and outrageous a whig and patriot, that I think he ought at least to be recorded amongst the worthies of that description. John declared, in his printed confession, that he "had worked himself up by studying the writings of Voltaire, &c. and *especially of Dr. Price*, into the most enthusiastic desire of setting fire to all the dock-yards in England, on which he was convinced, not only the glory, but the very existence of his native country depended!" *He* also went over to Paris, to consult in private with an inveterate enemy of his country, Mr. Silas Deane.† But poor John Aitken was not a man of rank, weight, and talents, and therefore he had the misfortune to be hanged (in March, 1777) on the mizen-mast of the Arethusa frigate, sixty-four feet and a half high;—but Mr. Fox lies interred scarce two fathom deep, in Westminster Abbey!! I own I can hardly forbear regarding this as a proof of the poet's observation—

---

† "Let every country," said Mr. Deane, "*belong* to that which nature intended it should belong to—America to itself, and *England to the continent of Europe!*"—Exactly the sentiment of Bonaparte and Fox; for Mr. Cobbett, in his admirable letter to the latter of these, from the Moniteur, represents the *great man* of France as thus addressing the *great man* of England." There are, Mr. Fox, but *two nations in the world*, one occupying the east, and the other the west. The English, the French, the Germans, the Italians, &c. are but one family, and to kindle war among them is to be an advocate for civil war, as *you*, sir, have maintained in your *speeches*, with an energy that does equal honour to your head, and your heart."—"Really! I did not know this before," says Mr. Cobbett, "I have read falsehood and nonsense enough under the title of speeches of Mr. Fox, but I never knew before that you maintained that the English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. (mind the et cetera) made but one family—of which France was to be the home, and England no more than a branch, or colony, governed by a *vice-president*." (Ah! cunning little Isaac!) See Cobbett's Register for Sept. 1802. p. 342. This incomparable letter should be read by all who would form a just notion of Mr. Fox; and to me it appears to atone for many subsequent offences in its unaccountably-perverted author!

Thus petty rogues submit to fate,
That great ones may enjoy the world in state!

Commerce and the royal navy, like the church and state, (all four of which are manifestly endangered at present) depend mutually on each other, and must stand or fall together. But so anomalous and undefinable is the conduct of the British public, if it can be said to act at all, and not to have sunk into a torpid and slavish stupidity, that it is very difficult to understand what it is that it means or wishes, and whether the above blessings continue to be dear, or are become perfectly indifferent to it. A stranger might naturally inquire, whether or no the English are a commercial people? If they are, how can they endure a ministry, one of whose avowed maxims is, "Perish commerce, but live the constitution!"*—a ministry, the leader of which declared, that no blood ought to be shed for "a parcel of dirty merchants," meaning England, but for "a great Alexander," meaning the sanguinary tyrant who has vowed, and is endeavouring its utter destruction! And let me ask, are not the actions of these persons exactly consonant to the above avowals? It would be tedious, sir, to enter into all those measures, which seem calculated gradually and imperceptibly to undermine the interests and prosperity of the West India islands, and continental colonies, as well as the *carrying*, the *ship-building* interests, &c. &c. all of which are essential to the preservation of the British navy. Give me leave, however, just to ask what use has been made of the navy, since the domination of the present rulers, except rivetting our fetters, by destroying the freedom of election for members of parliament; and rewarding with places, appointments, and commands, the creatures of a party from which we have so much to dread?

What, in short, can we say, when we see an *anti-naval*, or *anti-commercial* party, predominant in what used to be the first mercantile city in the whole world? But that it is so, we may infer from the exercise of the right of petitioning being laid aside, which generally originates from the city of London, and which was amply resorted to, so long as we had good and upright ministers to be opposed. This party, if I mistake not, is headed by a second "Brewer of mischief," who, jointly with the former, was to have been enriched by the execrable Private Brewery Bill; and who will be so, as soon as the party is strong enough to renew that odious measure. This person, I think, was presented to Buonaparte on the same day that Mr. Fox *presented himself* (for *he* wanted no introduction).† The same person was thanked by public

* Attempts have been made to soften, and quibble away this premature acknowledgement, by pretending it meant, "*if* one or the other, commerce or the constitution, *must* be given up," &c. But pray, Mr. Windham, how came you to conceive the possibility of such a case? I can affix no meaning to such a supposition, unless it was in contemplation to compliment our new friend, Bonaparte, with our *commerce*, (and consequently our ships and colonies) to induce him, nominally at least, as in Spain, &c. to spare our *constitution*, and bless us, perhaps, with his *friendship*, &c. The truth, I fear, is, that the quack-doctor of the army wishes to tamper with the constitution also; for he lamented at Norwich, that "his majesty's ministers had not had time to digest their plans for *improving the government!!*"—So the above, perhaps, may be one of the doctor's prescriptions for this purpose. But such remedies are infinitely worse than the disease; for how, I would ask the doctor, is his constitution to *live* without nutriment, or when it's very heart's blood is drained out of it?—A just dread of the present delaterious measures has provoked me to write; but I should be ready, on any fair occasion, to give credit to those whom I have hitherto felt it my duty to condemn. Mr. Whitbread's Poor Bill may possibly furnish such an occasion, especially that part of it which he seems to have borrowed from the truly excellent, and therefore neglected, dean Tucker.

† The mysterious and very alarming visit of Mr. Fox to Buonaparte has been misrepresented. There was far from any thing like cringing in the case. No sooner was he in France than he was at home. Honours, bordering upon regal ones, were paid to him; so great indeed, that, had not John Bull been, not only sand-blind, but, as Launcelot says, "high gravel-blind," they must have opened his eyes. Friend O'Connor meets him at Calais: and this par nobile fratrum are conveyed, if I mistake not, to Paris in the carriage of a descendant of the great lord Russel!

advertisement for voting *against* a monument for "the unfortunate minister, Mr. Pitt!"—and, if the prints are to be believed, whenever "God save the king," was performed at the Mansion House during his mayoralty, he commanded the stanza about "confounding the politics of his enemies," to be entirely omitted!! These gentry, I think we may venture to say, can mix up poison enough, if not with their *porter*, at least with their *politics*.

Though my zeal, full as great, I presume, as Mr. Sheridan's, for "the ships, colonies, and commerce of Old England," has led me already into prolixity; yet I must beg to be indulged in a few words more on the general topic of the British navy. This, until the present administration, was the bulwark and safeguard of every nation that was liable to be oppressed. Even Russia, as now plainly appears, would not be safe after all the rest have been subjugated. And indeed, whether the great Catharine was infected by the *real head*, or the *blockhead* of Mr. Fox, I cannot tell; but there appears, on this above account, to have been more folly than wisdom, in her attempt to undermine the naval power of this kingdom by her armed neutrality. But if *her* conduct was folly, that of the Danes, who fought so gallantly, and shed their best blood for the same purposes, must have been madness in the extreme; for what must very soon be their fate, were there not a generous noble nation, mistress of the seas, that heaven has appointed, and disposed to protect all such puny states as are not able to protect themselves? Strange then it must seem, that such states as these should fight so furiously against us, as they did at Camperdown, and Copenhagen; while it is still more lamentably remarkable, that these nations, and even Russia itself, through a cruel and misguided jealousy, never fight at all by sea, whenever they are in alliance with us! They ought, however, deeply to consider, that whenever a Dane, Dutchman, Spaniard, &c. &c. fighting the battles of Buonaparte, shall kill an Englishman, he is guilty of murder—the murder of a generous and gallant friend!

The ocean must either be free under such a government as ours, or else enslaved under a tyrant; there cannot be any compromise, or half one and half the other; for some naval power must always preponderate. Wherefore, the *grand truth* is, that England *alone* defends the liberties of the seas; but as so great a blessing cannot exist without some alloy, I ardently wish that my countrymen would strive to render the necessary duties of *search* and *detention* as little vexatious to foreigners as possible, and then they would soon be submitted to without repining. In short, could an insignificant individual have any chance of being attended to, I would propose, that in order to counteract and confound the paramount lie of the tyrant, our beloved sovereign should be humbly requested to assume and bear, in addition to his royal style and title, the following clause:—"AND PROTECTOR OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE HIGH SEAS."

AJAX FLAGELLIFER.

P. S. The above was written before it was known that my conjecture (P ,) about "a popish plot, encouraged by a Russell, was verified. They who so lately pretended to say, "Live the constitution," have now laid their axe to the root of it; for even a PRIVY-COUNSELLOR has proposed to *legalize popery*, though in the smallest possible degree at first, which seems to bespeak system, and deep deliberation.

There we find, *accidentally* assembled, Messrs. Hare, Fitzpatrick, Erskine, Combe, Adair, O'Connor, &c. with Lords Holland, W. Russell, and R. Spencer. But I only meant to speak of the reception.—As soon as *our great man* entered the levee, *t'other great man* came up to him, loaded him with compliments (part of which I have given above), which *ours* returned with a sharp nod of the head, as much as to say "thank you." At dinner, *ours* having placed himself fortuitously, *t'other* pressed him to come to him at the top of the table; which he refusing, *t'other* came and sat by him, that he might pay him all the honours due to a character of such importance to himself. Then followed the various consultations about "forming a ministry that might maintain relations of amity between the kingdoms, &c." which has been accordingly carried into effect. Such a man as Buonaparte could not fail to know that his visitor, considering his situation, talents, &c. was of far greater value to him than any other person could possibly be.

Surely then this is a day of more serious danger to our holy faith than any that has occurred since the reign of the bloody queen Mary; for James II. had not a parliamentary majority to back him.—Good heavens! what evils await our king, and nation! nor can any thing but a gracious providence protect us against a host of enemies!

STATE PAPERS.

Abstract of the Operations of the Russian Army, since its arrival in Old Prussia, up to the 19—31 *January*, 1807.

The intelligence which I received from all sides, upon my entrance into this province, announced that I should find here two French corps. The one, commanded by marshal Ney, occupied the position of the Alle, and extended its advanced posts to Bischoffstein, Scebourg, and even as far as Rossel; the other, under the orders of Bernadotte, was pillaging Elbingen, and made demonstrations of falling upon Konigsberg. I began by causing all the detachments of cavalry of the corps of Ney, which were planted upon the right bank of the Alle, to be dispersed. We made many prisoners upon this occasion: amongst others, a squadron of the 3d Hussars, and its commander, the captain St. Aubain le Brun, and two officers, whom the prince Demetrius Galizin carried off in the village of Langheim.

On the 10th I made dispositions to attack the places situated upon the Alle, but the enemy abandoned them; and I effected the passage of that river without the smallest obstacle. Marshal Ney fell back in disorder upon Allenstein. I continued to make demonstrations opposite to him, and bore with all our forces towards all the positions taken by Marshal Bernadotte.

Upon the 12th, general Barclay de Tolly sent a squadron of the regiment of Issoum hussars to Passenheim, with about 60 cossacks. This detachment found in that place two squadrons of French cavalry, attacked and destroyed them entirely, making prisoners 29 dragoons, and the captains Dervaux and Cachelot. The same day general Marcoff, with the advanced guard, surprised at Lipstadt a detachment composed of three regiments of cavalry, and some hundreds of foot. We made 270 prisoners, and 18 officers, among whom was lieut. col. Fabre. Three hundred French were killed on the spot.

The next day there was a more serious engagement. Marshal Bernadotte having gained intelligence of the approach of the Russian army, arrived with all his forces at Mohrungen, and established his head-quarters at that place, extending himself half a league before the town upon the road to Lipstadt. General Marcoff attacked this body with forces too inferior to be able to count upon success. He was repulsed; but having been afterwards reinforced by the division of cavalry under general Aurepp, the enemy thought proper to retire. In this very bloody action, the French lost more than 1000 men, and two standards. We had 700 killed and wounded: but the most serious loss which we suffered, was that of the brave general Aurepp, who was killed by a sharp-shooter in a manner the most unfortunate: he is regretted by all the army.

While this affair was taking place before Mohrungen, prince Michael Dolgorucky, with his regiment of dragoons, marched against the rear of the enemy, and arrived unobserved at the head-quarters. There he carried off the equipage of the marshal (Bernadotte), his servants, his plate, some ladies, and a considerable quantity of money, comprising the contributions levied upon Elbingen; besides which, he made upwards of 400 prisoners. The number of these last increases every moment, and not a day passes without the arrival of more than fifty of them. Three French generals are already in our power. Generals Foultrier and Lasseur were taken by our troops; the third, the general of division Victor, by the Prussian garrison of Colberg.

After these different actions, which have all terminated in favour of our army, I have caused it to advance as far as this place; and have taken a concentrated position in its environs. The right wing is supported by the Vistula. After seventeen unremitted marches, I thought it necessary to stop for a moment; but to-morrow I

shall advance again, and attack the corps of marshal Ney. In the meanwhile I have succeeded in driving the enemy from this province, in covering Konigsberg, and in throwing into a part of the French army a consternation and disorder, the effects of which are already most perceptible. Such are the brilliant results to which our march towards Regal Prussia, and the perseverance and courage with which the troops of his imperial majesty have executed that fatiguing operation, have conducted us. The enemy, surprised in his cantonments, vanquished in every affair, has retreated with a precipitation and a disorder which only too much denote the deplorable condition in which he finds himself.

It still remains for me to make mention of the Prussian army which is under my orders, and to render it the justice which is due to it. Our successes seem to have electrified it. It begins to recover itself a little; and to get rid of that dejection into which its misfortunes had plunged it. Among the rest, the garrison of Dantzic has gained an advantage over the Polish insurgents, whom it attacked near Dirschau, and beat, taking some cannons, and their military chest.

(Signed) Baron de BENNIGSEN.

Head quarters, Mohrungen, 19—31st Jan. 1807.

AMERICA.

THE MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, CONTAINING A DEVELOPEMENT OF THE CONSPIRACY.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Agreeably to the request of the house of representatives, communicated in their resolution of the 16th inst. I proceed to state, under the reserve therein expressed, information received touching an illegal combination of private individuals against the peace and safety of the union, and a military expedition planned by them against the territories of a power in amity with the United States, with the measures I have pursued for suppressing the same.

I had, for some time, been in the constant expectation of receiving such further information, as would have enabled me to lay before the legislature the termination, as well as the beginning and progress of this scene of depravity, so far as it has been acted on the Ohio and its waters. From this the state of safety of the lower country might have been estimated on probable grounds, and the delay was indulged the rather, because no circumstance had yet made it necessary to call in the aid of the legislative functions. Information, now recently communicated, has brought us nearly to the period contemplated. The mass of what I have received in the course of these transactions is voluminous; but little has been given, under the sanction of an oath, so as to constitute formal and legal evidence. It is chiefly in the form of letters, often containing such a mixture of rumours, conjectures, and suspicions, as render it difficult to sift out the real facts, and unadvisable to hazard more than general outlines, strengthed by concurrent information, or the particular credibility of the relator. In this state of the evidence, delivered sometimes too under the restriction of private confidence, neither safety nor justice will permit the exposing names, except that of the principal actor, whose guilt is placed beyond question.

Some time in the latter end of September, I received intimations that designs were in agitation in the western country, unlawful and unfriendly to the peace of the union: and that the prime mover in these was Aaron Burr, heretofore distinguished by the favour of his country. The grounds of these intimations being inconclusive, the objects uncertain, and the fidelity of that country known to be firm, the only measure taken was to urge the informants to use their best endeavours to get further insight into the designs and proceedings of the suspected persons, and to communicate them to me.

It was not till the latter part of October that the objects of the conspiracy began to be perceived, but still so blended and involved in mystery, that nothing distinct could be singled out for pursuit. In this state of uncertainty, as to the crime contemplated, the acts done, and the legal course to be pursued, I thought it best to send to the scene, where these things were principally in transaction, a person in whose integrity, understanding, and discretion, entire confidence could be reposed,

with instructions to investigate the plots going on, to enter into conference (for which he had sufficient credentials) with the Governors, and all other officers, civil and military, and with their aid, to do on the spot whatever should be necessary to discover the designs of the conspirators, arrest their means, bring their persons to punishment, and to call out the force of the country to suppress any unlawful enterprise, in which it should be found they were engaged. By this time it was known that many boats were under preparation, stores of provisions collecting, and an unusual number of suspicious characters in motion on the Ohio, and its waters. Besides dispatching the confidential agent to that quarter, orders were at the same time sent to the governors of the Orleans and Mississippi territories, and to the commanders of the land and naval forces there, to be on their guard against surprise, and in constant readiness to resist any enterprise which might be attempted on the vessels, posts, or other objects under their care: and on the 8th of November, instructions were forwarded to general Wilkinson, to hasten an accommodation with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine, and, as soon as that was effected, to fall back with his principal force to the hither bank of the Mississippi, for the defence of the interesting points on that river. By a letter received from that officer, of the 25th of November, but dated October 21st, we learnt, that a confidential agent of Aaron Burr had been deputed to him with communications, partly written in cypher, and partly oral, explaining his designs, exaggerating his resources, and making such offers of emolument and command, to engage him and the troops in his unlawful enterprise, as he had flattered himself would be successful. Truth however, with the honour of a soldier, and fidelity of a good citizen, immediately [illegible] he had elected a trusty officer to me, with information of what had passed, proceeded [illegible] which distinct such an understanding with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine, to this consent him to withdraw his force across the Mississippi, and to enter on measures opposing the projected enterprise. [illegible] entered [illegible] perceive [illegible]

The general's letter, which came to hand on the 25th of November. With [illegible] been mentioned, and some other information, received a few days earlier, [illegible] ught together, developed Burr's general designs, different parts of which [illegible] had been revealed to different informants. It appeared that he contemplated two distinct objects, which might be carried either jointly or separately, and either the one or the other first, as circumstances should direct. One of these was the severance of the union of these States by the Alleghany mountains, the other an attack on Mexico. A third object was provided, merely ostensible, to wit, the settlement of the pretended purchase of a tract of country on the Washita, claimed by a baron Bastrop. This was to serve as the pretext for all his preparations, an allurement for such followers as really wished to acquire settlements in that country, and a cover under which to retract in the event of a final discomfiture of both branches of his real design.

He found at once, that the attachment of the western country to the present union was not to be shaken; that its dissolution could not be effected with the consent of its inhabitants; and that his resources were inadequate, as yet, to effect it by force. He took his course then at once, determined to seize on New-Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores, and proceed on his expedition to Mexico, and to this object all his means and preparations were now directed. He collected, from all the quarters where himself, or his agents, possessed influence, all the ardent, restless, desperate, and disaffected persons, who were ready for any enterprize analogous to their characters. He seduced good and well meaning citizens, some by assurances that he possessed the confidence of the government, and was acting under its secret patronage; a pretence which procured some credit from the state of our differences with Spain; and others, by offers of land in Bastrop's claim on the Washita.

This was the state of my information of his proceedings about the last of November; at which time, therefore, it was first possible to take specific measures to meet them. The proclamation of November 27, two days after the receipt of General Wilkinson's information, was now issued. Orders were dispatched to every interesting point on the Ohio and Mississippi, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, for the employment of such force, either of the regulars or of the militia, and of such

proceedings also of the civil authorities, as might enable them to seize on all boats and stores provided for the enterprize, to arrest the persons concerned, and to suppress effectually the further progress of the enterprize. A little before the receipt of these orders in the state of Ohio, our confidential agent, who had been diligently employed in investigating the conspiracy, had acquired sufficient information to open himself to the Government of that State, and to apply for the immediate exertion of the authority and power of the State to crush the combination. Governor Tiffin, and the legislature, with a promptitude, an energy, and patriotic zeal, which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affection of their sister States, effected the seizure of all the boats, provisions, and other preparations within their reach, and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprize in its outset.

In Kentucky, a premature attempt to bring Burr to justice, without sufficient evidence for his conviction, had produced a popular impression in his favour, and a general disbelief of his guilt. This gave him an unfortunate opportunity of hastening his equipments. The arrival of the proclamation and orders, and the application and information of our confidential agent, at length awakened the authorities of that state to the truth, and then produced the same promptitude and energy, of which the neighbouring state had set the example. Under an act of their legislature, of Dec. 23, the militia was instantly ordered to different important points, and measures taken for doing whatever could yet be done. Some boats (accounts vary) five to double or treble that number), and persons (differently estimated from [illegible] three hundred), had in the mean time passed the falls of Ohio, to rendezvous at the mouth of Cumberland, with others expected down that river. Not [illegible]ution of t[illegible] very late, that any boats were building on Cumberland, the effect of [illegible]ormation rec[illegible]tion had been trusted to for some time in the state of Tennessee. But [illegible] of December, similar communications and instructions, with those to [illegible]peace and [illegible]ing states, were dispatched by express to the governor, and a general [illegible]t the territ[illegible] western division of the state, and on the 23d of December our confi[illegible] pursued fo[illegible] left Frankfort for Nashville, to put into activity the means of that [illegible] for s[illegible] state a[illegible] But by information received yesterday, I learn, that on the 22d of December, Mr. Burr descended the Cumberland with two boats, merely of accommodation, carrying with him from that state, no quota towards his unlawful enterprize. Whether, after the arrival of the proclamation, of the orders, or of our agent, any exertion which could be made by that state, or the orders of the governor of Kentucky, for calling out the militia at the mouth of Cumberland, would be in time to arrest these boats, and those from the falls of Ohio, is still doubtful.

On the whole, the fugitives from the Ohio, with their associates from Cumberland, or any other place in that quarter, cannot threaten serious danger to the city of New Orleans.

By the same express of December 19, orders were sent to the governors of Orleans and Mississipi, supplementary to those which had been given on the 25th of November, to hold the militia of their territories in readiness to co-operate for their defence, with the regular troops and armed vessels then under the command of general Wilkinson. Great alarm, indeed, was excited at New Orleans, by the exaggerated accounts of Mr. Burr, disseminated through his emissaries, of the armies and navies he was to assemble there. General Wilkinson had arrived there himself on the 24th of November, and immediately put into activity the resources of the place for the purpose of defence, and on the 10th of December he was joined by his troops from the Sabine. Great zeal was shewn by the inhabitants generally. The merchants of the place readily agreeing to the most laudable exertions and sacrifices for manning the armed vessels with their seamen; and the other citizens manifesting unequivocal fidelity to the union, and a spirit of determined resistance to their expected assailants.

(To be continued.)

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 14. Saturday, April 4, 1807. Price 10d.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

The alarm which the interested partizans of the late ministry endeavoured to excite, in consequence of his majesty's paternal exercise of his constitutional prerogative, has completely failed; and the public feeling is fully with the sovereign. Misrepresentation and the malignant spirit of the faction may prevail for a while; but, as long as the constitution continues to be respected, it will not be possible for them to be of long duration, however violently they may be enforced by the agents of the party, or countenanced by the principals themselves. It must have occasioned a mixture of surprise and indignation amongst the loyal part of the community, when the Foxite journals presumed to assert, as a positive fact, that the catholic bill was *not* the cause of their removal from office. Yet, lord Grenville in the house of lords, and lord Howick in the commons, admitted that this bill was the *sole* cause of the change of ministry, though both of them differed in their statement of the transaction, and the lords Erskine and Sidmouth in their representation of it, varied still more from the narrative of their colleagues. It is now evident that there was a considerable division of sentiment amongst the ministers, lord Sidmouth having, upon this occasion, fully retained the principles of attachment which he had ever professed for the security of our church establishment; principles which distinguished, in an eminent degree, his former administration; and when to this consideration we add the mutual pledge into which the rest of the ministry entered to resume the subject at a more *convenient* opportunity, we shall easily perceive that their conduct amounted to a threat of never relinquishing their object. With what degree of propriety, therefore, they can feel themselves justified in declaring that their withdrawing of the bill was an act of complaisance on their part towards the sovereign, when it was accompanied by a menace that they would support the catholic claims whenever agitated, I leave those pupils who have been tutored in the school of the Whig Club to reconcile to their consciences, and to vindicate; but I am persuaded that no protestant in the united empire will entertain any other opinion of the matter than what I have already mentioned it to be—an attempt to force the conscience of the king, in a case essentially of conscience, and upon which his majesty's sentiments had been long and universally known. The circumstance, therefore, was sufficient to authorize that line of proceeding which his majesty adopted; for which he was warranted not only by the salutary principles of controul and restraint which the constitution has reserved in the power of the sovereign, but by the very nature of the monarchy itself. It was no longer possible for the king to repose his confidence in those ministers who refused to abstain from urging a measure of which he had avowed the strongest disapprobation; for what would have been the consequence in the event of their having been permitted to retain their situations? The two houses of parliament might have been induced, by the intrigues, allurements, and persuasions of those ministers, to have assented to a measure upon which the king would have found it consistent with the safety of his throne, and his coronation oath, to have interposed his *veto*. Thus the bill would never have passed; but the ministers would have obtained an insidious triumph over their sovereign, by reducing him to the necessity of exerting an ungracious part of his prerogative, while they would have assumed to themselves the credit of a measure, which, through their intervention, had passed both houses of parliament. The mischiefs that might have arisen from such a procedure, would have surpassed infinitely the pretended ill consequences of the temporary stagnation of public business from the immediate dismissal of the ministry; for, in this latter instance, the progress of the bill has been arrested

at its birth, the cockatrice has been crushed in the shell; his majesty has tranquillized his conscience, and saved himself from the necessity of resorting to a measure, which they, who had disregarded his personal feelings, would not have failed to have represented in an odious and ungracious light. Thus, the wise and politic removal of ministers has happily averted a contingent evil of great magnitude, and the question as it now stands is, between THE KING, THE CHURCH, AND THE PEOPLE, on the one side, and an overbearing aristocracy and the papists on the other. For though the dissenters of every protestant denomination were, with great dexterity, thrust into this obnoxious bill, together with the catholics, yet the principal motive of the bill was to lay the basis of what is idly termed, catholic emancipation. The introduction of every class of dissenters in the bill, was obviously with a view to increase the number of the adherents of the late ministry, and to strengthen the degree of popularity which they hoped to acquire from the success or interruption of their design.

The ostensible motive assigned, for the introduction of the catholic bill, is also liable to great objections. Was it necessary to state, that, for the security and defence of the realm, or for the sake of augmenting the national army, which was fast mouldering away under the baleful influence of an absurd, whimsical, and unproductive system of military metaphysics, it was expedient and politic to tear up that consecrated palladium which has hitherto preserved the constitution of this country, both in church as well as in state, from the danger of subversion? Was it necessary to hold out the concession of *political privileges*, to soothe them into a performance of the offices of loyalty and patriotism, at the expense of all those provisions which have existed for the preservation of the constitution itself, when these very men whom this bill affected, though enjoying the highest degree of toleration, were just panting over the destructive effects of their sanguinary and remorseless rebellion? Why should a suggestion be suffered to go abroad, that the protestant population of the united empire is inadequate to crush domestic treason, or to extend the national interests and honour in every quarter of the globe? Injudicious measures have impaired the efficacy of this population, but the population itself remains undiminished. This nation never exhibited a more numerous or more splendid army, or better manned squadrons, than during the first revolution war with France; at a time too, let it be remarked, when these Irish catholics were in a state of open rebellion against their sovereign, and had established a clandestine alliance with the enemy. We inflicted more severe wounds upon France during that period, than in any former æra upon the records of our history. Nothing, in short, can be more ridiculous than the idea that the effective strength of the country would be augmented by permitting a few catholic lords and gentlemen to be generals and admirals. I am persuaded that we should lose in the ranks of protestants more than we should gain in catholics; and even if we should not, I cannot see upon what rational principle of safety the sword should be entrusted into the hands of men who entertain an implacable hostility to their protestant fellow-subjects, whose hands are still reeking with protestant blood, and whose leaders represent the constitution to be not worth saving, unless they are allowed to participate in the political power which it confers upon the protestant subjects of the state. Men who reason in this manner would act, if they had the power, with a vigour equal to their resentments: the wild spirit of retaliation would soon evince itself: they would exert their influence to collect a force adequate to support their further ambitious pretensions; and, when they had succeeded in this project, they would, like the centurion who brought the petition of Octavius to the Roman senate, shew the hilts of their swords, and we should find that their petitions would become commands. In this state of provocation civil wars would be renewed, and with more dreadful havoc than those which we have hitherto witnessed; and the very evil which this catholic bill professes to remove, would have been engendered by its enactment.

If we consider attentively the spirit with which all the resolutions of the catholic bodies in Ireland are fabricated; if we read the speeches of the leading members of

their associations, every proposition that I have made, will be found to be completely borne out by them. The menaces of Mr. Keogh, as reported in the daily papers, I have already commented upon; but since the publication of my last number, one of his speeches has been officially published, and I have obtained a copy of it. Before, however, I proceed to animadvert upon this speech, I shall present my readers with a letter, personally addressed to me from Dublin, by which they will be enabled to judge of the temper and loyalty of these professing Irish patriots; for though the writer insidiously pretends to cry "God save the king," it is evident that his sentiments belie his professions; that his real meaning is "God save Buonaparte." The following epistle will remind my readers of the puritans of old, who made war against, and murdered the king, *for the good of the king himself.*

Dublin, March 26, 1807.

Sir,—Having seen in the Dublin papers of Wednesday last, a copy from yours, and knowing it to be nothing else but a false, scandalous, and malicious mirror of a black mind, I think it my duty, as an Englishman and a Briton, to ask you what pretensions you can have for so doing? You censure the present administration, declaring that they endeavoured, by the most scandalous measures, to draw his majesty into their infamous designs, as you term them, to sign a bill relative to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Good God, sir, on what basis do you build such infamy? are you so totally destitute of reason, as to imagine his majesty to be one who would be cajoled in such a manner? or whether is it in a treasonous manner, as a second Pindar, you endeavour to point out *his foibles*?* Certainly, sir, it must be the latter: you are that *rascal*, that *villain*,† that scourge of your country, that would endeavour, by all possible means, to excite the one half of his majesty's subjects to rebellion and conspiracy, veiled, as to your words, with the cloak of a defender of the church of England. Yes, sir, to excite them to rebellion; you declare, sir, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are *not worthy of life*, much less of emancipation. On what argument do you found this? You call yourself a patriot, an enemy to France, and, if possible, a greater one to the usurper of that kingdom; but, sir, do you imagine the villainy of your mind shall lie undiscovered; that indeed you are an enemy to Buonaparte, and, at the same time, you would speak against a measure which, were it to pass, would be a thunder-stroke to the Corsican? You think, sir, the Roman Catholics of Ireland should upon an invasion, stand up, and, in a formed phalanx, repulse the invader; but I would ask you, sir, are they bound in gratitude to repulse a man who holds out to them the fairest prospects; a man who declares to them that he would break off their shackles, and will no longer see their religion and their rights trumpled under foot; I say, sir, should they repel such a man, should they tamely submit to a government who deems them the worst of papists, a government who thinks them unworthy of the most servile office in the state? but no, sir, I hope, that although his majesty has been deceived by many such villains as you are, that he will shortly see the infamous bigotry of the new intended administration; yes, sir, bigotry, such as yours, is the downfall of the state; your paper, sir, is a firebrand of England, which serves to light up the funeral pile of that country: you are a curse to Britain, a curse to every individual around you, and a curse to yourself. What religion do you follow? is it the worship of God and Christ? no, surely not; you who would damn the major part of your fellow creatures, because they follow the religion that our Saviour professed himself to be when on earth. Time sooner than words would fail me, were I to continue. Your paper, sir, began with a bluster, which made a dash in the commencement of it, but at the latter end it fell into the contemptible language of a paltry scribe.

Montes parturiunt ridiculus mus nascitur.‡

Would you wish to answer me, the Freeman's Journal newspaper, of Dublin, would receive your answer, and publish it, which I will not fail of seeing.

A Christian and a Englishman.—God save the king.

---

* The writer here means, that the king's foibles consist in maintaining the constitution, and his sacred coronation oath. Insulting proposition!

† The Italics here, are made by the writer of the letter.

‡ This is his own versification.

In none of my writings, during the whole course of my life, have I ever asserted such a bloody sentiment as the one imputed to me by the writer of the above letter, "that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are unworthy of life!" On the contrary, I have been the stedfast advocate of TOLERATION, not only in this periodical work, but in every other political treatise which I have written. But there is a material difference between *toleration*, and the admission to *political power*; it is this distinction which I have struggled to establish, and to impress upon my readers, in the recent case of the catholic question. So far from suggesting the remotest principle of persecution, the constant tenor of my doctrines, since the origin of this discussion, has been the very reverse of it. In the tenth number of the second volume of this Review, before any idea had been entertained of the changes to which the catholic bill would give rise, I pleaded with zeal the cause of the catholic peasantry, but without the whining cant of those ambitious demagogues, who are perpetually converting that numerous body of men, "the four millions of brave and *faithful* subjects," as Mr. Keogh calls them, into the instruments of their culpable projects. I said in that number, that "we should do wisely to raise the wretched cottager of Ireland a gradation or two in the scale of created and civilized man; we should let knowledge, dressed in a simple garb, stoop to enter the poor man's door; we should not rashly expose his visual powers after a long night of darkness, to the meridional glory of the sunshine of truth, but habituate him to light, by gentle and imperceptible degrees. The surest and safest road to reformation is, by preventing the rebellions of the belly, and by introducing comforts where none had existed before. By such means, you will moderate his passions, and subdue his intractable mind to habits of obedience." Is this the language of a murderer? does it breathe the spirit of intolerance? or, rather, is it not the feeling sentiment of a man, impressed with the conviction of the justice of the principle, that human happiness is attainable only in the midst of civil order, and obedience to the laws? But, let me ask the reason why these catholic advocates of "the four millions of proscribed men," do not themselves set the example of meliorating the condition of their followers? The answer is plain, and I can prove it from facts—they are a set of unprincipled and oppressive tyrants: they care not at all for the comforts of their miserable tenants, but load them with aggravated oppressions, in order to render them, at all times, the subservient tools of their unquiet ambition. It is a truth which cannot be disguised by all the artifices of popish fraud, that the tenants of the Roman Catholic gentry, are trampled under feet, and kept in a condition of absolute slavery, compared with the liberal and kind treatment which the tenants of the same religious persuasion experience under the protestant gentry. Their domestic is as odious as their theologico-political tyranny; and the emancipation of the catholics would only conduce to rivet the chains, and complete the depression of the lower orders, while it would embolden the zeal, augment the tyranny, and encourage the machinations of their superiors. The protestants of the church of England, under the benign reign of our amiable king, have been the best and truest dispensers of genuine benevolence and comfort to the "four millions of Irish catholics." In this opinion, I am supported by the concessions even of Mr. Keogh, who declared in his speech as follows, "*yet let us not conceal nor forget, that a long and dreadful list of penalties and disqualifications were removed under the administration of Mr. Pitt and lord Melville.*"*

After this admission on the part of a catholic leader, shall it be borne with, that we, protestants of the established church, or protestants of any other denomination, are to be branded with the epithets of murderers, tyrants, and persecutors? My propositions are plain and unvarnished. I insist that the four millions of Irish catholics have been more favoured by the protestants, than by the two or three hundred nobles and gentry of their own religious communion; that the reign of the present monarch has been marked by an uniform system of concession towards them; that if this system of concession had not been so extended, the importunities of this ca-

* Vide page 12, of the "Sketch of a speech delivered by John Keogh, Esq. at a meeting of the catholics of Dublin, held at the Star and Garter, Essex-street, Jan. 24, 1807, and published at the desire of a subsequent meeting, &c. reported by Edward Hay, esq. secretary to the meeting."

tholic fraternity would not now have been heard of; nor would they have dared to threaten the safety of the state with their insolent stipulations; and lastly, that legislative measures, without any reference to their religious opinions, might yet be devised for the improvement of the condition of the inferior classes of catholics. The higher orders want no further protection than they now enjoy by law; they possess every thing in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, except political power, and that they cannot, and ought not to possess, while the British constitution is considered as an object worthy of preservation.

I am interrogated by this Irish correspondent, whether "the catholics of Ireland should, upon an invasion, stand up, and in a formed phalanx, repulse the invader?" My answer is, yes, they should, and for this reason; if they did not, they would be ungrateful traitors, and mercenary slaves—ungrateful traitors, because they would remain passive under a system of tyranny, which confounds all religious, moral, and political distinctions, which would facilitate the establishment of the most grinding despotism upon the ruins of all the civil rights which they enjoy, without admitting them to a participation of the political power which they so much desire—and mercenary slaves, because their country would be reduced to the condition of a mere recruiting depot, for the use of the dispensers of slavery, misery, and oppression.

My correspondent exhibits, in the next instance, the cloven foot of treason, by suggesting most flagitious and cowardly propositions. "Are they," the catholics, he asks, "*bound in gratitude to repulse a man* (Buonaparte) who holds out to them the *fairest prospects*—a man who declares to them that he would break off their *shackles*, and will no longer see their religion and their rights trampled under foot. I say, sir, should they repel *such a man?* Should they *tamely submit* to a government who deems them the worst of papists, a government who thinks them most unworthy of the most servile office in the state? No, sir, I hope that although his majesty has been deceived by many such villains as you are, &c."*

To these queries, I answer, that, according to the admission of Mr. Keogh, as as cited above, the catholics *are bound in gratitude* to repulse Buonaparte, since we have their own recorded declarations, pronounced several years ago, that the lenity and indulgence of our government would ever inspire them with a sense of gratitude towards it. The disqualifications which, from the former proofs of their savage bigotry, and interminable hatred to the protestants, had been rendered indispensable to the existence of the national church, and to the life-blood of the protestants of Ireland, have been removed; and they now ask for political power, under the pretext of terrifying Buonaparte, but in reality to employ it as an engine of terror against their protestant fellow subjects. While they pretend to deprecate the fatal consequences of a French invasion, they attempt, in the same breath, to cozen from us the best security of the constitution, by insinuations that the Irish would not join the British standard in repelling the man "*who holds out to them the fairest prospects.*" I maintain, that this is a base and calumnious imputation upon the character of the lower orders of the Irish catholics. So far from acting in conformity to this insinuation, the great majority of them would be the most active in calling for vengeance upon those leaders whose turbulent and perpetual agitations had given encouragement to the ruffian disturber of the repose of Europe, to invade their country, to desolate their fields, and to set their cabins in flames. The generous, but misled natives of Ireland, have felt, too severely, the effects of rebellion, to wish its revival amongst them: they have been made to bleed for the ambition of their ferocious chiefs, by whom they have been systematically duped, insulted, and betrayed. It is, indeed, a strange argument in favour of catholic emancipation to say, that without it, the Irish catholics will not fight for their country; when Mr. Keogh, in the name of the catholics of Dublin, tells us, "our services are passed unnoticed, or smothered; no minister, or ministerial print, proclaims how greatly we increase the armies; how our numbers crowd all his majesty's fleets; that, under our gallant and beloved countryman, lord Hutchinson,

* My readers should mark, that these are the exact arguments of Mr. Keogh, in his speech, as we shall see hereafter: therefore, they may guess from what source this letter comes.

our brethren had a distinguished share in the conquest of Egypt; that we furnished our full proportion of the heroes of Trafulgar and Calabria." † Now, if the catholics of Ireland greatly increase our armies, and crowd all our fleets, while they are *excluded from political power*; upon what arithmetical ratio of increase do the hierarchs of Dublin assert, that the emancipation would tend to augment our public force? They admit, that the Irish catholics fill, to the utmost extent of their population, the ranks of our armies, and the crews of our fleets; they assert, which no one denies, that the gallant sons of Hibernia have nobly distinguished themselves upon the fields of honour; and yet, they persist in saying, that unless *their* claims, meaning the claims of the Roman catholic aristocracy, are granted, the common people cannot be expected to repulse a man who holds out to them *the fairest prospects!* This is an outrageous insult upon the honour of the commonalty of Ireland; at the same time, the arguments of the leading catholics prove, that the restrictions have had no influence, whatever, in deterring the people from enlisting into the public service.

"We entreat," says Mr. Keogh, "that *privileges* may hereafter be granted to loyalty and heroism—not to creeds; that all may have equal interest to perpetuate the constitution, or to die in its defence." Thus, after all, we have arrived at the real and ultimate object of all these agitations, meetings, resolutions, and petitions, of a small and factious body of Roman catholic nobility, clergy, and gentry. They do not complain of intolerance; they do not plead for the freedom of conscience, and the free exercise of their religious worship, because they are aware that they enjoy these blessings most fully. But they desire to enjoy *privileges*, or, in plainer language, to possess power, that they may exercise vengeance. Have they not already admitted that they have obtained the most comprehensive privileges during the administration of Mr. Pitt and lord Melville? What more would they desire? Precisely the same as the fanatical followers of Burdett and Paull; the members of the corresponding societies; and all the advocates of universal suffrage. Are there not tens of thousands of persons in this country; nay, are there not above *four millions of brave and faithful protestants* in this country, who have no share whatever in the formation of the representative or hereditary branches of the government, and who nevertheless feel that they "have equal interest to perpetuate the constitution;" and who, unsolicited by this government, rushed forwards "to die in its defence," in the hour of danger? Are there not men of large property in our great manufacturing towns, amongst our copyhold gentry, and amongst our annuitants, who have not even a vote in the choice of those who are to frame laws which they must obey; yet who consider that they have "an equal interest to perpetuate the constitution" with those who enjoy the privilege of sending their representatives to parliament? Is the British empire destitute of equal laws? Is a catholic not entitled to the full fruition of the benefits of those laws? Is a protestant exempted from their operation? Has the trial by jury vanished from the land? or has even-handed justice, derived from the bosom of God, which makes no distinction in this favoured nation between the Jew and the Roman catholic, the Turk and the protestant, the worshippers of Bramah, and the believers in Christ, abandoned the people whose personal security, whose domestic peace, whose property, and whose social rights, it has protected and vindicated in wisdom, truth, and mercy? If not, how dare these papists to allege that they have not an equal interest to perpetuate the constitution, or to die in its defence? I know of no other principle upon which their allegation can be supported, than this—THAT THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION IS HATEFUL TO THEM.

---

† Vide his speech, above cited, p. 17. Mr. Keogh might have recollected, that the services to which he alludes *did not pass unnoticed, nor were they smothered.* The highest honours were conferred upon the heroes of those memorable achievements, both in and out of parliament; and their praises filled the pages of every ministerial print, and are still the theme of their occasional panegyric. What could a people do more?

"It has been confidently asserted in England," says Mr. Keogh,* "that the Irish catholics enjoy protection equally with every other class of subjects, in their characters, properties, and lives. Whether civil rights were ever secure to the people of any country who were divested of *political power*, would, I believe, *be difficult to prove*—but our destructive parties have put it beyond all questions—*for so long as we shall be excluded from every share of political power, we cannot be secured in our civil rights.*" This position, strongly tinctured with the philosophism of the modern revolutionary school, comes rather awkwardly from a man who requires "that privileges may hereafter be granted to *loyalty*." It is not only false in theory, but incapable of practice. For, in every age, and in every country of the world, laws are acknowledged to be binding on persons who are *never called upon* to give their assent to them, either by themselves, or by their representatives: and where it has been proposed to obtain a general assent, still the assemblies which are holden for this purpose are partial, and far from admitting every subject, for whom the law is made. The female sex, though by nature richly vested with every right; and a *great part* of the other sex, upon an arbitrary distinction of non-age, are excluded altogether; many are kept away by ill health, or decline of age; yet, it never was supposed, in any case whatever, that these are to have a dispensation from the law, or are authorized to complain of the insecurity of their civil rights, in consequence of such exclusion. Even of the few who attend deliberative or elective assemblies, it seldom happens that the whole are unanimous. In all the antient republics, the class of free citizens formed but a small part of the whole number who were subject to the law. At Athens, the most democratical of all the antient republics, not a third; and, at Rome, still in a smaller proportion. Even the citizens, so reduced in their proportion to the whole number of men in the community, were never, in fact, collectively assembled. At Athens, of about 284,000 souls, including free citizens, aliens and slaves, no more than 5000 commonly men in the *Ecclesia*. At home, the people dispersed over the country towns and the provinces were, in the same manner also casually represented in the *Comitia* by such as frequented the streets of the capital. In every country, there is, besides, a distinction between the denizen and alien, by which many inhabitants are excluded from any share in the government to which they are subject. In the little catholic canton of Sweits, before the French irruption, the master and his servant unyoked their team; and went to the national assembly together; but still the alien inhabitant abided by resolutions in which he had no part. In Great Britain, a certain census is required, together with some circumstances of freehold and burgess qualifications: and even, notwithstanding these qualifications, certain officers of the executive power, as being dependent on a part of the community, distinct from the commons, are excluded from a vote at the election of commoners to serve in parliament. But, notwithstanding these exclusions, the liberty of the subject is more secure than it ever has been under any other human establishment: and, if any one plead that, being excluded, he is not bound by the laws to which the people assent by representation, his plea may be admitted, and he is at liberty to withdraw from the influence of these laws. But while he remains within the precincts to which they extend, and continues to take the benefit of them, he is not at liberty to counteract or to disturb the order of things established. The public, to avoid a special discussion of the franchises of every individual, and the return of such discussions, on every particular occasion, have settled general rules for the better government of the country; and if these rules carry an exclusion to any individual, or to any body of individuals, they nevertheless owe to that law the same obedience that they owe to every other law, whose effect and protection they enjoy. In respect of these exclusions, and in respect of other particulars, in matters of particular form, there is a considerable latitude, within which, varieties are found that do not affect the liberties of mankind. These liberties do not totter upon a single point of support: they make for themselves a large and capacious base, under a variety of forms, in which men still find themselves in a condition to defend their rights. Hence, when freedom is settled upon any footing that is safe, *stability*

* Vide page 15.

is of more consequence than any *advantage* to be gained by *change*. Too much fluctuation, or frequent transition, from one set of rules to another, is, of all circumstances, the least consistent with that sense of security in which the possession and enjoyment of liberty consist. It is material, therefore, to remember, that liberty consists in the security of the citizen against every enemy, whether foreign or domestic, public or private, from whom, without any provision being made for his defence, he might be exposed to wrong, or oppression of any sort. The first requisite towards obtaining this security, is the existence of an effective government, to wield the strength of the community against foreign enemies, and to repress the commission of wrongs at home. Under this protection there may be danger from the very power which is established to afford it; but, without some such provision, there cannot be any degree of safety. I may therefore say, with truth, that every one, whether catholic or protestant, is free, in proportion as the government under which he lives is sufficiently *powerful* to protect him; at the same time that it is sufficiently restrained and limited to prevent the *abuse* of its power. This is the roof under which, I maintain, the Roman catholics of Ireland may take shelter from the storm of injustice and wrong; a roof that is tight, expansive, well secured, and sufficient to repel the storm; which does not stand in need of their masonry for additional props, and which will never fall upon their heads, unless its main pillar, the church of England, should fall under the mischievous strokes which they are perpetually inflicting upon it.

I trust I have fully proved that these catholic pretensions to privileges, or political power, cannot be sustained, either upon abstract principles or practical expediency, without unsettling the fabric of the British constitution. In their demand of privileges, I have shewn that they do not stand alone, but that above *four* millions of their protestant fellow-subjects labour, and without repining, under similar disabilities. These protestants do not menace the government with their threats of co-operation with the enemy; nor do they flinch at the idea of "tamely submitting" to a government from which they are excluded.

"Bigotry," says my correspondent, "such as yours, is the downfall of the state." —Mr. Keogh retorts,* "What is our crime? Let the world listen with astonishment to British philosophy and liberality! our forefathers embraced christianity in the fifth century; the creed which they received we adhere to—*that is our crime!* Yet this is the same creed which the great Alfred held—the best and greatest prince that ever adorned the throne of England;—it was the creed of the Edwards and Henrys, who humbled and conquered France;—and, *it is the creed we profess.*"

Now, it is really a most extraordinary accusation against me, that I should be termed a bigot, especially of that order whose principles must lead to the downfall of the state. Throughout the whole course of my busy life, I have never evinced the least tendency to *the crime* of which I am accused. I can appeal to my fellow-collegians at Cambridge, to my associates every where; aye, even to Roman catholic bishops, and particularly to a titular Roman catholic bishop here, with whom I am in habits of intimacy, that nothing like bigotry has ever appeared either in my writings or conversation. Must I again repeat that I reason *politically*? It was my happy fortune to have been bred up under the instruction of parents and tutors who were members of our venerable established church—it has been my fortune to have been connected, upon a very extensive scale of acquaintance, with a number of eminent bishops and divines of the Roman catholic persuasion, and I have not *yet* found reason, in general, to regret the honour of those acquaintances. With the celebrated abbé, now cardinal Maury, the once strenuous defender of the catholic church, I was well acquainted; and no one admired him more than I did, until the moment when he proved himself (Frenchman-like) an infamous rascal, by condescending to become father confessor to Jerome Buonaparte.

I have mentioned these facts, because they are all well known. It has also been my fortune, or misfortune, to have been the associate of Atheists, Deists, Turks, and Infidels; but never, till now, have I heard it imputed to me that I am a bigot and a murderer. I am perfectly indifferent to the abuse

* *Page 16 of his Speech.*

lavished upon me in the public papers, especially to the ferocious and bloody anathemas cast upon me by the Irish catholic papers; but I am not indifferent to the cause of the church of England, and its illustrious and most honourable clergy, which and whom I will defend to the last hour of my existence. And, why should I defend them? Because I believe that THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND DEPENDS ESSENTIALLY ON THE PERMANENCE OF OUR ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT. If the Roman catholics be not satisfied with my *political* motives, I am ready to discuss the theological merits of the question with them; and I will give a willing insertion to their controversial articles, even though they should describe me as a murderer and a bigot.

Unhappily, the papists stand not alone in their enmities and invectives against the church of England. But, though in a corrupt and irreverent age, the ministers of that church may be reviled, I hesitate not boldly to affirm, that, in points of political duty and private morals, of social obligations and of personal worth, of public fidelity and of private honour, they are not equalled by the ministers of religion in any quarter of the christian world. The state provision made for their support has been openly assailed, and secretly undermined, by a monstrous combination of opposing persuasions. But, no one will presume to deny, that, even the leisure so unjustly alleged against them, has been the occasion of our most essential benefits, in science, arts, as well as in theology. Cut-throats, robbers, and swindlers, represent them as destitute of understanding or integrity, and ready, at all times, to sacrifice their probity, as men, on the altar of professional hypocrisy; they stigmatize them as the protectors of ignorance, and the persecutors of knowledge. This is a great wrong: are not the clergy of England, as well as themselves, members of a free state, in which the road to wealth and distinction is open to every man of ability, and more open to men of ability in other professions, than in that of the church? Do they not enjoy talents from the gift of God, in common with other men, and have they not been sedulous in the improvement of them? When and where have the clergy of the establishment shewn themselves defective in theology, or in any branch of human science? Turn over the pages of the volume of mortal wisdom and discovery, and therein you will find, that in mathematics, in natural philosophy, in metaphysics, in logic, in scholastic literature, and classical erudition, they have not been excelled. There is not, I repeat, a single branch of knowledge in which the clergy are not equal, at least, to those who injuriously impute to them the grossest ignorance in believing an imposture, or the more degrading and flagitious infamy of supporting what they do not believe. Is this establishment in a state to be subverted? Has it no claims upon the public gratitude, and the public safety to be preserved? It does not persecute; it does not relegate to hell those who do not adopt its tenets; it does not encourage rebellion; it does not foment disaffection; it does not invoke an invader; it does not menace the government with a display of the physical strength of its disfranchised members—no! it inculcates peace among all men; its basis is charity, and its practise unfeigned loyalty. This is the church to which I belong; to which I will adhere, and for which, I will shed the last drop of my blood. This church is a component part of the COMMON LAW of the land: it is therefore THE CHURCH OF THE CONSTITUTION—and not of confessed and absolved traitors and assassins.

For the length of this article I shall make no apology. The importance of the subject; the conscience and conduct of the king; the honour of the church; and the consequent safety of the state, required this explicit avowal of my sentiments. Every thing should give way to a vindication of the sovereign's honour. I hope that I have made plain, and vindicated the motives of my sovereign's conduct; and if I have succeeded, I shall have accomplished the most delightful task that has ever fallen to my lot in the course of my life. WE PROTESTANTS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND are now invited by our monarch to rally around his throne. HE, defying foreign invasion, and spurning the traitorous menaces of internal rebellion, has taken his station upon the mount of the constitution, beside the altar of his God, which he has sworn to defend. What a glorious example! Shall we be reluctant? An aged sovereign, whose whole life has been devoted to the maintenance of the British constitution, unfurls the sacred banner of the protestant faith, of which he

is the hereditary defender! He confides his private judgment to the decision of his people. Oh! most noble, most generous resolution! Protestants of the empire! can we be indifferent to HIS cause, or deaf to HIS call! UNITE, BE FIRM, AND WE SHALL TRIUMPH BENEATH HIS BANNER.

Having sufficiently exposed the dangerous tendency of the catholic bill, I shall make a few remarks upon the arguments of the friends of the ejected ministers. The Morning Chronicle is considered as the official gazette of the party. On the 21st ult. it flatly denied that the catholic bill was the ground of the removal of the late ministry, by observing, "it is quite idle to attribute the change to the *very moderate bill* in favour of Roman catholic officers, *since that bill was completely given up*. To what cause then shall we ascribe, and from what quarter did the advice come, which has produced this great and most afflicting convulsion?" In answer to this gross misrepresentation, I refer my readers to the explanation made of the circumstance by the lords Howick and Grenville in parliament on the 26th ult. wherein it is stated, that no other than the difference created by the catholic bill was the cause of the late change. This explanation, which the Chronicle itself, on the 27th ult. declares to be "so clear and satisfactory, as to make it impossible, even for calumny, to misrepresent or cavil at it," completely establishes the fact, that the pertinacity with which the late ministers persevered in carrying their favourite project, was the *sole* foundation of their removal from office. It is true they did consent to withdraw the bill, but they accompanied this consent with such a declaration as rendered it impossible for his majesty to consider himself safe for a single day, from a renewed obtrusion of the dangerous measure. The fact is, the coalition ministry committed *a political suicide*, as is well observed by my correspondent Eugenius; for they were fully apprized what would be the effect of the introduction of the catholic question upon his majesty's feelings. Are we not, therefore, justified in affirming, that the statement in the Chronicle, cited above, is a wilful misrepresentation? The question *was not completely given up*, nor could it, by any possibility, be considered as given up, so long as the ministers reserved to themselves the right of reviving the question at a more convenient opportunity, or of supporting any similar measure which might hereafter be submitted to the wisdom of the legislature. Neither is the assertion in the Chronicle at all warranted, that it was "*a very moderate bill* in favour of Roman catholic officers;" as I have already shewn, in the former part of this article, to which I can add the corroborating testimony of the lord chancellor Erskine, and the lords Buckinghamshire and Sidmouth, all members of the late administration, who did not hesitate to avow in the house of lords, that the object of the catholic claims was repugnant to their political principles. Hence, it is undeniable, that the catholic question ALONE was the ground of the dismissal of the late ministry. The country are sensible that they might advantageously have been dismissed long ago for their numberless faults of commission, as well as of omission; and, from the total want of vigour, decision, and practical ability which had been apparent in the course of their administration. It is, however, extremely important that the public should have been made thoroughly acquainted with the real cause of the late glorious and necessary change; and as that information has been laid before them, by the unreluctant and handsome assent of his majesty, there can remain no doubt in the mind of every true Briton, relative to the firm, judicious, and constitutional interference of our sovereign. Under this impression, the country will cheerfully give their support to those ministers whom his majesty has recently called to his councils; for they may rest assured, that they have obtained by the change a body of men, not only endowed with great practical knowledge of domestic and foreign affairs, inflexible in their attachment to the constitution, devoted to their sovereign, and eager for the restoration of the liberties of Europe; but also habituated to think, and to act together in public life, and whose political conduct has never been marked by any base compromise of their former principles, nor by any of those scandalous specimens of tergiversation which formed the characteristics and the disgrace of the late administration. The men who are now invested with power may be emphatically considered as the king's servants; or,

in more appropriate language, AS THE CONSTITUTIONAL SERVANTS OF A PATRIOT MONARCH. From them we shall never find irreverent and unfeeling questions agitated, after the legislature had, by a decided majority, renounced the claims upon which they were raised—from them, the conscience of the sovereign, in the declining years of his honoured and useful life, will not be besieged by overt or undermining attempts to grant political power to men, from whom the constitution has wisely enjoined that it should be withholden—from them we shall not experience measures hostile to the maritime dominion and commercial interests of the nation, precipitated with an ostentatious exclusion of deliberate investigation through the legislature—nor shall we find in them a monstrous league of discordant elements, and jarring principles, the union of hatreds, and the coalition of antipathies, for the sake of acquiring and of retaining power; but a firm phalanx of affectionate unanimity in our country's cause, impelled by a laudable ambition to sacrifice every selfish interest to the PUBLIC SAFETY.

TO THE MARQUIS OF TITCHFIELD, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER VII.

"Are we destined silently to contemplate the contradiction and inconsistency
"which so strongly mark so many of the public characters of the present
"day? Will no one raise the voice of honest indignation against them, and
"explain to the world the glaring difference between the principles they
"profess, and the practices they pursue? If so, England is sunk indeed;
"all her spirit, all her energy is gone; and her present apathy *may* reduce
"our posterity, at no very distant period, to the necessity of effecting another
"*Reformation*, and another *Revolution*."——ANTIJACOBIN REVIEW.

My Lord,—We are now once more rescued, by the consistent firmness and just discrimination of the very best of kings, from one of the greatest evils that ever threatened our establishments in church and state—*the total repeal of the test laws, in favour of papists and dissenters.* If it be possible that the ardent affection which we feel for our beloved monarch can admit of increase, it must, by this act of his paternal care and protection, have risen to an height which can never be exceeded but by the adoration which we owe to his and our God. Long, oh! long may that God preserve him to be the DEFENDER OF OUR FAITH; and all loyal subjects, to support, with ready hands and warm hearts, his legitimate authority! In my second letter, I not only announced to the public that such a plan was in agitation, but distinctly foretold the consequences. In that letter, I said, "I am of opinion that such conduct, "on the part of ministers, would be a kind of POLITICAL SUICIDE; and I verily "believe that it would be a signal for his majesty to dismiss them from his councils." Although, Cassandre-like, I was not then believed, I may now, as a true friend to the constitution, be allowed to exult in the truth of the first part of my prophecy; and I feel no fear as to the speedy completion of the whole. Ministers have been compelled to choose, whether they would obey the commands of their sovereign, or resign their places: but, although they have been constrained to desist from the *practice* of this destructive measure for the present, I must caution the public from believing, that, whether in or out of place, they have abandoned the *principle*. But I feel myself insensibly trenching upon a subject, which, in my last, I promised to leave to the consideration of a much abler writer. I shall therefore abstain from all farther comments, on the conduct of ministers, on this occasion; but pledge myself to return to the charge, if the vigilant editor of this paper does not take it up. I therefore now fulfil my promise, of proceeding to an examination of the

"*Plan for the Education of the Poor.*"

A plan, which, however specious in its appearance, is no less pregnant with mischief to our establishments, than the unreasonable demands of the Irish catholics. The promoter of this most notable plan is Mr. Whitbread, a gentleman who, by his persecuting *mania* in the late parliament, obtained, *before trial*, the dismissal from his majesty's councils of one of the oldest servants, and most able advisers, that our sovereign possessed. Upon that occasion this honourable gentleman was not unaptly

described by our northern brethren, as *a brewer of mischief*.* How far this designation may be extended to the south, by his legislative talents, remains to be seen: but one thing I hope I may be permitted to say, which is, that when a former administration, with Mr. Pitt at its head, failed in the attempt to amend our Poor Laws, it must be no slight degree of presumption in a *brewer* to attempt it. "Ne sutor ultra crepidam," is a good rule. Let this cobbling Crispin of the state stick to his *last*; and before he talks of *reforming* the constitution, and *ameliorating* the condition of the poor, let him look at home, and begin by *reforming* his own *breweries*, and *ameliorating* his own beer.

As to this gentleman's *religious* principles, and whether he profess to be of any religion at all, I must confess my ignorance; for, neither his speech nor his plan give the slightest clue to guide us. With respect to his *political* principles, we have more certain *data* to go upon. For my present purpose it will be sufficient to observe, that, at the never-to-be-forgotten *Maidstone trials*, when bearing testimony to the character of the self-convicted traitor, Arthur O'Connor, Mr. W. said, "his public principles appeared to be the same as my own." Whether the honourable gentleman's political penetration was then defective, and his judgment imposed upon; or whether, comparing his past and present conduct, his political principles be radically and incorrigibly bad, I will leave your lordship and a candid public to determine.

I have thought it necessary to say thus much, with respect to a person who has taken upon him to legislate for the country, in a matter of such infinite importance to the community at large. I now return to my task of examining the *minutiæ* of his "Plan." Mr. Whitbread professes to ground his system for educating, and ameliorating the condition of the poor, upon a plan proposed by a man of the name of *Lancaster*.† It therefore becomes us to consider, in the first place, who this Mr. Lancaster is, and then examine what is the nature of that public system which this *most enlightened statesman* would fain have us to adopt, on the recommendation of this *enlightened schoolmaster*. Mr. Lancaster is said to be, by trade, a basket-maker; by profession, a quaker; his father was an anabaptist, and his mother a methodist.

From such a precious amalgamation of religious notions, nothing favourable to our religious establishment could reasonably be expected. Accordingly, we find that this poison-dropping-tree of Java produces exactly such fruit as might be looked for from a scion grafted on the corrupted stocks of such an heterogeneous mixture. Mr. L. probably afraid of giving offence to any of the religious sects, to whose patronage he so impudently lays claim, is determined to be a Public Ledger, "open to all parties, and influenced by none." Accordingly, he totally excludes from his system of education *all prayers*, i. e. the *Lord's prayer*, *the creed*, *catechism*, and the *liturgy of the church of England*: in other words, THE BIBLE. There appears to be a most singular coincidence between Mr. Whitbread's, *alias* Lancaster's plan of public education, and that adopted by the French consulate in 1801. They both proscribe all religious instruction whatever, and both barely *tolerate* the established religion; but without honour, without support, and without encouragement. Such a plan may be very well adapted to prepare the minds of the rising generation for becoming atheists, deists, socinians, anarchists, methodists, or papists; but it certainly is not calculated to make them good christians, or loyal churchmen. Thus we find, that of *thirteen* hopeful pupils, whom Mr. L. is educating for the superintendance of his subordinate schools, *twelve* attend the *quakers'* meetings, and the *thirteenth* an *anabaptists*.

. . . . . .

I had written thus far (March 31st) when the Morning Post of March 19th brought me the welcome tidings, that my prediction of Dec. 7th, 1806, is now, *in every par-*

* When Mr. Whitbread, as it is stated, boasted in the house of commons that he expected his fame would be transmitted to posterity for his conduct on that occasion, Mr. Canning shrewdly observed, that "the honourable gentleman had much better trust to his *sign posts*."

† I quote from the Morning Post of Feb. 20th.

ticular, completely verified. Most sincerely do I rejoice in this "consummation so devoutly to be wished," and most heartily do I congratulate my countrymen, on this glorious triumph of *real* virtue, integrity, and talents, over vice, faction, and imbecility. As I have always believed the subject, which was last under my consideration to form a part of the same system, and to emanate from the same contaminated source with "catholic emancipation," I think it possible it may undergo the same fate, or, if persisted in, be immediately crushed beneath the weight of superior truth and talents. I trust, therefore, that it will be no longer necessary for me to lift up my warning voice against a measure which, though more distant in its operation, will ultimately be no less dangerous in practice than that which has been so happily rejected. As I have no inclination to insult over fallen greatness, I shall, for the present, pass over all those misdeeds of this execrable coalition, which it was my intention to have noticed, and bring my addresses to your lordship to a close. If that coalition shall retire from the presence of their deceived and insulted sovereign with that decent submission which becomes them; shall cease from their endeavours to depress the church, and desist from all unnecessary and frivolous opposition to their successors, *Eugenius* will probably return to that privacy, from which nothing but a sense of public danger would have called him: but if, contrary to the public wish, they shall persevere in their destructive schemes, shall dare to arraign the wise conduct of our sovereign, or endeavour to sow the seeds of discontent among any description of his subjects, by false and factious misrepresentations, I declare that no earthly power shall induce me to be silent. I will then add my humble efforts to those of abler writers, in order to drag this dæmon of democracy from his den, and to expose him, in all his native deformity, to public detestation and abhorrence: then too, I trust, will these ambitious demagogues perceive, that if, in humble deference to his majesty, whose servants they then were, their errors have been hitherto corrected with a silken lash; there are whips of scorpions yet in reserve, to chastise those who have abused his confidence, and oppugn his measures. Already have the hired libellers of the best of kings began to disseminate their daily poison. But I will tell these foul-mouthed miscreants, and their abandoned patrons, whoever they may be, that there never was a period, when our beloved monarch reigned so triumphantly in the affections of an admiring people; and that there are hundreds of thousands of gleeming swords ready to start from the scabbards of *loyal volunteers*, in defence of his sacred person and just prerogative.

I shall now, my Lord, take my leave, by cordially uniting in that pæan which loudly resounds from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, at the triumph of our king, our constitution, and the house of Bentinck, over the worst administration that ever disgraced this country.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

EUGENIUS.

ON ALL THE TALENTS.

LETTER I.

SIR,—Though it has been for the last twelve months my earnest hope and expectation, that the time would soon arrive when his majesty would be able to recal to his councils men of tried integrity, in whom himself and his people could confide; yet I am not one of those who wished for the dissolution of the late ministry, precisely at the time at which it happened, and for this plain and homely reason:—because I thought they had not yet had *rope enough*. It is true, that they have done and left undone enough to disgust nine-tenths of the nation; but, I think, that a short period longer would have converted the other tenth; and that by the end of the present session of parliament, they would not have had left one dispassionate advocate in the whole country. In consequence of their premature dismissal (brought about solely by their own egregious folly, and presumption) they have been able to retain a few noisy, over-weaning adherents, who are charitably endeavouring to support their sinking cause, by the most palpable and barefaced misrepresentations, of the many obvious considerations arising out of the late events. It may not,

therefore, be altogether an useless task to refute the errors of these gentlemen, by putting upon record, in your valuable work, the real facts which they choose to pervert.

I shall begin with their assertion, so industriously propagated, that the catholic bill had nothing to do with the dismissal of the late ministers. After having for a week spoken the truth, in attributing their downfall to this insidious measure; but finding the public opinion decidedly against them, they thought it prudent suddenly to turn short round, and to make the assertion just noticed; in which we were told, that the explanations of lord Grenville and lord Howick, would completely bear them out. Nay, that these advocates might place their heroes upon ground as high as that from which they were fallen, it was industriously whispered that they had been the victims of court intrigue, and that their dismissal was owing to their measures of reform having reached to quarters which had poisoned the royal ear against them. Yes, sir, their popular measures of reform were held out as the cause of their downfall; the measures of reform, forsooth, of these famous patriots, whose whole career consisted of one undistinguishing grasp at public emolument, for themselves and their adherents! But after a few days of suspense, out came the famous explanations of the noble lords (at least what the newspapers report as such) and what do they prove? why, that the catholic bill was, as we all knew it was, *the sole cause* of their breach; and only strengthening and confirming the exquisite folly and impropriety of that transaction. With all the false colouring which is attempted to be given to it, the meanest apprehension must perceive the plain truth to consist in this small and narrow compass:—that it was proposed to his majesty, to extend the provisions of the Irish act of 1793 to this country. To this his majesty had scruples; but, at length, gave his reluctant assent. With this assent to one thing, they propose another; and having sent the real measure in a proposed dispatch to the king, which was returned (as a multitude of mere formal papers must be) unnoticed, they profess to have the king's assent to the enlarged proposal. It is suggested that his majesty never read their proposed dispatch. This seems immaterial, for it is clear that those to whom it was addressed, and who were to act upon it, in Dublin, did not understand it; for when questioned by the catholics whether it went the length which is now contended for, the Irish secretary replied, that he could not tell, but would write to London to know. As soon as the king *did* learn the real extent of the measure, it received *his full condemnation*. Ministers then consented to withdraw it; but coupling their apparent concession with stipulations, which, as they are before the public, I will not characterize as they deserve. Justly alarmed at this, the king required from them a pledge, that they would not press such a measure again: and refusing to give this pledge, his majesty dismissed them from his service.

So much for the assertion, so assiduously propagated, that the catholic question had nothing to do with their dismissal: that the same step would soon have become necessary, from the indignant feelings of the country, I am thoroughly convinced. At present, but for their ill-timed interference on a point, on which it was impossible they could succeed with either branch of the legislature; and, but for their refusal to protect the king from a repetition of such imprudence, they would now, and for some short time longer, have been the servants of the crown.

But we are gravely told, that to require such a pledge from ministers, went to shackle their free-agency; and was, in fact, unconstitutional; and, moreover, that the minister who had given such a pledge, would have been impeachable for so doing. Perhaps, sir, the persons who state this with so much confidence are not aware, that there are others who are equally impressed with a conviction, that the *oath* of a privy councillor implies this very pledge; and, that a person of this description, who should advise the introduction of any measure, which, by breaking down the barriers erected against catholicism, might endanger the safety of the church or state, would, for that advice, be amenable to impeachment. Is it to be endured, for a moment, in argument, that the king may not require pledges from his servants! What are the test laws? what are the oaths? the qualifications? and other impediments? which meet men on their progress to all offices in the

state, but so many pledges of the same description? What is it, but in obedience to a similar pledge, which placed his majesty's family on the throne, that he has been induced to call for that which we are now discussing? What, sir! may a banker require a pledge, a written bond for the fidelity of his clerk? may the broker call for a pledge for the paltry guineas he advances? and may the king demand no pledge for the safety of that constitution which he is solemnly pledged to defend, and which he has, by his own personal firmness, so gloriously defended, and will, I trust, transmit, unimpaired, to a distant successor?"*

But, sir, to come nearer to the point; suppose we had a dastardly ministry, who anxious for the favour, or deterred by the threats of Buonaparte, or who looking upon his hostility as mere commercial rivalry, were willing to bring in a bill to curtail the liberty of the press, or to send out of the country all the princes of the house of Bourbon who have taken refuge in our land: suppose they were willing to destroy Portsmouth harbour, or consent to form no alliances with foreign powers, might not the king, if induced still from peculiar circumstances to keep such men in his service, require from them a pledge that he should never be harassed and disgraced again with such proposals. Would there be any thing unconstitutional in requiring or giving such a pledge? If, as every man must answer, there would not, let me then ask in what do the cases I have stated, and numberless others that might be stated, differ from that of which we are speaking? in nothing but in this—that they, perhaps, come more feelingly and palpably home to every man's mind, than the apparent remoteness of the danger, and still more, the fatal indifference there is about religion in too many members of the establishment, permits the other to do. If they were justified in giving up the measure, there could be no reasonable objection to their giving the pledge: for the king's reluctance to the measure was not of a temporary nature, nor did it arise from any changeable or convertible circumstances. The protestant church which it is his object to protect, requires protection always; this measure, the adoption of which would now have endangered that church, would do so always. It is therefore either puerile or wicked to defend such conduct, the advocates of which involve themselves in a fourfold dilemma; first, they advocate a measure which they declare is essential to the safety of the state; secondly, they abandon the defence of that measure, and by so doing, either desert their duty, violate their consciences, or own their mistake; thirdly, they pay an apparent deference to the king's opinion by yielding obedience to it; which, fourthly, they immediately falsify, by claiming for their prototypes a right to act otherwise whenever they please.—I am, Sir, &c.

April 2, 1807. PUBLIUS.

STATE PAPERS.

(American State Paper, concluded.)

Surmises have been hazarded that this enterprize is to receive aid from certain foreign powers. But these surmises are without proof or probability. The wisdom of the measures sanctioned by congress at its last session, has placed us in the paths of peace and justice with the only powers with whom we had any differences; and nothing has happened since, which makes it their interest or ours to pursue another course. No change of measures has taken place on our part; none ought to take place at this time.—With the one, friendly arrangement was proposed, and the law, deemed necessary on the failure of that, was suspended to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the same power, friendly arrangement is now proceeding, under good expectations, and the same law, deemed necessary on the failure of that, is still suspended to give time for a fair trial of the issue. With the other, negociation was in like manner preferred, and provisional measures only taken to meet the event of rupture. While, therefore, we do not deflect in the slightest degree from the course we then assumed, and are still pursuing, with mutual consent, to restore a good understanding, we are not to impute to them practices as irrecon-

---

* This sentiment of my correspondent is OLD ENGLISH. It is glorious and transcendant. H. R. Y.

cileable to interest as to good faith, and changing necessarily the relations of peace and justice between us to those of war. These surmises are therefore to be imputed to the vauntings of the author of this enterprize, to multiply his partizans, by magnifying the belief of his prospects and support.

By letters from general Wilkinson, of the 14th and 18th of December, which came to hand two days after the date of the resolution of the house of representatives, that is to say, on the morning of the 18th inst. I received the important affidavit, a copy of which I now communicate, with extracts of so much of the letters as comes within the scope of the resolution. By these it will be seen, that of three of the principal emissaries of Mr. Burr, whom the general had caused to be apprehended, one had been liberated by habeas corpus, and two others, being those particularly employed in the endeavour to corrupt the general and army of the United States, have been embarked by him for ports in the Atlantic states, probably on the consideration that an impartial trial could not be expected during the present agitations of New Orleans, and that that city was not as yet a safe place of confinement. As soon as these persons shall arrive, they will be delivered to the custody of the law, and left to such course of trial, both as to place and process, as its functionaries may direct. The presence of the highest judicial authorities, to be assembled at this place within a few days, the means of pursuing a sounder course of proceedings here than elsewhere, and the aid of the executive means, should the judges have occasion to use them, render it equally desirable for the criminals, as for the public, that, being already removed from the place where they were first apprehended, the first regular arrest should take place there, and the course of proceedings receive here their proper direction.

January 22, 1807. TH. JEFFERSON.

Madrid, March 4.—The following proclamation has been published by order of his highness the Prince of Peace, grand admiral and generalissimo of his majesty's forces by land and sea:—

From the moment that England committed the atrocious crime of intercepting the royal frigates, and violated the good faith by which peace assures private property and the laws of nations, his majesty considered himself as at war with that power. His royal dignity, however, induced him to suspend the publication of a manifesto, until it was demonstrated that the atrocity exercised upon his seamen was authorised and supported by the English government. His majesty then declared to his subjects the nature of the war which subsisted between Spain and England, but without explaining to them the extent of the reprisals which they were to make upon an enemy, who had so openly violated the sacred laws of property and the rights of nations. In such a situation, all kind of commercial connection became naturally suspended, and the principles of honour alone were sufficient to cause every sort of communication, even the most indirect, to be rejected. Even avarice itself would not countenance any connection so repugnant to honourable feelings.

His majesty, convinced of the sentiments of honour and fidelity, by which all classes of his subjects are animated, feels it incumbent upon him still to remove every pretext of ignorance, with regard to his express intentions in this respect, the execution of which will be strictly enforced, to declare, that all English property, under whatever flag it shall be found, even that of neutral nations, shall be rigorously seized, if consigned to Spanish merchants. In the same manner, all merchandize intended for Great Britain, or her colonies, though freighted in neutrals, shall be seized. In short, his majesty intends, by the present decree, to conform himself fully to the spirit of that declaration, which his ally, the emperor of the French, has, on principles of retaliation, and for the honour of his crown, found himself obliged to publish on the 21st of November, 1806. The execution of the present order is committed to the governors of provinces, and the principal officers in the different departments and ports. In transmitting it to them, in the name of his majesty, I rely upon their zeal to enforce it.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 15. Saturday, April 11, 1807. Price 10d.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY's CONDUCT RESPECTING THE PERSONAL FREEDOM OF THE SUBJECT, AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

Independently of the accusations made against lord Wellesley in the house of commons, his character and conduct are continually the topics of invective in an evening paper, which appears to have been set up for no other purpose than to calumniate that nobleman. This paper I had never read, until I received one of the numbers of the 30th ult. from an anonymous writer who thought its contents worthy of animadversion. It contains nearly four columns on the administration of lord Wellesley in India, besides a column of copious invectives against the brothers of the marquis, who have succeeded to different situations in consequence of the change of ministry; sir Arthur Wellesley being appointed the Irish secretary, Mr. Wellesley Pole, clerk of the ordinance, which situation he had before filled, and the honourable Henry Wellesley, one of the secretaries of the Treasury. These appointments furnished the editors of the paper I allude to (the Pilot) with a special opportunity for venting their malice on lord Wellesley, and accordingly, we are cautioned against "the derived advantages of splendid connection, blended with *foreign* manners, and *oriental* dogmas and maxims." In another paragraph, also, a vehement hint is thrown out thus, "the new ministry, if they are not utterly blind, will undoubtedly pause ere they court the author of a policy which, to say nothing worse of it, has apparently endangered a great and fair portion of the habitable world, which has mocked all former notions of national obligations and compacts, and which has introduced, by way of experiment, in the subject provinces, what possibly might be attempted under his auspices, in the mother country—*a heavy fetter on the wonted freedom of the press!*"

After having publicly avowed my readiness to enter the lists against any of or all the opponents of lord Wellesley, from the full conviction that I entertain of the conspicuous wisdom, energy, justice, and sound policy, which marked throughout the brilliant administration of that nobleman, it will be expected that I should reply to every allegation adduced against him as early as is possible, consistently with the political objects and confined limits of this Review. Now, when a charge is preferred against any individual, it is natural for us to inquire into the character of the accuser, that we may form a proper judgment of the degree of credibility which we should allow to him. This is an indispensable rule of evidence; it is a *British* not an *oriental* maxim of law; and, therefore, if the author of a charge should turn out to be an interested or vindictive character; if he be actuated by personal resentments and not by public motives; if he be influenced by passion and prejudice, and not by a true sense of justice; or, what weighs materially in the scale of equitable determination, if the author should be proved to be an unpunished DELINQUENT HIMSELF; in such a case, his testimony, unsupported by other collateral evidence, must be received with great caution, if, indeed, it deserve to be received at all. This then is the touchstone by which I shall examine the truth of the assertions which I have extracted. I shall begin with explaining *who* and *what* is the author of the infamous charge, and then proceed to analyze the grounds upon which it is laid.

Upon inquiry I find, that the Pilot was established and is conducted chiefly by two individuals who were residents in India before and during a part of lord Wellesley's government. Their paper, they do not hesitate to avow, is established upon principles of direct and unappeasable hostility against that nobleman; principles which are not only repugnant to justice, but disgraceful to the nation by whom they are endured. With this view however, Mr. Charles Maclean and Mr. Samuel have commenced, and still continue their venemous operations. Of Mr. Samuel, my rea-

ders shall possess an ample acquainfance in due time; this week's Review, I reserve for the adventures of Charles Maclean, M. D. The doctor is the author of a pamphlet entitled, "The affairs of Asia considered in their effects *on* the liberties of Britain; in a series of letters, addressed to the marquis Wellesley, late governor-general of India; including a correspondence with the government of Bengal, under that nobleman, and a narrative of transactions, involving *the annihilation of the personal freedom of the subject, and the extinction of the liberty of the press in India.*" It was this gentleman's personal freedom that was *annihilated*, though he must admit if he be an Irishman, that he has since *recovered* it, and daily lets it out on hire at usurious interest. No other person in India has complained of annihilated, or even of molested personal freedom. To Mr., I beg pardon, to Dr. Maclean was reserved the splendid function of conjuring into existence the phantom of a resentful imagination. Full of sound and fury, he states a fact, gives his own constructions upon it, keeps in the back ground all the pre-existing and co-operating circumstances which led to his expulsion from India; and then, availing himself of the jealousy which every Englishman justly entertains for the personal freedom of the subject, he artfully gives his case as an instance of the violation of that freedom, without informing his readers, that his residence in India was a flagrant violation of law, as enacted by the *British* legislature. His pamphlet appeared last year, and, as it excited no interest, excepting amongst the personal enemies of lord Wellesley; as it produced only a groan or two from the *Bruin* who is my constant calumniator as well as the vile accuser of lord Wellesley; the doctor set up the Pilot newspaper in the hope of injuring his lordship by the malignity of his defamations. Thus, the public are annoyed with the explosions from the twelve pounder M. D. piece of ordnance from St. Andrews; but lord Wellesley sustains no injury from these repeated discharges. I shall now sift the case of Dr. Maclean to the bottom, and place it in so clear a light, that there is not a man in the united empire, excepting the click organized against his lordship, under the command of lord Folkstone, sir T. Turton, Mr. Paull, and serjeant Cobbett, who will not agree with me, that the charges of Dr. Maclean, are false, scandalous, and malicious; and that at no time, were the personal freedom of the subject, and the liberty of the press in India so fully enjoyed and protected, *as during lord Wellesley's government.*

First charge: *the annihilation of the personal freedom of the subject.*

Lest I should be suspected of partiality, I shall briefly state the history of the case, taking Dr. Maclean's pamphlet as my authority. "On the 23d and 24th of April, 1798," says he, "a paragraph was inserted in two Calcutta newspapers, the *India Gazette*, and the *Hircarrah*, announcing the death of Mr. Allan Maclean, said to have been killed in a duel at Benares. On the 27th of April, I received a letter from that gentleman, dated at Monghyr, the 20th of the same month, which circumstance, as the distance from Benares to Calcutta is eight or ten days journey, rendered the report of his death, published there on the 23d, an evident fiction. In order to prevent the alarm which this unfounded report would occasion to Mr. Maclean's relations, I wrote, immediately upon the receipt of his letter, a note to the editor of the following day's newspaper, requesting him to contradict it. That note gave rise to my subsequent correspondence with the governor-general in council of British India, which terminated in my expulsion from that country; and, as having formed the *sole ground* of that extraordinary proceeding, will be considered as a curious document."

The inference here drawn by Mr. Maclean is not just; for his note and his correspondence with lord Wellesley did not form the *sole ground* of his expulsion, as he terms it, for he was expelled because he was *a criminal*. In the year 1798, he was residing in India, *without the license of the East India company*, consequently, *in open violation of the law*; for, by the statute of 33 Geo. 3. cap. 52. sect. 131. it is enacted, "that if any subject or subjects of his majesty, his heirs or successors, of or belonging to Great Britain, or any of the islands, colonies, or plantations aforesaid, not being lawfully licensed or authorized, shall at any time or times before such determination of the said company's whole and sole trade, as is herein before limited, directly or indirectly go, sail, or repair to, or be found in the East Indies, or any of the parts aforesaid, all and every such person and persons are hereby declared to be

guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof shall be liable to such fine or imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment, as the Court in which such person or persons shall be convicted shall think fit; and in case of a fine, one moiety thereof shall belong to his majesty, his heirs or successors, and the other moiety thereof to the said united company, if they shall prosecute the said offence, or otherwise such moiety shall be to the use of such person or persons as shall prosecute the same." It appears, therefore, that Mr. Maclean, by residing in India, without a license, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and was liable to severe punishment for his transgression of the law; by the next clause of the act, the proceedings relative to such delinquents, are distinctly laid down: "and be it further enacted, that at any time or times, before such determination of the said company's whole and sole trade as is herein before limited, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said company and their successors, by and through such person or persons as is and are hereafter mentioned, to take, arrest, and seize, or cause to be taken, arrested, and seized, at any place or places within the East Indies, or parts aforesaid, all and every person and persons, being a subject or subjects of his majesty, his heirs or successors, of or belonging to Great Britain, or to any of the islands, colonies, or plantations aforesaid, who shall go, sail, or repair to, or be found within the said East Indies or parts aforesaid, against any of the provisions of this act, and him or them to remit and send or bring to England, there to answer for his, her, or their offence according to due course of law; and when such person or persons shall arrive in England, it shall and may be lawful to and for any one or more of his majesty's justices of the peace, and he and they are hereby authorized and required to commit all and every such person or persons to the next county gaol, there to remain until sufficient security be given, by natural-born subjects or denizens, for the appearance of such person or persons in the court in which he or they shall, or may be sued or prosecuted, or shall be under actual prosecution in respect of such his or their offence, and for his or their not going out of court, or out of the kingdom without the leave of such court." Lastly, the next clause enacts, by whom persons thus violating the law may be arrested and sent home; "That the powers and authorities hereby given to the said company, of taking, arresting, seizing, remitting, or sending to England, any such person or persons as aforesaid, shall and may be enforced and put in execution in the name of the said company, by the order and authority of the governor-general of Fort-William in Bengal, or the governor-general of Fort St. George, and governor of Bombay for the time being respectively, &c."

It is thus evident, that it was not the correspondence with the governor-general, which was the *sole ground* of his expulsion, but his criminality in being in India without the license of the company, which made him amenable to punishment, as an unlawful trader, according to the provisions of the above cited act. If the transaction alluded to in the extract which I have made from Mr. Maclean's pamphlet had not taken place, the doctor would have been equally subjected to the penalties of the law, for his *illegal conduct*, as appears by the clauses of the act. It seems that two gentlemen, Messrs. D'Aguilar and Allan Maclean resided in India in the district of Ghauzeepoor, and were partners in an Indigo manufactory. These gentlemen had a dispute upon the subject of their commercial concerns, and each of them endeavoured to obtain exclusive possession of the manufactory which was their joint property. They met at the manufactory, and as Mr. D'Aguilar did not make a satisfactory explanation of a letter which he had written to Mr. Maclean, Mr. Maclean *insulted him.* * From high words, they proceeded to blows, and Mr. D'Aguilar rode off to lodge a complaint against Maclean, before Mr. Rider, the magistrate in the district of Ghauzeepoor. Mr. Rider took the opinion of his superiors, the court of circuit at Benares, upon the case, and conformably with it, and with the regulations or laws of the country, he issued his warrant for the arrest of Mr. Allan Maclean, and sent him to Calcutta. In the mean while, a report having prevailed in Calcutta, and having been published in the newspapers, that the Indigo Mr. Maclean had been

* Vid. this Mr. Maclean's letter to our author, Mr. Charles Maclean, M.D. page 26 of his pamphlet.

killed in a duel with Mr. D'Aguilar, the M. D. Mr. Maclean thought proper to publish a contradiction of this report, in the letter which I have inserted above; and from which it appears, that not satisfied with accomplishing his object of tranquillizing the minds of the friends of his namesake, he cast an *injurious reflection* upon the character of the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor for his conduct in the execution of his official duty, and threatened to *repeat* this injury upon another occasion, which threat, he realised subsequently by publishing in the newspapers, a letter signed *Habeas Corpus*, though he has contrived to omit the insertion of it in his printed pamphlet. The governor-general in council called upon Mr. Maclean to make an apology for the improper insinuation against the magistrate of Ghauzepoor which he had published in the papers; but Mr. Maclean refused to comply with this requisition on the ground that "*his insinuation could be proved to be well founded.*" *

Thus the government and Mr. Maclean came to issue, not upon the truth or falsehood of his insinuation against the magistrate of Ghauzepoor, which the government must have adopted the means of ascertaining, but upon this ground; viz. whether Mr. Maclean should be permitted to convey an insinuation, through the medium of a newspaper, against a *public* officer, for acts done in his *public* capacity?

This question was to be considered in India upon principles entirely different from those which would apply to it in Great Britain. In this country, where the population is one and unmixed, and entirely governed by the same equal laws, the public have a right to be made acquainted with whatever relates to their domestic economy. The conduct of the public officers of the government, whether executive or judicial, is the peculiar object of the jealous solicitude and inquiry of the people; and their representatives have a right to be informed, to discuss, and to judge of every act of the executive or judicial power. But, the principles of our government in India are entirely different, the law having fixed the legislative, the judicial, and the executive government in the hands of the governor general in council. The people are the subjects of Great Britain *by right of conquest* only, and it is not necessary, nor indeed would it be politic, under the prevalence of their antient institutions, that they should be made acquainted with the acts of the government, upon which, they do not possess the right of forming or expressing their judgment. Hence, if it

---

* That my readers may be thoroughly masters of the case, I shall here give the letter of Mr. Tucker, the sub-secretary of the council, to Mr. Maclean, with that gentleman's insolent answer, as recorded by himself in the 40th and 41st pages of his abusive pamphlet.

"To Mr. Charles Maclean.

"Sir,—A representation having been made to government respecting a letter which was published in the *Telegraph* of the 28th of April last, under your signature, I am directed by the right honourable the governor general in council to inform you, that his lordship considers the insinuation in your letter, with regard to the conduct of the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor, to be *highly improper;* and that he accordingly requires that you submit to government an immediate and satisfactory apology for having published the letter in question."

To this Mr. Maclean returned the following answer:

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, intimating the desire of the right honourable the governor general in council, that I should submit to government an immediate and satisfactory explanation for the insinuation, with regard to the conduct of the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor, contained in my letter published the 28th of April last, which the right honourable the governor general in council considers as highly improper.

"In answer, be pleased to acquaint the right honourable the governor general in council, that, as my insinuation can be proved to be well founded, *I must beg leave to decline making the apology required.* Having reason to believe that the editor of the *Telegraph* has been written to on the same subject, I beg leave to state, that I alone am responsible for the transaction, having solicited the insertion in the *Telegraph* of the letter in question, for no other reason than that it was the next paper for publication."

be unnecessary to inform them of these acts, it is equally dangerous to the permanent existence of the government that these acts should be impugned in their hearing. There is no system of established government which is not liable to be misrepresented by malevolence, and which may not be rendered odious to the people governed, by the artifices of designing and turbulent men. Thus, the interference of a magistrate to *prevent a duel*, and his sending out of his district, *in obedience to the laws and to the orders of his superiors*, the person who, by an insult which he avowed, was the aggressor, was misrepresented as having been guilty of an unwarrantable interference. Whether this insinuation were well founded or not, is not now the question; but I ask, whether it was calculated to increase or to diminish the respect which the people, over whom the magistrate was appointed to preside, ought to entertain for him? And, was the method taken by Maclean to convey to the people of India the insinuation against the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor likely to increase or to diminish their affection and veneration for the government which they were bound to obey? If it had been founded on fact, it should not have been communicated to the public in India through the medium of a public newspaper; and when it is known that due inquiry was made into the merits of the case, and that, from the result of that inquiry, the insinuation was found to be wholly groundless, such conduct became still more reprehensible. I admit, that not one person in an hundred thousand in India understands a word of English; but the insinuation would, nevertheless, through the medium of a translation, reach the people over whom Mr. Rider presided; and among them much mischief might have been the consequence of it. It must also have reached all the European servants of the East India company in India, and the European merchants and traders residing there under the company's license. I have already considered the effect it was likely to have upon the natives; and as the European servants of the company, and the European merchants and traders, could take no notice, in any capacity, public or private, of the conduct of Mr. Rider, the conveyance of the insinuation to those persons could answer no purpose, except the purposes of private malice and revenge. Whatever may be the opinion of persons respecting the propriety of suffering the publication of insinuations of this description, in general, whether in India or elsewhere, there can be no doubt whatever that their publication ought to be prevented, if they answer no purpose except affording a subject for private scandal, and gratifying private malice and revenge.

Notwithstanding these obvious reasonings, the lenient conduct of lord Wellesley formed a striking contrast with the rude insolence of Mr. Maclean. With his lordship's characteristic kindness, he offered to overlook the fault committed by Mr. Maclean, provided he would make an apology for his improper conduct. For this act of lenity, lord Wellesley is accused of having acted *illegally*, and with an *undue assumption of power*. It will be proper, therefore, to make a brief investigation of the grounds of the proceedings upon this occasion.

It has been already stated, that Maclean had been guilty of an high crime previous to the publication in the Telegraph. By a most unwarrantable abuse of the liberty of the press, he brands the proceedings upon the occasion, as an infringement of the rights and liberties of the subject; and an attack has been made upon the system of laws for the administration of the government of British India, because the tendency of those laws is, to prevent colonization in India. In order to prove that right and liberty have been violated, it is necessary first, to prove that they *have existed;* and upon this point, it will suffice to refer again to the act of parliament. The subjects of his majesty have *no rights or liberties* that are not founded upon the common law, or upon the sanction of acts of parliament, and certainly none that are inconsistent with existing laws. To reside in India *without a license* from the East India company is, I have already shewn, contrary to act of parliament, and is therefore, *not a right* of the subject. If any doubt had existed upon this subject, the conduct of a respectable person, now no more, and who was, at that time, in an high legal station, would have removed it. This person was desirous that Mr. Maclean, M. D. should remain in India, for reasons which are not now necessary to detail; but he ceased to interfere as soon as he found that Maclean *had no license*.

After what I have already advanced upon the British Indian system of policy, it is scarcely necessary to discuss the policy of those laws, which parliament in its wise

dom, has enacted for the government of British India. The policy of this country has been, to vest the government of, and trade with India, in the hands of the East India company, under certain limitations and restrictions provided for by act of parliament, and to exclude from residing in that region all persons not licensed by the company. To those acquainted with Indian affairs, and with the history of other European nations who have had settlements in the east, it is not requisite to point out the necessity of providing against colonization in India, whatever may be the plan of government adopted hereafter, or whoever may be the persons chosen to administer it. The Portuguese are the only European people who have had colonies in the east, and their settlements afford melancholy examples of the state of degradation to which the European character, appearance, and manners, must be reduced by a system of colonization. These facts must be obvious to the most superficial observer who has been in India. But it is said that lord Wellesley exerted the law in the case of Maclean oppressively; that several other persons had resided and did reside, at that time, in India, without the company's license, and whose residence was unnoticed. Indeed, it is not pretended that lord Wellesley used the power vested in his hands by the 133d section of the 33d of the king, in any other case, during the whole period of his government in India, which lasted for eight years. In the argument upon the oppression imputed to lord Wellesley, it is stated, that the law of licenses was intended to apply solely to persons resident in India who *exercised trade*. The act before cited, however, vests the *political* government, as well as the trade with India, in the East India company; and its clauses are applicable, as I have already shewn, to the former, as well as to the latter. I have inserted the clauses wherein it is positively enacted, that persons "*unlicensed*," may be arrested and sent to England by various officers of the government, who are by no means connected with the company's commerce; and among others, by the governor-general. To reside in India cannot, therefore, be deemed the *right* of a British subject; and to remove from that country British subjects residing there *without the company's license*, cannot be deemed banishment. A British subject who "is found" in India *without a license*, is guilty of an high crime and misdemeanor, and is liable to be treated accordingly. It is admitted by Mr. Maclean, that the powers given by the act are discretionary, and the question is, whether the exercise of them in his case was improper? I have shewn that he was an *illegal* resident in India, and that the government had the *power and authority* of arresting and seizing his person, for such *his illegal conduct*; and I have also shewn, that there was nothing in his case relative to the insinuation of the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor, which required that the government should forego the exercise of its right, and the performance of a corresponding duty under the act of parliament.

It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Maclean was, in the first instance, guilty of a gross breach of the law, and of an high crime and misdemeanor when found in India; he was also guilty of great impropriety and indiscretion, at least, if not of libel, by the publication of his letter against Mr. Rider, the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor. For the former of these offences he had rendered himself, *by his own act*, liable to the punishment of removal from India, the infliction of which, the law had placed in the hands of the governor-general, *without allowing him the privilege of any trial whatever*. * The *fact* of his having had *no license* was sufficient to authorize the punishment, if it may be called by that name. For the latter offence, Mr. Maclean had rendered himself liable to the punishment which the law inflicts upon persons convicted of libel, as well as to that of expulsion from India by the governor-general in council. Lord Wellesley would have been justified in resorting *at once* to the infliction of the punishment, as governor-general, without offering to pardon Mr. Maclean. Any thing short of that measure must be deemed *great lenity*; and considering the circumstances attending Mr. Maclean's residence in India, of which lord Wellesley must have had a knowledge, I cannot avoid observing, that the measure which his lordship adopted towards this man, was an act of unpardonable weakness. Mr. Maclean, M. D. of St. Andrews, to give a gloss to the illegality of his own conduct, has published a fancy, that it was an assumption

* *Vide stat. of 33 Geo. III. c. 132, 133.*

of power on the part of lord Wellesley, which he did not possess by law, to require an apology for his conduct. This notion is founded upon the false idea, that until Maclean had published his libel against the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor, he had not been guilty of any crime. Nothing can be more erroneous: for, as I have repeatedly stated, Maclean was actually guilty of an high crime, and amenable to justice, for an open violation of the law, by residing in India, without the company's license; and, it is not a little curious, that this pretended assertor of the rights and liberties of the subject, should raise the superstructure of his calumnies against lord Wellesley, upon the basis of his own frontless violation of those rights and liberties, by committing an heinous and notorious *breach of law*. In this case, lord Wellesley assumed no power but that of performing his duty *with lenity*, when he caused it to be intimated to Maclean, that if he made a proper apology for his unfounded libel upon the magistrate of Ghauzeepoor, the government would not carry into execution the penalty injoined by the law, which he had broken. Maclean shewed, by his conduct, that he did not deserve the lenity with which he was treated; and, therefore, I contend, that he was not a person in whose favour the government ought to have suspended the exercise of its rights and duties under the act of parliament. These, however, were not the only substantial reasons which led the government to carry the act into effect in respect of this person; for, it appears, that Maclean had *before* been ordered to *quit India* by lord Teignmouth, the predecessor of lord Wellesley; that he had *remained* in defiance of this order, *having removed himself out of the reach of the officers employed to arrest his person*. It seems that lord Wellesley was aware of this fact at the moment when he required Maclean to make an apology for the published libel; and the existence of this fact is a still stronger proof that Maclean could not be considered as a person in whose favour the government ought to have omitted the exercise of its rights under the act of parliament. Indeed, the lenity with which he was treated, considering this circumstance, bordered upon weakness in lord Wellesley; and, I have no doubt, it was the original cause of the letters which Mr. Maclean has published. In the discussion of the subjects to which these letters allude, assertions are made, and arguments are used, upon which it is proper to animadvert. Lord Wellesley is accused of having required Maclean to make his apology in terms "respectful towards the government." So then, this is a crime it seems! What! shall it be endured, for a moment, that the illustrious representative of the crowned majesty of the British empire in the East Indies, the head of an army of 160,000 men, whose authority requires all the support which can be given to it, is not to be treated with *common respect*, only because it is the governing authority in Asia; where, from its remoteness from the metropolitan country, and from the want of that constitutional feeling of reciprocal protection & allegiance, the rays of the reflected power of the British crown is necessarily condensed and collected into a comparatively small focus, in order to give vigour and efficacy to a government, which, in many instances, if not in every conjuncture of difficulty, may justly be said to depend upon the wisdom and respectability of its chief? Are the magistrates acting under the authority of this government to be *calumniated* with impunity for the prompt execution of their duty, by *unlicensed* criminals? And, is the government itself to be treated not with the respect which is due and paid to authority, in every other portion of the civilized world?

In all dependencies upon a mother-country, the power of government must necessarily be exerted in an higher degree, and with more swift and jealous vigour than at home; and for this plain reason—that such dependencies exist by opinion only, and by the awful impression of a grand, undefined, and distant power, which can speak when it wills, in thunder and lightning. He, therefore, who attempts to diminish this sentiment of the restrained exercise of reserved power, of who impeaches the actual exercise of it when delegated, is a mischievous and dangerous enemy of the majesty of the mother-country, and an insidious promoter of mutiny and rebellion. In a country like India, where prejudices may be aptly said to take root and flourish, nothing can have a greater tendency to diminish the fidelity of the people, than the notion that the government which presides over them, by conquest, is capable of error or wrong. Even if it acted erroneously or wrongfully, still the error or the wrong

should be hushed up and sustained by the loyal subjects of this empire, resident *there*, lest the casual faults of a government, should provoke the revolt of an immense, and as far as our physical strength goes, of a comparatively numerous and inimical population.

At home, it is not necessary that the sovereign should array himself either in the appurtenances of majestic grandeur, or in terror, or the display of power. His best power is the LAW; his best security—THE PEOPLE'S LOVE. But, the power of the executive magistrate, so visible daily at home, through the regular operation of established laws, is in our distant possessions subjected to frequent and great dislocations. The monarch is unseen, his virtues are only wafted over thousands of miles; they are unfelt as emanations from himself; the beneficence and justice of his patriotism are understood by those only who live within the limits of his grand insular jurisdiction. In distant climes, therefore, his goodness is reflected through the agency of his representatives, who serve as conductors to convey the humanity, and policy of their sovereign, to the millions who are protected and refreshed by the equitable laws of which he is the dispenser. Much then is left to the character of the representative, especially in India. There, the authority of the British monarch, whose power they feel and recognize, whose justice and mercy they experience hourly, is unseen, unheard, is faintly conceived, if conceived at all; is lost in the immensity of distance, of inexperience, of ignorance, of prejudices, and of conjectural omnipotency. From their political optics, he is shrouded, like the mysteries of the *bona Dea*; and if they form any idea of him, it is as the mighty god of the ocean, and the predestinated sovereign of India, who rules in that region by the instrumentality of the caliph of the sea, whom he has appointed. If this be so, (and who doubts it?) let me ask, whether the man who dares to shake this opinion, or to dispel this prejudice, does not deserve a gibbet rather than a polite, condescending, kind, and I will add, a weak interlocutory discussion between the representative majesty of this GREAT POWER and himself, a LIBELLER and a CRIMINAL? It is vain to expect that the sovereign can be respected, when his representative is calumniated, and set at defiance.

Mr. Maclean's next subject of complaint, as correctly connected with the violation of the freedom of the subject as his other charges, is, that when lord Wellesley thought it proper to order a charter party for him, he ordered one likewise for his wife.*

We must not lose sight of the fact that when Maclean had been ordered to quit India, he had been guilty of an high crime and misdemeanor, the punishment of which was expulsion: to this crime he had added libel and disrespect of government, and then he had the assurance to ask a *favour*, viz. although he might be sent out of the country according to law, that he might not be separated from his wife. *This favour was granted to him.* Lord Wellesley took upon himself to order a charter party passage in the same ship for Mrs. Maclean; a *favour* which Maclean represents as a crime.

In discussing this part of his subject, Maclean again forgets that he was a *criminal;* that Mrs. Maclean had *no right* to have a charter party passage; and that the grant of it was an exercise of authority by lord Wellesley, for which his lordship became *responsible* to his employers. Not satisfied with representing this *favour* as a *crime*, Maclean charges his lordship with "*indelicacy*" towards the sex, in the offer to his lady of a charter party passage, the nature of which he has, to suit his purpose, grossly misrepresented. It is certainly true, that an order for a charter party passage in an East Indiaman does not give a right to the captain's table; but it is equally true, that is does not place the person in whose favour it is granted, among the seamen of the ship, as Mr. Maclean strives to persuade the world. The charter party passengers have a *right* to a certain portion of the ship which is allotted by the company for their accommodation, and to their provissions. The persons in this

* It should be observed, that after Maclean refused to make the apology, he, according to his pamphlet, engaged in various parleys with the government, during which he bolted his door, with as much caution, as if an hundred bailiffs had besieged it.

situation usually give a small sum of money to the captain of the ship, as a remuneration for a place at his table, and he receives besides the value of the ship's provisions to which they are entitled as charter-passengers. This was the advantage offered to Mrs. Maclean, which her husband considers as an indelicacy, although it be a well known fact that not an officer of the king's army or his lady returns from India in any other manner.

Another article of charge against lord Wellesley is, that he gave orders to the captain of the ship, on board of which Mrs. Maclean was sent to England, not to suffer this gentleman to land until he should arrive at a British port. Here again I must remind Mr. Maclean of his *guilt* and the *law* which required that, as an *illegal resident*, he should be sent, not to Madras, Ceylon, the Cape, or St. Helena, but to *England*, there to be dealt with according to law. If there be the smallest doubt concerning the obvious meaning of this law, why does not Mr. Maclean bring his action against lord Wellesley for an illegal exercise of authority? if not, he ought to be grateful that his lordship was satisfied with the punishment which it was in his power to inflict, namely, to remove him from India; and that lord Wellesley did not urge his employers to seek that satisfaction for his offence which the law granted them. His lordship is stated to have been guilty of an illegal assumption of power when he issued directions to the captain of the ship for the regulation of his conduct respecting Mr. Maclean after his departure from India. The captain was an officer in command of one of the company's ships, and these officers are placed *under the orders* of the governors of India when they may be in a situation to receive their orders. Those given to the captain, in this instance were, *to regulate* his conduct upon a subject whereon he had *a right to regulate it by law, and under the regulations of the company's service:* his lordship's *right* to give orders to the captain was of the same kind as that exercised by *every commander in chief* on a foreign station, to the commanders of his majesty's vessels for the regulation of their conduct on any voyage which they may undertake. Have objections to orders of this description ever been made? Is it possible that any service can be carried on unless such orders are issued when necessary?

These observations prove, first, that lord Wellesley in his capacity of governor general had a *right* to remove Mr. Maclean from India, he being an *illegal resident in that country;* secondly, that Maclean had aggravated his first offence by a libel upon a magistrate, by disrespect of government, by disobedience of a former order of the preceding government to return to Europe, and *by removing himself out of the reach of the officers* charged with the execution of it; thirdly, that he had no claims upon lord Wellesley's indulgence, and yet that he was treated *with the utmost lenity;* and lastly, that all his charges against his lordship, for annihilating the personal freedom of the subject, for harshness, indelicacy towards his wife, and illegal assumption of power, ARE UNFOUNDED AND THEREFORE MALICIOUS.

The charge respecting the extinction of the liberty of the press in India, I shall examine and refute in my next. In the mean time, I cannot refrain from censuring the injustice of establishing a newspaper for the express purpose of traducing the character and reputation of a man, and of producing an unfavourable impression against him, while his conduct forms the subject of parliamentary consideration. Sixteen letters have already appeared in the Pilot, calumniating lord Wellesley, and containing statements of a most unjust and partial nature; and because no notice has been taken of these falsehoods, Mr. Paull, the Solomon of the age, considers them to be true, and sufficient to justify his employing them against lord Wellesley as established facts. But, desperate indeed, must be that cause which requires support against assertions that contain such internal evidence of faction and falsehood, as the productions of such a paper as the Pilot.

I shall close these remarks by applying to Mr. Maclean, with only two verbal alterations, the advertisement which he has prefixed to his pamphlet against lord Wellesley. "As virtue is rendered more amiable by the contemplation of vice; as beauty itself becomes more lovely by the contrast with deformity: so I am not without hopes, that even the imperfect delineation contained in these pages of some hideous features of FALSEHOOD, may contribute to heighten the native attractions of TRUTH."

DISMISSAL OF THE LATE MINISTRY.

The blessed change which hath taken place in his majesty's councils continues to excite universal joy throughout the country. When a man meets a friend in the streets, the first salutation with which they usually greet each other is in the tone of congratulation for the happy escape of the people out of the hands of the whig club rabble, and the sparkling constellation of coalesced state prodigies. Every one rejoices in the change; every one is grateful for his majesty's firmness; every one laughs at the folly of the expelled ministers. Some persons have been led to suppose, from the egregious impolicy of the ex-ministers, that they preferred the catholic bill on purpose to be turned out, as they found they were such an imbecile phalanx, that they were pitied by their friends, and laughed at by their enemies. There may be some truth in this surmise; but they who understand their characters and principles as I do, cannot go so far as to believe, weak as they are, that they would quit their stations without sighs, groans, tears, and unfeigned signs of deep regret. At the beginning of the present year, I commenced my labours with rebuking my countrymen for wishing each other the compliments of the season and an happy new year; little dreaming that within three months we should be blessed with so jocund an Easter at home, while Bennigsen abroad was merrily driving our enemies into the mud. But I must reserve my gaiety until a more suitable occasion to display it, when we will have a few gambols, at the expense of all the discarded talents.

The principle of the catholic question was sufficiently animadverted upon in my last number. I have little to add to the reasonings then adduced against the measure. This empire has certainly been rescued by his majesty from the greatest evil that could have befallen it: our constitution is preserved; our youth are saved from the approach of a contaminating superstition; and the protestant part of the community will avoid the mortification of beholding pagan shews and processions defiling the streets and public places of the nation. It was for the sake of ridding themselves of this compound yoke of civil and religious despotism, that our brave forefathers buckled on their armour, and drew their swords. It was for the sake of securing for ever our church establishment, that they constructed all those legislative outworks, which the late ministers attempted to undermine. The event has proved, that the principles of the constitution are thoroughly understood and cherished, both by king and people, though they seem to be but little appreciated by the late servants of the crown; it has proved that while these sappers and miners were at work to undermine the bulwarks of our citadel, our vigilant governor marked their progress with a penetrating eye, and just as they were preparing to apply the match, he sprung a counter-mine, blew up the whole rabble rout, and compelled them to relinquish their design.

It is curious to hear the ravings of the defeated party. Against the duke of Portland, they have directed their invectives with peculiar acerbity, without reflecting that no man could so properly be placed at the head of an administration resolved to support the church and the state, as the nobleman, whose illustrious progenitors were distinguished for their zeal and attachment to that cause, and who, indeed, derived all their honours from the fidelity and courage, with which they fought the battles of the constitution. The house of Bentinck was the theme of admiration in all the schools of the whigs, and it was the pride of the whig club rabble; but now these people, when out of place, have discovered, with their usual baseness and ingratitude, that the duke of Portland merits their licentious abuse, because he is *old*. This very circumstance ought to have attracted their respect, if any thing resembling public principle was harboured in their bosoms; but the country entertains sentiments far different from those propagated by the disappointed faction. I shall here refresh the memory of these calumniators, and state *why* the acceptance of office at this conjuncture, stamps the character of the duke of Portland with the indelible impression of PATRIOT.

When open licentiousness stalked over the land; when the constitution was assailed by clandestine treason, and open hostility; when the Horwicks, the Whitbreads, the Tierneys, and other noble leaders, assumed to themselves the title of "*friends of the people*;" when they waged open war against our state institutions, while the

state itself was driving upon the breakers, from which it was only rescued by the resolution and skill of the GREAT PILOT whose name is emblazoned on the rolls of fame; the duke of Portland, firm and true to the political principles of his family, abandoned the party of which he had long been the admired head, and united his political strength in the support of the cause which the former rival of his power so nobly maintained. Here we are furnished with a signal proof of consistent integrity: the next circumstance affords an additional confirmation of it. *He never returned into the arms of the party.* He perceived the drift of their policy, and, like a principled statesman, withdrew from their connexion. How far *some* of the late ministers can stand the test of such a contrast of character and loyalty; how far they can defend their motives in quarrelling with their old friends, and in joining hands with them again, for the sake of forcing themselves into power, I leave to be explained by such men as earl Fitzwilliam, and the *reformed* penitents and proselytes. Lastly, after having retired from office, perceiving the impending danger which menaced that constitution, for the sake of which he had before separated himself from his former colleagues, the duke of Portland entered again upon the stormy stage, even in his declining years, to stem that torrent of innovation which was about to bear away all the fences erected for the public safety. This is his grace's crime in the eyes of the discarded faction—but it is an additional laurel shooting out of his ducal coronet, which crowns with glory the whole of his public life. I might expatiate further upon this subject; but, for the present, these observations will suffice to convict the infamy, though it may not silence the voice of the party.

The new ministry, whose talents and characters I shall take an early opportunity of contrasting with the puny merits of their predecessors, have acceded to office upon a great constitutional principle; and though there may be persons who pretend "that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary, for the welfare and security of any part of his majesty's extensive empire;" yet, I trust, no man, who has made the constitutional policy of the British government his study, will deny, that, without the vesting of such a power in the crown, when the nature of the pledge required is to ensure the stability of the crown itself, there can be no safety either for the monarch or the state. If any doubt remain upon this point, it will be entirely dispelled by the admirable reasoning of my correspondent, PUBLIUS, whose letter appears in this week's Review. Let that letter be read with the attention it merits, and the case will be set for ever at rest, in the mind of every man who has not the loss of power to bemoan, or of a place to deplore.

†‡† LORD MELVILLE in my next.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

My Lord,—In prefacing the following observations, by the general proposition that it is the duty of all public characters to state their motives of political conduct, on any momentous question, I cannot for a moment doubt but that your lordship and myself are perfectly agreed. In the particular application of it to yourself, I can consequently anticipate no objection. On these data, therefore, I shall call your lordship's attention to a part of your conduct, intimately connected with your two-fold situation of a spiritual peer, and principal of Brazen-nose College. When the petition against the bill in favour of dissenters was proposed, and unanimously carried, in a convocation more numerous than any that had been convened for some years, your lordship thought proper to absent yourself, though in Oxford at the time. The consequent animadversions on your lordship's character have been various and manifold. It is a justice, therefore, which you owe to yourself, my lord, to state explicitly that you either approved of the restrictions, as proposed by that bill, or that you had other strong reasons to justify your absence on such an important occasion.

Those who are unacquainted with the general disinterestedness of your character may probably impute it, but, I trust, wrongfully, to worldly views. On the ground of gratitude, for past favours from one of the strenuous advocates of the measure, your lordship is too sound a moralist to wish that your defence should rest. The

accuracy of your political and historical knowledge forbids the supposition of your not being acquainted with, and your acceptance of high spiritual rank precludes the possibility of your not approving of those restrictive clauses as to religious tenets, under which your lordship holds your see, and our beloved monarch his crown. The sister universities (happily on this, and, I trust, on all future occasions) going hand in hand; the whole clergy of the united kingdom, the whole body of the people, have a moral right to demand an explanation on this head. I shall await your lordship's answer in the full expectation that it will contain an explicit and satisfactory statement; and I can only anticipate thanks for respectfully giving your lordship an opportunity of dissipating this cloud of mystery. I remain, your lordship's most obedient, and very humble servant,

OXONIENSIS.

NORFOLK ELECTION.

Sir,—Every person, however humble his station in life, is deeply interested in the impartial administration of justice in that community of which he is a member. And, I believe it is universally allowed, that this kingdom stands unrivalled for the uncorrupt integrity of our judges, and the impartial decisions of our courts of law. It was, therefore, with astonishment I lately read in a provincial paper (The Norfolk Chronicle, March 7th) the most violent attacks upon the impartiality and integrity of one of our courts of judicature, which ever appeared in print, and this has been made by a member of that legislature, from whence the judges are selected.

The honourable committee of the house of commons appointed to try the merits of the Norfolk petition, presented on the grounds of bribery, treating, and the undue influence of government, reported, that the sitting members were not duly elected, and that the petition was neither frivolous nor vexatious. On the 4th of March, in the county court, Mr. Windham delivered a long speech to the freeholders assembled, to elect knights to serve in parliament; and adverting to the decision of the committee, he said, "I bow with the most respectful deference to the committee, under a full conviction that their decision was strictly in conformity with a conscientious discharge of their duty." But wonderful to relate, in almost the same breath, he tells us, "*the committee made him and his colleague an offer of a special report*, not as a matter of favour, but *of strict justice*, but they did not wish it to be done." This is the first instance I ever heard of, if it be true that Mr. Windham expressed himself as above, (and I trust it will be the last) in which the judges of our courts held a previous consultation with the public delinquents, in what way they would wish to have their judgment moulded. The charge here brought against the committee is of a very serious nature. No less than that thirteen members of the house of commons, acting upon their solemn oaths, have consulted the pleasure of the accused persons respecting their decision, and of delivering it contrary to *strict justice*, in compliance with the wishes of a cabinet minister and his colleague. Impressed with the fullest conviction, that, if the fact be accurately stated, they must have something to offer in their justification; I have, therefore, addressed this letter to you as the best means of making known a transaction, of such vast importance to every subject of this kingdom, not doubting the committee will either deny the charge, or assign some sufficient grounds for such an unwarranted judicial procedure.

SITOMAGUS.

ON ALL THE TALENTS.

LETTER II.

Sir,—The next egregious fallacy which the advocates of the late ministers propagate and support is, that the present difficulty arises wholly from the bigoted prejudices of the king; and that were H. M.'s conscientious scruples removed, Catholic emancipation, as they call it, would follow as a matter of course. I shall take occasion, by and by, to notice the singular way in which a whig minister is reported to have given his sanction to this calumny, by presuming to stop the progress of a bill in parliament, under pretence that it had not the king's approbation. But I must first repel this infamous falsehood. It may perhaps, sir, be permitted to an

unknown and obscure individual, to pay that homage to the virtues of his sovereign, which his heart most ardently feels. I declare then that it is the strongest conviction of my mind, that it is to the firm and dignified conduct of the king, that we, in a great measure, owe our present existence as a nation. Of that minister who guided the vessel during the most tempestuous æra of her voyage, we must hail his choice. But the immediate subject before us is one, and perhaps the only, instance in which the great mind of Mr. Pitt erred, and on which the king's wisdom and discrimination shone above that of his servant. But to call an honourable and conscientious discharge of his duty, bigotry in the king; or to suppose that he stands alone in his wish to support the church of England, is at once a gross libel upon his majesty, and upon the great body of his subjects. Let the persons who so readily assume this, only recur to the last agitation of the Catholic question in parliament (*of which let it never be forgotten that the measure proposed by lord Howick was and is a principal feature*); let them look at the majorities by which the motions of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were negatived, and then let them repeat, if they dare, this atrocious calumny, or deny that the honourable scruples of the king are in strict unison with the feelings of a vast majority of his subjects.

The divisions on that occasion, sir, were,

In the lords, for the motion	49	In the commons, for the motion	124
Against it - -	178	Against it -	336
Majority -	129	Majority	212

And yet, sir, we are told that Catholic emancipation is resisted only by the prejudices of the king. Long may H. M. possess such prejudices! Long may they be thus supported by the decided voice of parliament and the people! It is a vanity more or less peculiar to all men to think themselves in a majority, and that their own sentiments are so correct that they must be those of the generality. It is in the nature too of discontent to talk loudly, and of its opposite to be quiet. Swift, I think, remarks that a few politicians in a coffee-house, mistake their own little buz for the opinion of the world. Thus it is, sir, with the enemies of the establishment; who, I trust, though comparatively few in number, yet aided, on the one hand, by their own turbulence; and, on the other, by the natural, but in some respects blameable quiescence of their opponents, wish it to be thought that they speak the general opinion.

But suppose it to have been true that the king alone was hostile to the measure, it is a new feature in the constitution to hear that reason assigned for arresting the progress of a bill in the house of commons. It was left, sir, for a whig minister, for the *soi-disant* champion of the constitution in all his theoretical purity, to produce this anomaly in government. It is a matter of prudence, nay, perhaps, of common honesty in a minister not to introduce, as a minister, any bill into parliament which is likely, if passed, to be denied the royal assent. But when introduced, the bill becomes the property and the measure of that branch of the legislature in whose house it is, and the king's name or authority cannot be used to influence its adoption or rejection, without a high breach of the privileges of the house, and of the fundamental principles of the constitution. As there was a strong probability that the bill in question would not have passed either house, the step to which I have alluded appears the more unnecessary and unwise. I will not say that it was done to throw an odium upon the king;—I will not suppose that, conscious their measure would be rejected in either house of parliament, they were willing rather to hazard this new precedent than find themselves in a minority; but I do say that if they expected the bill ever to reach that stage which would require the royal assent, they entertained an opinion which is but little complimentary to their own discretion or foresight; and, that, at all events, this or any other bill however imprudently introduced is entitled to proceed in its regular stages to a fair parliamentary test.

Akin to the misrepresentation I have just combated, is another, which is asserted with no less zeal; and as it is inadvertently espoused by some few persons, whose opinions are intitled to more weight than those of the advocates of faction, it deserves a calmer attention. I mean that with respect to the coronation oath. We hear a great deal, sir, about this oath; that it is the coronation oath

which gives these scruples to the king; that it is the coronation oath that presents the only obstacle to the arrival of that age of liberality which we are so eagerly called upon to invite. Nay, some of these casuists go so far as to assure us, that it is to an over-strained misrepresentation of this oath that his majesty's scruples are owing. As my argument will go to prove that the coronation oath has nothing at all to do with the matter, I need not stop to refute this latter assertion.

The coronation oath forms part of the law and constitution, and was established by one of those acts passed at the revolution, which led to the placing his majesty's family upon the throne, to the exclusion of that family who had introduced popery and bloodshed. The coronation oath is one of the safeguards of the constitution, and doubtless ever present to his majesty's upright mind. But I humbly conceive (and I tread this new ground with great deference) that in what it forbids to be done, it merely provides against an inclination in the king to do or sanction such acts; and, therefore, that *till there exists that inclination*, the check of the coronation oath does not take effect. I will illustrate my meaning by a parallel case, which is my own, as it must be that of your readers. In the course of my life I have more than once taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. But does any loyalty rest merely upon the oaths? Is it the mere circumstance of having taken them that prevents my turning a traitor to the king? Were I invited to join in a treasonable conspiracy, should I or any other loyal man excuse myself merely upon the ground that it would be a breach of my oath? No, sir, we should resist and spurn the idea from principle; nor would, I apprehend, those oaths have any effect upon our conduct, unless we found ourselves swerving from our allegiance. By the same reasoning, therefore, to say that the king is only deterred by the coronation oath from endangering the church establishment, is as correct as it would be to say, that honest men are withheld from robbery and murder, merely by the penalties the law attaches to those offences.

I believe, sir, H. M. and his people would feel the same objection to the Catholic claims if no such oath existed; and I trust the time will never come when that will form the only obstacle to the downfall of our civil and religious establishments. Persons who have incautiously admitted this assertion, would do well to consider what it is they admit, and to see the insidious tendency of the argument; for admit that the coronation oath is the only obstacle to this or any other measure; and it follows in fair argument that the oath itself, or at least so much of it as creates the difficulty, ought to be repealed. No, sir, the coronation oath can only be regarded as it protects some established principles and institutions. It is to the propriety and necessity of those principles and establishments that we are to look, and not merely to the barriers which protect them. And I can no more consent to put the glorious principles of the revolution at issue upon the existence of an oath, or upon a technical discussion of the terms of that oath, than I would rest the loveliness of virtue upon its assertion as an abstract principle, or the wants and necessities of the peasantry of Ireland upon the selfish claims of a few turbulent demagogues. This would naturally lead me to another of their fallacies, viz. that the Catholic bill would have been a great boon to the mass of the people of Ireland:—but your limits compel me to postpone its consideration till my next. I am, sir, &c.

PUBLIUS.

THE TREATING ACT.

Sir,—I have taken the liberty to submit to your perusal a few observations which arose in my mind on reading your remarks upon the Norfolk Election. You will either give them publicity or not, as your own discretion shall determine. In the comments you have made upon the resolutions, which were passed at the meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Norfolk, are dispersed certain animadversions, which I can by no means subscribe to. You say they afford you an opportunity to give them a serious lecture, on the illegality, corruption, and dangerous tendency of their conduct. I own that I cannot discover any sentiment, that is contained in your quotation, which merits so severe a reprehension. I do not intend to assert, that to violate the law of the land is not reprehensible; but I have ever persuaded myself, that if it is illegal to convey electors to the place of election,

and simply to provide for their accommodation and refreshment when they are there, it is bordering very much upon absurdity to suffer such a law to exist upon our statute book by the side of another, whose enactments are in open hostility with, if not destroyed by, its operation. It is plain, that I here allude to the act which fixes the qualification of voters at forty shillings a year. In the course of your remarks you appear to justify what in reality the resolutions of this meeting have asserted; that the Treating act does, in effect, virtually disfranchise such freeholders. I will not dispute with you the policy of such an operation; but I may be allowed to say that the law, as it now stands, at once acknowledges their right to vote; and deprives them, by a side wind, of the power to exercise it. What then, let me ask you, is to be done in such a case? for I cannot admit that the merits of the Treating act are out of the question. Shall the vote be smuggled, as I believe it invariably has been, or must the respective candidate, on the event of every election, wrap himself up in the mantle of that canting millenarian philosophy which presides over the reforming Sapientes of the day, and trust to the pure, virtuous, and uncorrupt influence of the chimerical twins, Freedom and Independence? For my own part, I am disposed to think that our legislators will, hereafter, further prove that in their practice they have a much more correct notion of the nature of man than we are led to conclude from their theories; and, on similar occasions, I verily trust, a man may submit to one of the inuendoes of your lecture, without pleading guilty to the other two; for I am at a loss to imagine by what moral argument it can possibly be made to appear, that the facts, admitting them to be as you have stated, do at all fix upon the parties, the charge of corruption, or prove the bad tendency of their conduct. In the hope that you will dispassionately receive what I further have to offer, I shall not suppress the conviction I feel, that there is something highly disgusting in those squeamish scruples, which prohibit a gentleman of fortune, from the exercise of a common act of generosity and gratitude, while they compel him to submit to the solicitation of a favour from the hands of a man, who, if he is willing to grant it, is only restrained from compliance by trammels of their own workmanship. That scenes of riot, confusion, and drunkenness should be prevented as much as possible, few men will deny; but, between these and bare remuneration, there is a manifest distinction; and when I reflect upon the foregoing facts, and couple them with others of equal, if not superiour force, I am led to conclude, that it is not in this instance alone, that a faulty system is discoverable. For what man is there in existence, who does not believe, that such illegality is practised at every contested election as that which unseated the members for Norfolk? and who is there so blind as not to perceive, that if any member retains his seat, he does so because his antagonist does not choose to petition, or because he is unable to substantiate the fact, owing to the scientific management of some well-trained electioneer? It is not to this law, abstractedly considered, that I have so much objection; but, when I view it, as one of the innumerable instances which might be named, evincing what I call the fatal fashion of the times we live in; I cannot restrain the conscientious endeavour to point out to the sober attention of my countrymen, a quarter where, if mine own antiquated way of life does not egregiously mislead me, very serious danger is to be apprehended. Man has ever been considered as blind to his own interest, and a more alarming exemplification of the fact cannot, I fear, be found than what we daily witness in the licentious appetites of our political Latitudinarians, who proceed as if they expected to subdue all the evil and immoral propensities of man's nature; and countenance the folly of that parent who, having failed to impress upon the minds of his unruly children, the duty of obedience, and having bred them up in the dangerous belief that resistance is a matter of prudence only, finds himself at last to his own dishonour and their shame, bereft of the authority which God and nature gave him: the superanuated old fool, as his illuminated children will perhaps pronounce him, may, too late, deplore the criminal laxity of his own conduct, and in vain endeavour to console himself with the reflection, that in the good intentions of his own heart; he did not calculate upon the rebellious workings of his offspring. I hope to God the time may be far distant, if it cannot be altogether averted, when the evils of the good intentions of our immediate ancestors shall exemplify my meaning, and prove that they had ancestors who consulted the book of nature to a better purpose than themselves.

A CONSTANT READER.

QUERIES.

The lurking anecdote, the whisper'd lie,
Fed the keen fury of the general cry.

ANON.

Sir.—Some men there are, I am sorry to observe, who, contrary to the true spirit of British honour and benevolence, joyfully seize every opportunity of insulting the children of misfortune, and of deriding their woe.—With them it is more laudable to crush a fallen enemy, than to raise him from the ground. A short time after the succession of the *late* ministry to power, a letter, signed "HOLOFERNES," as remarkable for its pedantry as impertinence, appeared in one of the daily prints.* The author, purposing, no doubt, to display his own *superior* abilities and learning, commenced in a most pompous style, with various quotations from Milton; wherein he very *ingeniously*, though not very *civilly*, endeavoured to assimilate the *then* ex-ministers with the hapless devils of Pandemonium,

——— ———the sport and prey
Of wracking whirlwinds,———
Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved.

Fearing, however, that the comparison was obscure, perhaps incomprehensible;—or, what is more probable, being desirous of convincing the astonished vulgar, that "all the talents" were in himself united; our sagacious wight shifted the scene, and disclosed to our view the Grecian camp. Here, like Dr. Pangloss in the comedy, he put on a solemn countenance, and treated his auditors with scraps of Greek, scouted hoary headed Nestor, and re-modelled all his cabinet. To Mr. Canning † he assigned Achilles's place, and bountifully distributed the remaining posts of emolument and patronage to that gentleman's friends, compelling the luckless sons of Greece to retire without a pension.

Having thus briefly stated the heads of this heterogenous composition, I shall conclude with a few concise interrogatives applicable to my subject; and as the learned writer, whose brilliant ideas I now have the honour to criticise, is, I presume, in the situation of Hogarth's poet,

A poor, diurnal, tiny, scribbling elf,
Who signs *Vox Populi*,—but means himself;
Gives forth his dogma's with imperious frown,
And calls his trash, "The censure of the Town,"

It shall be my care that these questions be short and suitable to his comprehension.

1st.—Pray, who NOW most resemble the devils in Pandemonium?—the present ministry, or you and your friends?

2dly.—When you settled the Grecian cabinet, and nominated Mr. Canning, Achilles; did you not reserve to yourself the post of "THERSITES?"

3dly.—As you have conned over your Homer with so much attention lately, do you remember the punishment inflicted on Thersites?‡

4thly.—If you ever open Scriptures, do you not know that HOLOFERNES, whose name you have so properly adopted, suffered decapitation by means of a woman, by the hand of JUDITH?

---

* The Morning Chronicle.

† The worthy scribbler delineates Mr. Canning marshalling his compeers, like Achilles.

‡ Thersites, an officer the most deformed and illiberal of the Greeks during the Trojan war. He was fond of ridiculing his fellow soldiers, particularly Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses. *Achilles* killed him with one blow of his fist, because he laughed at his mourning the death of Penthesilea.——Lempriere's Dictionary.

---

†† The letter from Dublin from an Irish catholic is under consideration. He writes with temper, all things considered, and therefore he shall meet with proper attention.

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 16. Saturday, April 18, 1807. Price 10d.

HISTORICAL.

Two events of great importance and splendour have augmented the glory of the British arms, both by land and sea—these are, the capture of Monte Video by the troops under the command of sir Samuel Achmuty, and the passage of the Dardanelles by the British squadron commanded by admiral Duckworth. All the circumstances relative to the first transaction, will be found in another part of this week's review; but, the official details of the passage of the Dardanelles, have not yet reached this country. Monte Video was taken by storm, not without considerable resistance on the part of the Spaniards, and the consequent loss on our part of several gallant officers and men. Our forces took possession of a great number of merchant vessels, richly laden, and some ships of war, which were in the harbour. The journals of the discarded ministers have had the cool assurance to ascribe the whole merit of this brilliant exploit to the sapience and energy of their employers, and to adduce the fact as a pledge of the vigour of their future administration, had they remained in power. Never was there a more unjust pretension; for I need scarcely remind my readers, that the plan of attacking the Spanish settlements in South America, originated exclusively in Mr. Pitt's administration, and was first carried into execution by sir Home Popham. So far, therefore, from the whig club populace having a right to claim any share of the merit of the conquest of Monte Video, I maintain, that it should be put to the account of the administration which preceded them; inasmuch as it is evident, from the supine stupidity of their external policy, that if "all the talents," had remained in power for half a century, the bold conception of striking at this source of the Spanish power, would not have entered into their weak and bewildered imaginations. Praise should be deserved before it is bestowed, otherwise it assumes the form of ridicule. To urge, therefore, that the late ministers have given a proof of vigour in this case, is neither more nor less than to insult their fallen condition; for it is well known, that if they had evinced the least degree of vigour, at the proper seasonable occasion, we should have obtained possession of Monte Video without having cause to deplore, as we now do, the loss of so many brave men, whose lives were sacrificed in the assault of that place. If, immediately upon the receipt of the intelligence of the successes of sir Home Popham, and general Beresford, in the Rio de la Plata, an expedition had been fitted out and dispatched, for the purpose of following up those successes; or, if instead of detaining the force which they afterwards resolved to send thither, cooped up for whole months in transports, while they were engaged in negociating that peace with France, which, had it been effected, would have prostrated the whole civilized world at the feet of its common oppressor; if this measure had been adopted with promptness and vigour, the Spaniards would not have been allowed time to improve their military discipline, to recover from the first impression of panic which our victory at Buenos Ayres had occasioned amongst them; nor would they have been able to collect and organize a force equal to such a resolute resistance as that which our brave troops encountered at Monte Video. This reasoning is completely supported by the evidence adduced to the same effect by admiral Stirling, in his dispatch to the admiralty. What other political purpose, or what views to gratify, admiral Stirling might cherish by inserting such a paragraph in his letter, no one can be at any loss to account; but the late ministry shewed a great want of dexterity, at least, in selecting an admiral, as the most appropriate person to cast a slur upon the enlightened opinions and conduct of the gallant officer whom he superseded. The subject is handled by admiral Stirling in such a manner as to exalt the character of sir Home Popham, and to arraign the policy of the late ministers. Whether this were intended by the admiral, the ex-ministry can best explain; but certain it is, that his expressions go to the extent I have stated. He says, "it has been much the custom to speak lightly of the resistance to be expected

from the Spaniards in this country; and with confidence of the facility which ha
been given to naval operations, by a prior knowledge of the river; but the battle
lately fought, prove the former opinion to be erroneous, and experience evinces tha
all the information hitherto acquired, had not prevented the most formidable diffi
culties." This is the language of high panegyric on sir Home Popham, and of con
demnation on his persecutors. For, if the difficulties of the navigation of the Ri
de la Plata be so great; and if the spirit of the Spaniards be so unexpectedly cou
rageous, as represented by admiral Stirling, how did it happen, that with forces ver
inferior in number to those commanded by the admiral and sir Samuel Achmuty, si
Home Popham and general Beresford were able to contend against a stronger forc
than the one opposed to the captors of Monte Video, and notwithstanding this disad
vantage, to prevail over it? I do not intend the least disparagement from the meri
of the conquerors of Monte Video, but I cannot refrain from observing, that the fac
as mentioned by the admiral, bespeaks the eulogium of the captors of Buenos Ayres
since it proves that skill, promptitude, vigour, and gallantry, were all united in th
first expedition which sailed up the Rio de la Plata, and captured that city. Th
subsequent loss of the city, and the capitulation of the little force by whom it wa
taken, has nothing to do with the argument; since it is apparent, that if an excess
confidence, and a mistaken lenity had not influenced the conduct of our galla
general, the city would still have been in our hands. In cases of this sort, not
moment should be lost in deliberating: there is but one alternative for a command
to adopt. When, contrary to the terms of their capitulation, those perfidious rasca
entered into secret plots with the troops without the city; and when, in defiance
their plighted faith, they fired upon our brave fellows from their houses, and th
steeples of their churches, the natural and necessary course of proceeding on o
part, which indeed, self-preservation dictated, was, to have set fire to the city, an
hanged its treacherous bishop, together with Pueridon, and a commodious lot of h
perfidious associates. Why this was not done, has been sufficiently accounted for i
the 6th number of this volume, pages 105 and 106. Thus it is obvious, from admir
Stirling's narrative, that the difficulties surmounted by sir Home Popham and gener
Beresford, place those officers in a most distinguished point of view. Not less disti
guished, but in a negative degree, was the conduct of the late ministry; they see
indeed, to have availed themselves of the intelligence of the capture of Buenos Ayre
to convince the country of their utter incapacity, of their dilatoriness, and total wa
of vigour, in the management of our affairs. They are censurable for their delay
not dispatching an adequate force, by the prompt arrival of which, much blood wou
have been spared, from the circumstance of the Spaniards being less prepared to r
ceive them; and they are highly culpable, when they did come to the determ
nation of sending an expedition, for not sending one of a greater force. They a
thus condemned by the voice of their own admiral, and the claim of me
and vigour which their adherents prefer in their favour, falls completely to th
ground. But, these are not the only imputations which the admiral brings again
them. In another part of his dispatch, he has furnished a most substantial grou
for their immediate impeachment. "The defence," he says, "made by the enem
protracted the siege longer than was expected, and *reduced our stock of powder*
low, that the King's ships, with all the transports, and what a fleet of merchantmen h
for sale, could not have furnished a further *consumption for more than* TWO DAY
when a practicable breach was *fortunately* made; and on the third instant, early i
the morning, the town and citadel were most gallantly carried by storm." It
impossible for any one to read this passage without mingled horror and di
gust at the unpardonable negligence of the late ministers; and if their names shou
ever go down to posterity, associated with those of the conquerors of Monte Vide
they will be read with execration only. Great God! is it to be borne with, that
body of men should have the impudence to arrogate to themselves the possession
all the best talents of the country, and in the face of this assumption, to dispatch
force without a stock of ammunition sufficient to enable its commanders to car
on the most trifling operations! Will the people of England any longer suffer suc
despicable braggarts to insult their good sense with impunity? This scandalou
and criminal neglect calls for immediate parliamentary inquiry, and for condig

punishment. I denounce them, in the name of an injured nation, and for the sake of appeasing the shades of the heroes who nobly fell before Monte Video, a sacrifice to their crime. Is this their boasted economy? Is it economy to spare ammunition, but to be lavish of the country's best blood? And after all, what was the quantity of ordnance which it was requisite to supply with powder? *only eighteen pieces of battering cannon, and two mortars!* We may easily make an estimate of the quantity of powder expended from the 19th of January till February the third, the day of the assault, a period of only 15 days; from which it will appear, that if the expedition had been attacked on its passage, our naval and land forces, had they repelled the assailants, would have arrived in the Rio de la Plata, without a round of cartridges, perhaps without a single pound of powder; or, if, by any of those untoward accidents which will occur in war, the breach had not been made, and the fortress not been carried, our whole army, besides the squadron, consisting of twelve ships of war, and a fleet of transports, must have surrendered, unconditionally, to the enemy. As it was, the breach was so small, that we sustained a prodigious loss of men in the assault; a loss that would have been obviated, if the troops had been better supplied with ordnance and ammunition. But, when I reflect upon the perilous state of jeopardy in which they were placed, by the culpable remissness and improvidence of the late ministers: when I contemplate the inevitable fate of our army and navy, if their signal valour had not redeemed the ignorance of those ministers; when I review the infamous cause of the protracted delay of the expedition, and compare with these circumstances the destitute condition in which it at length arrived at its place of destination; my soul is harrowed up with horror and indignation, and, as a Briton, I call for vengeance on that guilty and execrable coalition of public men, who in this, as in every other part of their ministry, have demonstrated, in colours which can never be effaced, that they were an ignorant, mercenary crew, unanimous in evil, diligent only in mischief, variable in principles, constant to flattery, talkers for liberty, but slaves to power. These are the men who, vaunting of their superiour wisdom in military affairs, commenced their operations with insulting our most patriotic means of defence, and terminated their inglorious career with hearing from the extreme border of the Atlantic, that they had sent an expedition to lay siege to cities, and to conquer—WITHOUT AMMUNITION.

If a ministry of such feebleness, ignorance, and inexperience, can be said to have combined all the talents, consideration, and property in the kingdom, as Mr. Tierney is reported to have asserted in the house of commons, in the debate of last Wednesday; and if the people even believed in such impertinent folly, a most melancholy prospect opens to our view; for, if it be a fact, the dismissal of men whose capacities I have proved to be but little above the understandings of children, and whose hearts are as callous as the hearts of mules, establishes the sad truth, that this country is sunk into a state of degradation infinitely below that in which the Caffrees and natives of Madagascar are to be found. I do not entertain so disreputable an opinion of my fellow subjects; and I build this opinion upon the universal derision of the talents, and execration of the politics, of the ministers who have been expelled from the councils of their abused sovereign. The good sense of the British public had long ago anticipated with eager hope the hour when these consequential political coxcombs would be driven from the helm of state; and when it was generally known, that they had themselves provided the *rope* and mounted the ladder, which was afterwards kicked from under them, every true patriot rejoiced at seeing them *turned off*, and only regretted that the exquisite scene was not physically realized. This charge of delinquency, which I have brought against them, for sending out an expedition to the other end of the world, without making adequate provision for the most obvious wants of an attacking force, would have been *alone* a sufficient ground for their expulsion from power; and therefore, it is to be expected, at a time when they are resorting to all the low artifices of faction, to preserve themselves from being driven into perpetual obscurity, followed by the hisses and curses of their insulted countrymen, that some independent member of parliament, will manfully stand up in the house of commons, and move for their immediate impeachment. We ought to strike at them now that they are

reeling about and not yet recovered from the drunkenness of their power. By this means, we shall give them a finishing and an exterminating blow; and cut off for ever even the glimmerings of hope that they will be reinstated in those situations which they have most unworthily filled. Lord Howick was first lord of the admiralty when the expedition sailed; he ought, therefore, to be the first victim of the public resentment: next in order comes *Whimsicalo*, the late minister of war and colonies, who is also responsible for the shameful omission upon which I have already descanted. Were I in the situation of either of those ministers (which I would not be for worlds) no balmy sleep would ever close my weary eyes; a thousand furies would hover round my pillow; a thousand strokes of an accusing conscience, would lacerate my aching heart. Are they men?—if they *be* men of British mould, they must feel and tremble. Of this, therefore, we may rest assured, that should they be able to avert the national justice, they cannot elude the national detestation; and though they may affect to brave the public indignation, they will never be able to escape the scorpion stripes of remorse.

With respect of the passage of the Dardanelles, it is beyond all dispute one of the most useful, important, and splendid events of the whole war. The decision with which the project was formed, the intrepidity and promptness with which it was carried into execution, and its happy result, demand the warmest praise of the able officers who were employed in the service. At a crisis of such awful interest as the present, this glorious achievement has not been surpassed by any of the most brilliant of our former successes. The energy and daring resolution with which the great object of separating the Porte from its connection with France was accomplished, cannot be too much extolled. But the ex-ministry are entitled to no merit on this account, inasmuch as the measure originated with the officers upon that station. The fact of the passage of the Dardanelles, with the capture of the Turkish navy, and the peace concluded by the Porte with this country and Russia, which are stated to have been the immediate consequences of it, have not yet been officially authenticated, but no doubt is entertained upon the subject. Until however all the circumstances shall have been detailed, it would be hazarding too much to make any further remarks upon the event.

All the reports of battles in the vicinity of the Vistula, of the defeat of the Russians, and the occupation of Koningsberg by the French, are unfounded. No action of any importance has taken place, or to write more correctly, no intelligence of such an event has reached this country. Buonaparte appears to be as completely in the mud as his pacific friends are in Great Britain; but the reinforcements which are daily arriving to the army of general Bennigsen, hold out the reasonable prospect of his being able, in a short space of time, to smother the tyrant. Political reinforcements are also hourly arriving in support of the present ministers, and I am confident that *we*, too, shall soon be qualified to suffocate our late tyrants in a similar manner.

What an extraordinary coincidence of joyful circumstances has occurred to usher in the glorious change of our ministers! The intelligence of the capture of Monte Video, the passage of the Dardanelles, and the submission of the Porte, the menacing posture of the remnant of Europe against the common enemy, the clouds of Kozaks approaching in whirlwinds of cavalry to the grand stage of human contention; and to crown the whole, the glorious intelligence brought by the Cambrian frigate, of the rejection by the president and senate of America, of the treaty which the late miserable ministers had concluded with the commissioners from the United States, and which they had transmitted to that country as a sneaking peace-offering to appease the anger of that insatiate commercial commonwealth. Too many concessions have already been made to the Americans, who no sooner obtain one boon from us, at the expense of our navigation laws, our commerce, and shipping, than they instantly demand another. Should the government of the United States enforce their non-importation act, I trust the present ministers of Great Britain will compel them to rescind that act by the prompt decision and energy of their measures: or, in case they should refuse to comply with this just demand, that ministers will inflict upon them such signal chastisement, as to silence for ever their clamorous requisitions. It should be constantly kept in our remembrance, that the navigation

laws are the fundamental principles of our maritime power and commercial opulence, and that every infraction of those laws, or any partial sacrifice of those principles, must shake the stability of our dominion as an independent and sovereign maritime state. No motives of temporary convenience, therefore, should induce us to yield one atom of these principles. When the whole continent of Europe had grounded its arms before the power of France, and we had to sustain singly the war against her, the northern powers acting under the influence of an honest but infatuated monarch, who had been deluded by French intrigues, combined together to dispute our right to maintain our navigation laws. They threatened us with the force of their united power, but we resented the indignity; they armed, but we fought for our rights, and providence crowned our struggles with victory.—Are we not the same men who existed at the time the battle off Copenhagen was fought, when the navigation act was vindicated by the thunder of the British squadron, under the command of our immortal Nelson? The ministers who planned that expedition never cringed to France or America; they were men endowed with courage, resolution, patriotism, and honesty. By such sentiments and conduct, a nation, though encompassed by numberless foes, becomes alive to its true interests, acts up to the greatness of the stake and the grandeur of the cause, and displays a splendid vigour of character, which always ensures success, and confounds the strongest and most formidable combinations. Hence I infer, that war is at all times just and sacred when it is occasioned by the necessity of upholding the navigation laws, or, in other words, our maritime ascendancy. We are, at this time, the undisputed sovereigns of the sea. Oh! transcendant title, that must never be relinquished! by the possession of which we are constituted the protectors of the oppressed, and the last hope of freedom and of civilization! If, then, America *will* come to issue with us upon this our domination, let us make war upon her with a vigour and a vengeance, that shall retrieve the errors and the base concessions of the late dishonoured and discarded ministry. They reason as cowards, who pretend that war is, at all times, a scourge, and that a war with America would be the bane of this country. It would have a very different effect. It would shew to all the nations of the earth that we are not to be intimidated from the assertion of our rights; and it would also convince America of her folly and incompetency in disputing the exercise of those rights. To that state, a commercial war (and none other, I hope, would be pursued on our part) with Great Britain, must lead to the complete annihilation of her commerce, shipping, and navigation. Within six months from the date of its commencement, she would be constrained either to keep all her mercantile ships within her own ports, and to dismiss their crews; or, if they ventured abroad, they would necessarily be captured by our cruizers. In this case, by a swift and vigorous attack upon her commerce, we should recover above 30,000 of our own seamen, British subjects seduced into her service by perjury and fraud; we should annihilate her commercial navigation; regain every surrendered particle of our navigation system; and reduce her to a condition of maritime debility which half a century of persevering industry could not repair. But all this would require great dispatch and energy in our measures; which, I am persuaded, the present administration would exemplify to their fullest extent. Let the Americans, therefore, calculate beforehand the balance of profit and loss on their side. For my own part, I do not hesitate to declare, that I should consider a war with America, *upon the principle of asserting the navigation laws* of Great Britain, as a *desideratum* in our system of policy, and as likely to confer great benefits upon our country. It would ruin America; it would straighten and materially injure France; therefore, it would essentially promote the interests of Great Britain.

THE THREE EXPIRING PANGS OF ALL THE TALENTS!

Every day, every hour, aye, every minute brings fresh accessions to the strength of the new ministry, while the routed faction give themselves up to sighs, groans, and unavailing tears. A few days ago I met one of the partizans, and found him inconsolable at their dismissal. Deep sighs came from him, such as we read of in the Arabian night's tales, when some forlorn soul is labouring under the spell of an

enchanter. He even went so far as to revile his chiefs most bitterly for their folly, indecorum, and perverseness. I endeavoured in vain to administer consolation, and to bid him be of good cheer, for that in about twenty years, some unforeseen accident in human affairs might restore his friends to the enjoyment of their forfeited power. But alas! he would not take comfort; he was so completely sunk in despondency, that he exclaimed this world had no more charms for him to wish to remain in it. Upon hearing his sad complaint, and being anxious to give him the best advice in my power, I suggested, that if he really were sick of this world, quere, whether it would not be advisable to make an experiment of another, by means of a tight rope, making a straight letter of himself at the next tree he should come to? At the same time, I recommended strongly the application of the same remedy to the rest of the little party; but, as this did not accord with his notions, we parted; he cursing the times, and I exulting in them.

There have been three trials of strength since the late ministers were dismissed. A division took place in the house of lords on Tuesday morning, upon the marquis of Stafford's motion, respecting the pledge which his majesty required from the ex-ministers; when, out of two hundred and sixty-one peers, 171 voted for the new administration, and 90 against them, leaving a triumphant and decisive majority in their favour of EIGHTY-ONE members. This was the first and last pang of the discarded talents in the house of lords; proving the excellence and utility of that branch of the legislature, which is so admirably constituted as to preserve a due equipoise between the other branches of the state, and to oppose an impenetrable barrier against the wild and furious attempts of the democratical part of the constitution upon the just prerogatives of the monarch. The result of this struggle is, that the fabric of the constitution remains uninjured by the breach that was violently attempted to be made into it. It is much to be regretted, that the reports of this debate, as far it related to the speeches of those peers who remained true to their sovereign, were not completely given to the public, especially, in those minute expressions which are often more valuable than an harangue of three hours. For instance, the speech of lord Sidmouth, which was an admirable one, breathing nothing but loyalty, patriotism, and good sense, as well as remarkable for the explanation of the late transaction in the cabinet, and for its positive denial of the positions of some of his colleagues, was reported in the newspapers in a very imperfect manner. Indeed, they gave no idea of it except from the writhings of lord Lauderdale. He concluded with this fine sentence, which induces me to hope that he has seen his error in coalescing with the Foxites, that he is about to retrace his steps, and to return into that path of honour upon which he once moved with so much credit to himself and to his country. "*If, my lords,*" said he, "*the present ministers are come into power to stand by their king*—BY THEIR KING SHALL THEY STAND!"

In the house of commons, the first convulsive pang came on during the debate of Thursday se'nnight, when, on the division of the house, out of four hundred and eighty-four members present, 258 voted for the new ministers on a similar question as to one in the house of lords, leaving in their favour a majority of *thirty-two*. But the division on Thursday morning, upon Mr. Lyttleton's motion, for a resolution of regret at the expulsion of the late ministers, disclosed a most conspicuous victory against the new ministers; for, out of 444 members who voted, 244 were against all the talents, and 198 for them; so that ministers obtained a verbal majority of 46. It should be observed, however, that according to the numerical ratio of the votes at each of these divisions, the proportion of increase in favour of ministers is rather greater than 16; for the opposition lost 28 at the last division, and many of the friends of the new ministers having vacated their seats, since the first division, were necessarily absent. Hence the opposition being *minus* 28, and the ministry *plus* 46, it follows, according to the rules of algebra, that the ministers, instead of a majority of 46, have actually obtained a majority of EIGHTY-EIGHT.

With respect of the objections raised against Mr. Canning's expression, that in the event of the ministers being in a minority, they would appeal to the people, I declare that I can see nothing which is not perfectly constitutional and proper in the employment of it: nay, I go further, I insist that it is an early and unequivocal pledge of

the attachment which the new ministers feel for the liberties of the people. What measure can be so proper as an appeal to the people, when the conduct of their sovereign is called in question, especially, upon a point which affects the vital interests of the state? The late ministers affected to say, that an appeal to the people was necessary, after the unsuccessful termination of their negociation with France. Surely then, if an event of such a contemptible nature, could warrant them to dissolve the parliament, and take the sense of the people upon it; the present ministers would be much more justified in resorting to the same measure, when a most important question, involving the very existence of the constitution in church and state has been the subject not only of great alarm, but of a difference between his majesty and his ministers. The distinction between the two cases, as far as Mr. Canning's expression goes, is this:—the present ministry have honestly and openly avowed what, under certain circumstances, they would do; whereas, their predecessors adopted the same measure in an underhand manner, after they had publicly caused the late parliament to be summoned for the dispatch of business.

The two universities, the city of London, the city of Bristol with the exception of only two votes, and a multitude of other respectable cities, towns, and counties, are pouring in their addresses of thanks at the foot of the throne, for the firm conduct, and protectoral care which his majesty has shewn in the maintenance of the protestant religion. If these facts cannot convince the late ministers of their unpopularity throughout the kingdom, their supercilious vanity must be greater than their ignorance.

† The articles relative to lord Wellesley and lord Melville will appear in the next week's Review.

ON ALL THE TALENTS.

LETTER III.

Sir,—The same persons, who so readily ascribe the dismissal of the late ministers to his majesty's conscientious scruples, as connected with his coronation oath, do not hesitate to call to their aid reasons of a directly opposite and inconsistent nature, and impute their defeat to private intrigue and secret advisers; and, not content with loading their successors with this weighty charge, they think proper to allude in pointed unambiguous terms to one of the king's sons. After the positive and unequivocal contradiction this whole assertion has received from the manly, honourable speech from lord Sidmouth, on the 13th inst. it may seem almost unnecessary to notice this fallacy as it regards the immediate subject before us; yet there are reasons both in a general point of view and as affecting the illustrious person alluded to, which require that it should not pass unnoticed. If the king, sir, sees occasion to change his servants, it will hardly be contended that he is to consult with those servants themselves upon the subject; nor was it, I believe, ever insisted that the king, on such an occasion, is shut out from all other advice and must act from his own mere motion. Supposing then the king to possess this right, who is there that he can with more propriety, or with less ground of suspicion, appeal to, than the members of his own family? The king's sons as peers of the realm and hereditary councillors of the crown, are intitled to offer their advice to his majesty whenever they think proper; and, though there is no proof that any such advice has been given upon this occasion (for the proof is all the other way); yet had it been the case, the fact would have been purely constitutional, and what no man living has any right to impeach or gainsay. I notice the report, false as it is, principally because it possesses this remarkable feature, that it is aimed with a degree of rancorous malignity at a royal prince, not less distinguished for his private virtues than his public principles; and whose great crime, with his accusers, is his known, marked, honourable, and glorious attachment to the established religion of his country. What! is filial piety a crime? Is there a political expediency which requires that the king's sons should be estranged from his person? And is the attachment of the best of sons to the best of fathers capable of no better interpretation than political intrigue? Oh shame where is thy blush! I trust, therefore, sir, that to a calumny

of this description you will reply by presenting to your readers the clear, manly, constitutional speech of that illustrious person upon the Catholic petition; a speech which comprizes, in a small compass, the whole argument upon that question; a speech which would reflect the highest honour upon any man, but must be more particularly honourable both to himself and his country, when coming from the lips of a prince of the house of Brunswick. And who is there, when he has read that speech, that will hesitate to wish that such sentiments may always be near the throne! *

* The speech of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, in the house of lords, on the 10th May, 1805, on lord Grenville's motion for referring the Catholic petition to a committee.

My Lords,—After the very able manner in which my noble friend (lord Hawkesbury) has explained to this house the reasons which I hope will induce you to reject the proposal of the noble lord, it will not be necessary for me to enter diffusely into this question. But when I reflect on what were the circumstances which brought our family to the throne; and when I consider what is the object of the petition on your table, it is impossible for me to remain totally silent. With respect to the circumstances which brought our family to the British throne, your lordships well know that they originated in the revolution. The great object of that revolution was to secure the religion and liberty of these realms. These objects were confirmed by the act of settlement, by the declaration of rights, by the oath of supremacy and abjuration, and by the succession to the crown in the protestant line. To maintain and uphold all these our family was called to the throne. And whatever can militate against these principles, in the remotest degree, it is my bounden duty, as a member of that family, and as a member of your lordships' house, to resist. For this purpose, I must ask, what is the object of that petition? It is to enable the Catholics to hold offices of trust and power in the state. Was it not to oppose such a system that the revolution originated? Was it not the very life and soul of that memorable transaction to secure the rights of the church and state? Are we then, my lords, going to undo all that the revolution has done? Bear in mind, my lords, the scenes that preceded the revolution; they are strong proofs that the participation of equal power, by catholics and protestants, is a thing incompatible with the principles of both. Are you not already convinced, by facts and history, that it is impossible for protestants and catholics to agree in the administration of political power? What then will follow if the catholics be admitted to the great offices of trust? You will soon see, what, thank God! till now we have only read: we shall experience the same confusion and bloodshed which stained all the reigns from Mary, who began with granting them a dispensing power to hold offices of state, down to James, who ended with the dispensing power in their favour. He hurled himself from the throne by conferring on them offices of trust and power, which afterwards drew down on them all the weight of penal laws. I am justified, therefore, in concluding that there can be no boon more fraught with mischief to king and subjects conferred than that prayed for in this petition. Not only, however, the awful experience of past times, but the temper of the present times calls us to pause, and to listen to the voice of the two great capitals of the empire, and of different counties in the united kingdom, against this petition. We know, my lords, what are the sentiments and feelings of this nation with respect to the causes and consequences of the revolution. The memory of it is kept alive daily by the most solemn acts when men are called upon to undertake public and corporate functions. His majesty's subjects on such occasions swear to preserve his supremacy in ecclesiastical and civil matters. Does this petition acknowledge that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters? No! If then you surrender the power of the state to those who deny that supremacy, you do not maintain that supremacy, you virtually surrender it. Far be it from me, my lords, to shackle, or to fetter, the consciences of any men; but, equally far be it from me to pull down by rash innovation any of the venerable pillars of the constitution. All that can be given, consistently with reason and conscience, I am prompt to give. But the constitution I cannot, dare not, will not give. I must uphold and support, with the last effort of my nature, the establish-

To return, sir, from this apparent digression, allow me to call your attention to the fallacy noticed at the conclusion of my last letter; viz. that the proposed bill would have been a great boon to the catholics of Ireland, and that its failure is calculated to produce among them despair and discontent.

I am very far from thinking that the people of Ireland, both protestants and catholics, are without just grounds of complaint; nor can I approve of the system which this country has pursued towards the sister island since the revolution. Ireland is a mine of wealth and power, which we, as its possessors, have shamefully neglected. Had proper steps been adopted to civilise Ireland, by due encouragement of its arts and manufactures, by inducing land-owners to reside upon their estates, by checking the oppressions of the middle-men and stewards, by the erection of protestant churches, the dispersion of pious protestant ministers, and many other means of civilization which might be pointed out, I doubt whether by this time the Roman catholic religion would have existed to any extent in Ireland; for I look upon its superstitions as chiefly supported by consummate artifice acting upon the lowest ignorance: and it is for that reason we never find the civilization of the common people made an object by those who prosecute the catholic claims. But that the grievances of the people of Ireland are confined to the catholics, that they are at all connected with religious intolerance, or that the object of those who have so zealously urged the catholic claims has been the amelioration of the great body of the people, are circumstances which I cannot bring myself to believe.

Whoever will take the trouble of reading the catholic petition, which is to be found verbatim in the 4th volume of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, p. 97, must, I think, be satisfied that no object appears to have been less within the view of the petitioners than the amelioration of the great bulk of the people. On the contrary, it is impossible to attend to their claims, as stated by themselves, without perceiving that they have no religious grievances to complain of, but that political power is their object; that it is to gain that which the poor man neither wants nor can obtain, that so great an outcry is made by the rich and leading catholics, and *their connections*. There is, throughout their petition and proceedings no trace of any other object; and the lower class, who are of course the majority of the catholics, are made the mere tools of ambitious men, who will either continue to make them so, or desert them, as may suit their future views and projects. You have justly stated, sir, that the wants of the Irish peasantry are wants of the belly: these do not arise from any civil incapacities, but are much more imputable to the oppression and rapacity of the chiefs, and the bigotry of the priests of their own persuasion, who are interested in keeping up a ferment, by which they hope to profit; and it is therefore for these additional reasons, that the wants of the peasantry are not so much as glanced at in the petition.

But, to come to the measure in question. The catholic bill, as it is called, may be described in very few words; as it in effect, consists but of two clauses, —the one authorizing his majesty to grant any commission or appointment in the army to any persons who will take the oath therein appointed, in lieu of the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and the other, securing to sailors the free exercise of their religion, or rather exempting them from attending divine service on board ships of war. Now, sir, the first clause (the effect of which would have been to do away in the army the oath of supremacy entirely*) can hardly be said to hold out

---

ment in church and state, as the great step by which the house of Brunswick ascended the throne.

* This consideration does not seem to have occurred to the framers or opposers of the bill: but, as it is most probable that officers in the army, like most other persons, would take the lightest oath, where they had a choice, as this is the lightest, and as the bill authorizes his majesty to grant commissions, &c. to any persons taking this oath, it is more than probable that the oath of supremacy would soon have become totally extinct, in the very quarter where it is of the most practical importance.

any very great advantages to the peasantry of Ireland, or, in other words, to the great body of the catholics, who are, generally speaking, not very likely to become staff-officers, or to hold commissions of any description. But, say the advocates of the bill, (who bring it forward to pacify the catholics,) true it is that it may not benefit the lower orders of the people at all, but it will benefit the country; it will enable us to deliver Europe; for the catholic peasantry, as soon as they find their landlords (their absentee landlords!) and other superiors allowed to become staff-officers, will flock to the army, and we shall thus draw off the superabundant population, shall strengthen the general means of defence, and weaken the sinews of rebellion. Sir, if the peasantry of Ireland were but sufficiently informed to comprehend this, the treachery of their professed but false friends, would require no other elucidation.—So the benefit to the people of Ireland was to be the happiness of being drawn from their homes at the heels of the recruiting serjeant; and that, to the country that the catholics would be induced to enter the army, not for the country, not for the pay, not from military ardour, or from a spirit of loyalty and attachment to their king and country, but purely *as catholics;* that is, as soon as they find they can be officered only by catholic leaders, by persons who do not hesitate to tell us that the country has no claim upon their services while their demands are unsatisfied, and who, the attorney-general of Ireland and Mr. Grattan assure us, it would be ridiculous to suppose that this, or any such measure, would satisfy.

But, though the first and principal clause in the bill cannot therefore be said to be any great boon to the mass of the Irish catholics (and its benefit to the country I for one am willing to forego;) yet who will deny that character to the other? Some of your readers, sir, may perhaps be weak enough to think, that be a man of what religious persuasion he may, that cooped up in the narrow compass of a ship of war, exposed to the dangers of a service, which, more than any other, must lead the mind to frequent intercourse with its Creator;—some men, I say, might think it a boon to have the means allowed them, in such a situation, of joining in any form of religious worship; and that a Roman Catholic would be the last man to avoid this in a British ship, since our liturgy confessedly contains nothing repugnant to his religion, but is in fact founded upon it, and merely, as we conceive, pruned of its idolatries and excesses. But no, sir; in these enlightened days, one of the concessions which was to save Ireland from rebellion, to knit the two islands in perfect union, and from the failure of which such direful consequences are to be apprehended, is to exempt catholic sailors from religious worship! Surely to have made any thing of this, to have made the enactment keep pace with what it professes, viz. to secure to them the free exercise of their religion, it should have established mass on board ships of war: but that could not have been easily effected, without making the whole crew catholics, which was an attempt too arduous even for "All the Talents" of the country to venture upon. Unless then I greatly mistake its provisions, this bill only went to make staff officers of a few rich catholics, and to exempt catholic sailors from the only mode they can enjoy of public worship.

If then the measure is rightly understood in Ireland, what benefit could it be thought to confer on the mass of the people, or what disappointment to them can its failure occasion?

His majesty's present ministers surely need not rack their brains very deeply to suggest some measures more for the relief of the Irish people than this could be. I am confident that the subject will occupy their early and unceasing attention. I trust they will take it up not as a religious question, nor believe that the grievances of the people of Ireland are of a religious nature, or that they are confined to the catholics. If distinctions were to be made, it would not be difficult to shew that the loyal protestants have the strongest claims upon our favour and protection. But let every vindictive and partial feeling be lost sight of. Let them have every thing as Irishmen, as catholics nothing. Let ministers look to the Irish people as one body, having equal claims to equal laws:—keeping clear of the rock their predecessors have so incautiously split upon, and preserving untouched the protestant establishment, I have no doubt but that a system may be framed for Ireland, which, though it may fail to gratify the selfish views of a few turbulent and ambitious men, will ameliorate the condition of the Irish peasantry, and give both to protestants and

catholics the *emancipation* most congenial to the natural wants and feelings of mankind.——I am, &c. PUBLIUS.

April 15, 1807.

GENERAL STAFF.

Sir, I have derived much satisfaction, and it is my own fault if I have not also derived improvement, from your excellent remarks on military subjects in general, and on the construction, &c. of the volunteer corps in particular. I took up your papers under the impression that the difficulties attending the amending the volunteer system would be so great as to be almost insurmountable, and in candour I must acknowledge that your writings have had the effect of removing so unhandsome a prejudice from my mind. Being, however, a *regular soldier*, it is natural that I should principally direct my thoughts to the improvements which might be made in the *regular army*; I shall therefore venture to trouble you with a few remarks on a subject, which is of so much importance, that I am astonished it does not more frequently engage the attention of those who are interested in the welfare of the *army*; and *consequently* in the welfare of the *country*.

The subject to which I am anxious to call *your* attention, and that of your *military readers* is the *total want* in our army of a *general organized staff*. To convince the least experienced observer of the truth of this remark, I only wish that your advice respecting camps of exercise was put in practice on a grand and extensive scale; if such practice is essential, as you justly think it, to the well-being of the volunteers, how infinitely greater is the necessity for habituating *regular troops* to such objects and habits as *they* are certain of being accustomed to in the face of the enemy. There are some few generals in our service who have seen the obvious necessity for such practice, and have acted accordingly, but why is not the practice *universal*? can any rational man think it adviseable that a general, that any officer or *private soldier* should go on service, having a total unacquaintance with the duties which will be required of him, or of the hardships to which he will be exposed on the field of battle? Assuredly not. But I only introduced the mention of this topic, to remark that among the *innumerable advantages* which would result from these exercises, the *striking* and *material disadvantage* would also be obvious, under which an English general labours when commanding an army, from his want of a *regular staff*. To their superiority in this respect, may those French scoundrels, in a great measure, attribute their *otherwise astonishing successes*. They have uniformly paid so much attention to, and have from time to time made such great improvement in, this branch of the military service, that we must acknowledge them in THIS particular, greatly our superiors. It does not, however, necessarily follow that they shall *continue* to maintain that advantage: what improvements are *they* capable of undertaking, what skill in the art of war can they display, of which *we* are *incapable*? Whenever we have been *fairly* opposed to them, we have been successful; that success has been chiefly obtained on the ocean, 'tis true; but are not our soldiers composed of the same materials as our sailors? Let those who doubt it, reflect on their conduct in Egypt; and should they still doubt, let them remember the battle of Maida! In short, on the score of valour and bravery, it is well known that we have not been deficient; it is well known (though *too many persons in this country* seem to *have forgotten it*,) that although the valour and conduct of general Bennigsen have been great, and his victories, I trust, important; yet the example of opposing the cut-throat robber *with success*, was set him *some years ago by a countryman of his own*. Can we in gratitude and justice ever forget that a handful of British seamen and marines, aided by a few Turks, and conducted by a *gallant* NAVAL *hero*, successfully opposed, for *upwards of sixty days*, and finally succeeded, in driving before him, the *great Buonaparté*, and his *invincible army !!!* This is an instance of valiant conduct, such as perhaps no history ancient or modern can record; and let it be remembered that this action was performed by a few Britons*, against a power-

* I would not appear ungrateful to the Turks, who behaved gallantly at the siege of Acre, but it must be acknowledged that they were inspired by the noble conduct of their *great leader*, and his valiant countrymen.

ful French army! But let it also be remembered that *here* was *no want* of an *organized staff*, which in a regular army is of so much importance, that no movement of great consequence can be made without it. I have committed these remarks to paper, in the hope that you will allow them to appear in your paper, in order that they may there attract the attention of some person better qualified than myself, to *enlarge* on so important a subject. Surely, if it is necessary to possess an army at all, there can be no reasonable objection to making in it every possible improvement? and what improvement can be more essential than that to which I have alluded?

I remain, sir, your humble servant,

A BRITISH SOLDIER.

CAPTURE OF MONTE VIDEO.

Downing-Street, April 12.—A despatch, of which the following is a copy, was received this morning at the office of viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from brigadier general Achmuty, to the right hon. William Windham:

Monte Video, Feb. 6. — Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's troops under my command, have taken by assault, and after a most determined resistance, the important fortress and city of Monte Video.

The Ardent, with her convoy, arrived at Maldonado on the 5th of January; and I immediately took under my orders the troops from the Cape, commanded by lieut. col. Backhouse. On the 13th, I evacuated that place without opposition, leaving a small garrison on the Island of Gorriti.

On consulting with rear admiral Stirling, it was determined to attack Monte Video, and I landed, on the morning of the 18th, to the westward of the Caretas Rocks, in a small bay, about nine miles from the town. The enemy were in great force, with guns on the heights, when we disembarked; but they did not advance to oppose us, and suffered me to take a strong position, about a mile from the shore. A trifling cannonade, and some firing at the outposts, commenced in the afternoon, and continued occasionally during our stay on that ground.

On the 19th, we moved towards Monte Video. The right column, under the honourable brigadier-general Lumley, was early opposed. About four thousand of the enemy's horse occupied two heights to his front and right. As we advanced, a heavy fire of round and grape opened upon us; but a spirited charge in front, from the light battalion under lieutenant colonel Brownrigg, dispersed the corps opposed to him, with the loss of a gun. The enemy on the flank did not wait a similar movement, but retreated. They continued retiring before us, and permitted us, without any farther opposition, except a distant cannonade to take up a position about two miles from the citadel. Our advanced posts occupied the suburbs, and some small parties were posted close to the works; but in the evening, the principal part of the suburbs was evacuated

The next morning the enemy came out of the town, and attacked us with their whole force, about six thousand men, and a number of guns. They advanced in two columns; the right, consisting of cavalry, to turn our left flank, while the other, of infantry, attacked the left of our line; this column pushed in our advanced posts, and pressed so hard on our out-picquet, of four hundred men, that colonel Browne, who commanded on the left, ordered three companies of the 40th, under major Campbell, to their support: these companies fell in with the head of the column, and very bravely charged it; the charge was as gallantly received, and great numbers fell on both sides; at length the column began to give way, when it was suddenly and impetuously attacked in flank by the rifle corps, and light battalion, which I had ordered up, and directed to the particular point. The column now gave way on all sides, and was pursued, with great slaughter, and the loss of a gun, to the town. The right column, observing the fate of their companions, rapidly retired, without coming into action.

The loss of the enemy was considerable, and has been estimated at fifteen hundred men; their killed might amount to between two and three hundred; we have taken the same number of prisoners, but the principal part of the wounded got back into the town; I am happy to add, that ours was comparatively trifling.

The consequences of this affair were greater than the action itself. Instead of

finding ourselves surrounded with horse, and a petty warfare at our posts, many of the inhabitants of the country separated, and retired to their several villages, and we were allowed quietly to sit down before the town.

From the best information I could obtain, I was led to believe that the defences of Monte Video were weak, and the garrison by no means disposed to make an obstinate resistance; but I found the works truly respectable, with one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon; and they were ably defended.

The enemy, being in possession of the island of Ratones, commanded the harbour; and I was aware that their gun boats would annoy us, as we apprehended. A two gun battery was constructed on the 23d, to keep them in check, and our posts were extended to the harbour, and completely shut in the garrison on the land side. Their communication was still, however, open by water, and their boats conveyed to them troops and provisions. Even water for the garrison was obtained by these means; for the wells that supply the town were in our possession.

On the 25th we opened batteries of four twenty-four pounders and two mortars, and all the frigates and smaller vessels came in, as close as they could with safety, and cannonaded the town. But finding that the garrison was not intimidated into a surrender, I constructed, on the 28th, a battery of six twenty-four pounders, within a thousand yards of the south-east bastion of the citadel, which I was informed was in so weak a state, that it might be easily breached. The parapet was soon in ruins, but the rampart received little injury, and I was soon convinced that my means were unequal to a regular siege; the only prospect of success that presented itself was, to erect a battery as near as possible to a wall by the south gate, that joins the works to the sea, and endeavour to breach it. This was effected by a six gun battery, within six hundred yards, and though it was exposed to a very superior fire from the enemy, which had been incessant during the whole of the siege, a breach was reported practicable on the 2d instant. Many reasons induced me not to delay the assault, though I was aware that the troops would be exposed to a very heavy fire in approaching and mounting the breach. Orders were issued for the attack an hour before day-break the ensuing morning, and a summons was sent to the governor in the evening to surrender the town. To this message no answer was returned.

The troops destined for the assault, consisted of the rifle corps, under major Gardener, the light infantry under lieut. col. Brownrigg and major Trotter, the grenadiers, under majors Campbell and Tucker, and the 38th regiment under lieut. col. Vassal and major Nugent.

They were supported by the 40th regiment under major Dalrymple, and the 87th under lieutenant colonel Butler and major Miller. The whole were commanded by colonel Browne. The remainder of my force, consisting of the 17th light dragoons, detachments of the 20th and 21st light dragoons, the 47th regiment, a company of the 71st, and a corps of 700 marines and seamen, were encamped under brigadier-general Lumley, to protect our rear.

At the appointed hour the troops marched to the assault. They approached near the breach before they were discovered, when a destructive fire from every gun that could bear upon it, and from the musketry of the garrison, opened upon them. Heavy as it was, our loss would have been comparatively trifling if the breach had been open; but during the night, and under our fire, the enemy had barricadoed it with hides, so as to render it nearly impracticable. The night was extremely dark. The head of the column missed the breach; and, when it was approached, it was so shut up that it was mistaken for the untouched wall. In this situation the troops remained under a heavy fire for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discerned by captain Renny, of the 40th light infantry, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. Our gallant soldiers rushed to it, and difficult as it was of access, forced their way into the town. Cannon were placed at the head of the principal streets, and their fire, for a short time, was destructive; but the troops advanced in all directions, clearing the streets and batteries with their bayonets, and overturning their cannon. The 40th regiment, with colonel Browne, followed.—They also missed the breach, and twice passed through the fire of the batteries, before they found it.

The 87th regiment was posted near the north gate, which the troops who entered

at the breach were to open for them, but their ardour was so great that they could not wait. They scaled the walls, and entered the town as the troops within approached it. At day-light, every thing was in our possession except the citadel, which made a shew of resistance, but soon surrendered; and early in the morning the town was quiet, and the women were peaceably walking the streets.

The gallantry displayed by the troops during the assault, and their forbearance and orderly behaviour in the town, speak so fully in their praise, that it is unnecessary for me to say how highly I am pleased with their conduct. The service they have been engaged in since we landed has been uncommonly severe and laborious, but not a murmur has escaped them; every thing I wished has been effected with order and cheerfulness.

Our loss during the siege was trifling, particularly as we were not sheltered by approaches, and the enemy's fire of shot and shell was incessant. But it is painful for me to add, that it was great at the assault. Many most valuable officers are among the killed and wounded. Major Dalrymple, of the 40th, was the only field-officer killed. Lieut-cols. Vassal and Brownrigg, and major Tucker, are among the wounded. I am deeply concerned to say, that the two former are severely so. The enemy's loss was very great, about eight hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and the governor, Don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro, with upwards of two thousand officers and men, are prisoners. About fifteen hundred escaped in boats, or secreted themselves in the town.

From brigadier-general the honourable W. Lumley and from colonel Browne, I have received the most able and the most zealous assistance and support. The former protected the line from the enemy during our march, and covered our rear during the siege. The latter conducted it with great judgement and determined bravery.

The established reputation of the royal artillery has been firmly supported by the company under my orders; and I consider myself much indebted to captains Watson, Dickson, Carmichael, and Wilgress, for their zealous and able exertions. Captain Fanshaw, of the engineers, was equally zealous; and though young in the service, conducted himself with such propriety, that I have no doubt of his proving a valuable officer. Owing to great fatigue, he was taken ill in the midst of our operations, and captain Dickson readily undertook his office, and executed it with the greatest judgment.

From the heads of corps and departments, from the general staff of the army, from the medical, and from my own personal staff, I have received the most prompt and cheerful assistance.

It is insufficient to say, that the utmost cordiality has subsisted between rear-admiral Stirling and myself; I have received from him the most friendly attention, and every thing in his power to grant.

The captains and officers of the navy have been equally zealous to assist us; but I feel particularly indebted to captains Donelly and Palmer for their great exertions. They commanded a corps of marines and seamen that were landed, and were essentially useful to us with the guns, and in the batteries, as well as in bringing up the ordnance and stores.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by major Tucker, who was wounded at the assault; and as he has long been in my confidence, I beg leave to refer you to him for farther particulars. I have the honour to be, &c.

S. AUCHMUTY, Brigadier-general commanding.

To the right hon. William Windham, &c.

P. S. I am extremely concerned to add, that lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg both died yesterday of their wounds. I had flattered myself with hopes of their recovery; but a rapid mortification has deprived his majesty of two most able and gallant officers.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing.

Total—1 major, 4 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 6 drummers, 120 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 6 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 4 staff, 20 serjeants, 6 drummers, 366 rank and file, wounded: 8 rank and file, missing.

Captains Willgress and Crookshanks, and 31 rank and file, included in the above, have since returned to their duty. J. BRADFORD, dep. adj. gen.

Officers killed and wounded.

Killed upon landing—Lieut. Fitzpatrick, of the 40th.

Slightly wounded upon landing—Major Trotter, of the 83d; major Campbell, of the 40th; capt. Willgress, of the royal artillery; capt. Crookshanks, of the 38th; capt. Rogers, of the 40th; lieut. Chawner, of the 95th.

Killed during the siege—Capt. Beaumont, of the 87th.

Wounded during the siege—Lieut. O'Brien, of the 87th; the hon. C. Irby, midshipman.

Killed in the assault—Major Dalrymple, of the 40th; capt. Rennie, of ditto; lieut. Alston, of ditto; capt. Mason, of the 38th; lieut. Irwine, of the 87th: capt. Dickenson, of the 95th.

Wounded in the assault—Lieut.-col. Brownrigg, of the 11th, since dead; lieut. Smee, of the 40th; ensign Cancern, of ditto; lieut. Evans, of the 87th, severely; lieut. M'Rea, of ditto, severely; lieut.-col. Vassal, of the 38th, since dead; capt. Shipton, of ditto, severely; lieut. Brownson, of ditto, dangerously; ensign White, of ditto, severely; ensign Willshire, of ditto, slightly; ensign Fraser, of ditto, since dead; paymaster Willshire, of ditto, severely; adjutant Hewill, of ditto, dangerously; assistant-surgeon Garrat, of ditto, slightly; captain Whetham, of the 40th, severely; lieut. Wallace, of ditto, dangerously; lieut. Johnson, of ditto, severely; lieut. Ramus, of ditto, severely; major Tucker, of the 72d, slightly; assistant-surgeon Wildair, of the 87th, severely; lieut. Scanlan, of the 95d, slightly; lieut. M'Namara, of ditto, slightly.

Admiralty-Office, April 12, 1807.—Capt. Donnelly, of his majesty's ship, Ardent, arrived this morning with dispatches from rear-admiral Stirling, commanding a squadron of his majesty's ships in the Rio de la Plata, of which the following are copies:

Diadem, off Monte Video, Feb. 8, 1807.

Sir,—I have peculiar satisfaction in congratulating my lords commissioners of the Admiralty on the capture of Monte Video, as well from the importance of the conquest, as from the honour which has thereby been acquired by his majesty's arms.

Immediately on the arrival of brigadier-general sir Samuel Auchmuty, at Maldonado, it was determined to invest this place; and having assembled our force off the island of Flores, a descent was effected on the 16th ult. near Carreta's Point, which is about seven miles to the eastward of the town. The enemy had assembled in considerable numbers, and, with several pieces of artillery, seemed determined to oppose our progress.

The navigation of the Rio de la Plata, with the strong breezes which we have experienced for several weeks, rendered the landing of the troops, and assisting their operations, very difficult; but the place chosen was happily adapted to allow the covering vessels, under the direction of captain Hardyman, to approach so close as to command the breach; and notwithstanding the weather threatened, and was unfavourable, the soldiers got all on shore without a single accident of any kind, and were in possession of the heights before six o'clock, with such things as the general wanted.

On the 19th, the army moved forwards, and as an attempt to harass the rear was expected, I directed the boats to proceed close along shore to look out for and bring off any wounded men, whilst the covering vessels were placed to prevent the enemy from giving annoyance, and I had the happiness to hear that all the sufferers were brought off, in spite of well-directed efforts to destroy them. In the evening I dropped, with the fleet, off Chico Bay, near which the army encamped, within two miles of the city.

I had landed about 800 seamen and royal marines, under the orders of captain Donnelly, to act with the troops; and, as I saw no advantage could result from any effort of ships against a strong fortress, well defended at all points, and which, from the shallowness of the water, could not be approached within a distance to allow

shot to be of any use, I disposed the squadron so as to prevent any escape from the harbour, as well as to impede a communication between Colonna and Buonos Ayres, and confine my whole attention to give every possible assistance in forwarding the siege, by landing guns from the line of battle ships with ammunition, store, provisions, and every thing required by the commander of the forces.

The distance which the ships lay from the shore, with the almost constant high winds and swell we had, and the great way every thing was to be dragged by the seamen, up a heavy sandy road, made the duty excessively laborious. The quadron had almost daily 1400 men on shore, and this ship was often left with only 30 men on board.

The defence made by the enemy protracted the siege longer than was expected, and reduced our stock of powder so low, that the king's ships, with all the transports, and what a fleet of merchantmen had for sale, could not have furnished a further consumption for more than two days, when a practicable breach was fortunately made, and on the 3d instant, early in the morning, the town and citadel were most gallantly carried by storm.

In a conversation with the general on the preceding day, I had made such disposition of the smaller vessels and armed boats, as appeared most likely to answer a desired purpose: and so soon as Fort Saint Philip was in possession of the British troops, lieutenant William Milne, with the armed launches, took possession of the island of Rattones, mounting ten guns, and garrisoned by seventy men, which surrendered without any resistance, although it was well adapted for defence, and might have given considerable annoyance. A very fine frigate, mounting twenty-eight guns, was set fire to by her crew, and blew up with an awful explosion; as also three gun-boats; but the other vessels in the harbour were saved by the exertions of our people.

It has been much the custom to speak slightly of the resistance to be expected from the Spaniards in this country; and with confidence of the facility which has been given to naval operations, by a prior knowledge of the river; but the battles lately fought prove the former opinion to be erroneous, and experience evinces that all the information hitherto acquired has not prevented the most formidable difficulties.

The conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines of the ships and vessels, which I kept with me for this service, has met with my entire approbation; and I feel persuaded that I should have had occasion to express my satisfaction with the exertions of the officers and the crews of the Diomede and Protector; if I had not been obliged to detach them on other service.

I am much indebted to the able assistance which captain Warren has afforded me: and I admire the zeal, the patience, and diligence of every individual in the fleet, during the incessant fatigue which I have daily witnessed.

Captain Donelly will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and is fully able to give their lordships further particulars.

Inclosed is a list of men belonging to the navy who were killed or wounded in the batteries; and also a list of the enemy's ships and vessels found in the harbour, with a return of ordnance, &c. on the island of Rattones. I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STIRLING.

To William Marsden, Esq.

A List of the Seamen and Marines belonging to the Squadron, who were killed and wounded at the Capture of Monte Video, February 3d, 1807.

Total—6 killed, 28 wounded, 4 missing.

[Here follows a list of the prizes taken at Monte Video, comprising 57 vessels, from 100 to 650 tons, besides 10 sloop-rigged gun-boats, and 6 bow-boats with guns.]

LONDON: Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Holborn; and published by M. B. YORKE, 41?, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 17. Saturday, April 25, 1807. Price 10*d.*

HISTORICAL.

THERE is some reason for apprehending that the intelligence of the passage of the Dardanelles by our fleet, and of the subsequent detachment of the Porte from the influence of French councils, is premature. In another part of this week's Review, the reader will find, according to the French official account published in the Hamburgh *Correspondenten*, that the Othman government is now more rivetted than ever to the interests of France; and if we give credit to every circumstance detailed in that paper, we must acknowledge that our commanders, or our ministers, or both, have been completely outwitted by the superiour dexterity of Sebastiani, the French ambassador. The previous statements in the Vienna Court Gazette were, however, so positive, that it is impossible to reconcile the two accounts. According to the Vienna Gazette of the 21st of March, the British squadron, on the 21st of February, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, burnt a ship of the line, and also destroyed some Turkish frigates in the channel: in consequence of which, the Porte complied with our terms. A dispatch from lord Collingwood, the substance of which was circulated amongst persons connected with government, mentions, that the passage of the Dardanelles was effected *two* days prior to the day stated in the Vienna gazette; a subsequent Vienna gazette, however, of March 24, assigns the 18th of February as the day of the passage. The exact chronology of this affair is of very little consequence; the result is what we are to investigate. That the Dardanelles were passed there is no doubt, inasmuch as the French official account corroborates every other statement relative to that fact. But what followed is inexplicable. It is said that the terms proposed by admiral Duckworth and our minister were, that the French ambassador should be sent away; that 15 sail of the line, and as many frigates, stored for six months, should be delivered up to us; that we should be put in possession of the forts in the Dardanelles, and on the canal of the Black Sea; that the treaty of alliance with England should be renewed; and that Russia should remain in possession of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the frontier towns, until a general peace. These terms were rejected by the Porte, although our squadron had anchored before Constantinople on the 21st of February. I doubt whether proposals to the extent herein mentioned were made, and for this reason—they were too comprehensive to be admitted by any independent power; too much for us to require, and too much for the Porte to yield, especially, if we had not a force adequate to compel a compliance with them. In answer to this, it may be alleged, that it was in the power of the British squadron to have set Constantinople in flames. True: but that measure would not have advanced the negotiation in the least: on the contrary, it would probably have led to a more vigorous spirit of resistance. Though the scite of the city of Constantinople be the most beautiful in the world, the city itself cannot boast either of taste, grandeur, or beauty in its construction. So little indeed are its buildings considered worthy of preservation, that when the people have any subject of complaint which they wish to reach the ears of the grand signor, they always contrive to set fire to it themselves; because, it is only when a great conflagration happens that they are allowed liberty of speech. Unquestionably, this is a queer method of making their complaints known; but, as it is an old custom, and the only resource, they have, we cannot be surprized at their resorting to it frequently. Mr. Dallaway, in his account of Constantinople, has given a very accurate explanation of this matter, and to his work I refer the reader. Indeed, the Turks entertain little dread of a city on fire; for it cannot be forgotten, that when a British squadron threatened to lay Algiers in ashes, the Dey sent a flag of truce to know what sum it would cost to accomplish the object; and upon receiving our commander's reply, he offered to

do it himself, if we would give him a quarter of the money. Nothing therefore, could have been derived from an attack of that kind upon the city, but a prodigal waste of human blood, which could not be justified, unless the city had been inhabited by Frenchmen; in which case, indeed, to have dealt promiscuous carnage and devastation would have been mercy to mankind.

But, though such conduct would not have been warranted towards the Turks, how shall we account for the demonstration made by our admiral, in order to give weight and immediate effect to a negotiation which, admitting the truth of the French and foreign journals, was protracted to a most extraordinary length? Mr. Arbuthnot was placed in one of the proudest situations which a diplomatic mind could have desired. It was a situation of great delicacy, requiring the utmost prudence, combined with vigour and resolution. He had also the model of Algernon Sidney before him, who, when asked by the victorious king of Sweden to shew by what power he insisted that the siege of Copenhagen should be raised, pointed to the British fleet then in sight, under the command of admiral Blake, and by that silent, but significant and impressive attitude, compelled the Swedish monarch to withdraw his forces. This negotiation was thus settled within half-an-hour after his arrival in the Swedish camp; but these were times of old. Mr. Arbuthnot went to work more courteously. From the 21st of February to the 3d of March, a period of eleven days, the British negotiator is said to have spent in negotiations, during which time the Porte was actively engaged in collecting and arming the people; while Sebastiani, and a corps of French engineers, were erecting batteries of defence, mounted with 600 pieces of heavy ordnance along the coast! Judging merely by the equivocal representations in the foreign journals, I cannot avoid observing, that, if our force were too small to give weight to Mr. Arbuthnot's proposals, the demonstrations of it ought not to have been made; and if it were adequate to enforce them, the negotiation ought not to have been protracted beyond 24 hours at the furthest. By adopting the system of wavering and hesitation, of the folly of which we have had too much experience, we have compromised our interests, and it will be a question, whether we have not also compromised our glory. The Turks will be brought to consider our menace as a vapour; and by a natural transition, whatever may be the final issue of events, they will be induced to cast upon us a more firm look of defiance than they could have given, if this transaction had been conducted in a different manner. Hitherto my reasonings are formed solely on *ex-parte* evidence, and upon an hypothesis which may not be realized; but if this evidence should be confirmed, and this hypothesis be found to be true, when admiral Duckworth's dispatches shall arrive; then it will become our duty to weigh the evidence on each side, and to pronounce a verdict upon that conduct which, at this time, appears to have been most vigorous at its outset, most indecisive in its progress, and most lamentably weak at its termination. In justice to the well known skill and gallantry of our admiral, it is right to observe, that his apparent inactivity may have been derived from a remoter source; he may have called to mind the treatment of sir Home Popham; he may have trembled for his own honour at the very instant he was about to vindicate the honour of his country; the penalty of the exercise of a sound discretion, without orders from the Board of Admiralty, may have deterred him; the dread of being *traduced* by a court-martial for having essentially promoted the interests of Great Britain, may have constrained him to compress, with reluctance, the thunder which he had in reservation to pour out upon the Turkish fleet. Let the admiral be heard before we presume to censure him: let us not be forgetful of the pernicious ingratitude manifested during the last twelve months of our history: let it be recollected that we are now but just taking breath, and recovering from the pressure of a tyranny which we have indignantly thrown off. Perhaps, his stock of powder was expended; perhaps, the whole squadron under his command had not sufficient ammunition to sustain an action of *two* hours, as its original destination might have been to a different part, where powder vegetates in abundance, and is the spontaneous produce of the soil; or perhaps, "it has been much the custom to speak lightly of the resistance to be expected from the *Turks* in Constantinople, and with confidence of the facility which has been given to naval [illegible] by a prior knowledge of *the sea of Marmara*; but the passage of the

Dardanelles, proves the former opinion to be erroneous, and experience evi ces, that all the information hitherto acquired had not prevented the most formidable difficulties."—In a short time the mystery will be unravelled.

Our attention is next called to a more pleasing and consolatory piece of information, which will be found amongst the state papers; namely, the raising the siege of Stralsund, and the subsequent expulsion of the French from Swedish Pomerania. These events, which had been previously announced in the foreign papers, were officially communicated to our government, by the Swedish minister at our court, and were published in the Gazette of Tuesday. In the course of the different actions which preceded their expulsion from Pomerania, the French lost a great number of men, besides considerable magazines, and their military chest; and the Swedes recovered at Greiswald all the Swedish soldiers who had been wounded or taken prisoners. On the road to Neukahlan, *three* hussars alone made prisoners 104 French and Dutchmen. The official narrative of these operations is detailed with great modesty and precision by baron D'Essen, the governor-general of Pomerania, and must not be passed over without due attention; for every thing relative to a country governed by so high spirited a monarch, as the king of Sweden, deserves notice. It is not however, the circumstance of the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania only, that excites my joy, for I never felt much anxiety respecting the fate of Stralsund; but I trust, we may now look forward to the immediate commencement of a system of *offensive* operations on the part of the Swedish forces against the French and their allies. Hitherto, the king of Sweden has been obliged to employ his troops on the defensive only; now, he has an opportunity of marching them into Germany, and of collecting around his standard, after the example of his ancestor Gustavus Adolphus, the oppressed population of the countries evacuated by the French. There never was an occasion, so favourable as the present, in the history of Europe, for the exertions of any enterprising individual; and I cannot refrain from expressing my astonishment, that amidst such scenes of distraction, misery, and suffering, no modern Arminius or Wittikind appears to rescue his native land from the oppression of strangers. This may be considered as a great blank in the history of human affairs; for if we turn over the pages either of antient or modern story, we shall uniformly find, that wherever there has been any great political convulsion, men of extraordinary genius, before unknown to their countrymen, have arisen, and figured upon the stage, who have either retarded the fall of their countries, or avenged their cause. But Germany, at the beginning of the 18th century, smarts beneath the lash of a tyrant, and has no deliverer of its own. If I were a native of Germany, I would most assuredly try the efficacy of a grand insurrection. A few adventurous spirits, with 20,000 muskets, wherewith to arm the patriots who are inclined to resist, would cause more anxiety to Buonaparte, than a regular army advancing upon his rear. The whole German empire lies open, and holds out the strongest encouragement to patriotic adventure. If then, there would exist so great a probability of success from the efforts of the people, under such circumstances, what may we not expect from them, should the example be set them by the Swedes? An army of twenty or thirty thousand Britons, acting in co-operation with the Swedes upon the continent, and summoning around the standard of liberty all the youth of the northern parts of the empire, would, in a short time, be in a condition to render the retreat of the French, an impossibility. If it be merely for the sake of keeping up appearances, Great Britain should send a force to the continent, to shew that she is willing to share in the common struggle. The present ministry will, no doubt, make every effort to repair the errors of their predecessors; they will hasten to convince the continental powers, that Britain is always ready to forego the interests of her insular ambition, when the safety of the civilized world is at stake. I look up to them with confidence for dispatching, without a moment's loss of time, an army to the continent; and if the late administration have so effectually broken up, or scattered our forces so as to render such a measure impracticable, at present, I trust they will expedite as many regiments as can well be spared. At all events, let a single regiment, a company, or even a platoon of soldiers be sent, if it be only to save our honour, and to hold out encouragement to the oppressed natives of Germany. Should we send a body of troops to Germany within the next six weeks, the people

will be ripe for insurrection; for it does not appear, that the French have obtained the smallest advantage over the allies: on the contrary, they are evidently acting upon the defensive. Indeed, if they were hereafter to advance to a considerable distance beyond the Vistula, the difficulty of their situation would be augmented, by a regular disciplined army in their rear, and constantly occupied in cutting off their convoys and intercourse, while it covered the formation and contributed towards perfecting the discipline of an armed population. Even France herself is exposed to a bold adventure. Her western shore ought to be kept in perpetual alarm, which might be effected with great ease, and at very little expense, by habituating a few regiments to embarkations and disembarkations, and to rapid marches when landed upon the coast. In truth, I am not prepared to assert, that the landing of 30,000 men at this time in France, would not change the posture of affairs. Let it be recollected that France is completely stripped of her soldiers; that the only armed men remaining are the *gens d'armes*, who are employed chiefly as servants of the police, or as guards to accompany the wretched conscripts from one depôt to another; that these *gens d'armes* do not form a collected army, but are dispersed in small bodies, from two to twenty in number, over the surface of that country; that from the western coast to Paris, there are only *seven* marches for an army to make; and from the banks of the Vistula there are above *sixty-five*. Is it altogether a chimera, or a mark of insanity, to suggest that if a well directed army were landed, and advanced by rapid strides towards Paris, proclaiming on its march, the restoration of the legitimate monarch, Lewis XVIII. and the guaranty of property as it is now vested, that the legitimate monarch would be restored; and that the people would cordially unite in opposing the usurper? Events far more improbable, and under less favourable opportunities, have frequently occurred in the history of mankind.

No movement of any importance had taken place between the hostile armies in the north, when the last accounts were brought from the continent; but the French, as well as the Russians and Prussians, were making prodigious efforts for the renewal of the contest upon a very extended scale. It is the wish, and the avowed object of the French to bring on a general action; for which reason, it should be the business of the Russians to avoid one, however confident their general may be in the strength and courage of his army. But, after general Bennigsen has given so many proofs of his great talents, it will appear impertinent to make any anticipations relative to the line of conduct which he should adopt. Amongst the state papers in this week's Review, are a narrative of the operations of the Russians, and the report of general Bennigsen concerning the battle of Eylau: The plainness, simplicity, and obvious truth of this report, form striking contrasts with the ribaldry, bombast, and falsehood of the French bulletin. Nothing can be more terrible to the French, than the mode of warfare pursued by the Kozaks, under their Hetman Platow. These irregular troops keep them in a state of constant alarm by night as well as by day, and it appears from the Konigsberg gazette of March 28th, that when the Kozaks are ordered to dismount, and to fire on foot, no men can execute this duty with better skill. We are furnished in this gazette, with an entertaining account of an action fought by the Kozaks and French, between Peterswalde and Altkirch, which evinces the zeal, courage, and enthusiasm of the former. When ordered to charge the enemy, they first blessed themselves, each man exclaiming in a loud voice, "God have mercy upon me," and making, at the same time, the sign of the cross upon his breast, according to the custom of the Greek church. "The close of this short, but very solemn and religious ceremony, was the signal for the attack. In a moment the regiment set off full speed, expanding like a swarm of bees, exclaiming *Hurrah!* and took up directly the whole troop of Frenchmen opposed to them, each Kozak seizing his man by the collar. *It was a pity that the enemy were not sufficiently numerous, as several Kozaks returned slow, and with an empty hand.*"

There is a primitive, patriarchal, simplicity, in this method of collaring and unhorsing an enemy, which cannot be too much admired. I can enter fully into the feelings of those Kozaks, who slowly returned to their quarters *empty handed*. Poor lambs! methinks I see their dejected countenances, and the tears trickling down their beards, while lamenting their ill-fortune in not being able to hook and trail a bleeding Frenchman after them. The devastations which they have occasioned in

the ranks of the tyrant's army, are sufficiently perceptible from the call which he has made, by anticipation, upon the conscripts who were not to have been summoned into the field until the next year. From the correspondence and decrees amongst the state papers from Frances, it is evident, that the army of Buonaparte has been so thinned, that he rests his safety solely on the enforcement of a measure, for which the wretched country, over which he tyrannises, must bleed at every pore. The Spaniards are also upon the march to sustain his tottering fortune; and, as they are not so nimble as their allies, it is probable that the greatest part of them will be *hozaied*. General Bennigsen's army has received a reinforcement of above 90,000 men; and the king of Prussia's army increases daily, but the soldiers are said to be in want of muskets; but this want, the activity of our present ministers will soon supply.

The violent measure of calling out the conscripts for 1808, shews that the situation of Buonaparte is desperate, and that he is resolved to put all his fortunes on a single stake. He has carried too his tyranny to such an extent as to order the pressing of Hanoverian soldiers, who are actually dragged to the French army, and forced to fight against their sovereign, whose rights they have never disclaimed, and, eventually against their own brethren who are actually in the British service. In all the conquered countries of the north, recruits are to be raised by force, and, under all the terrors of military law, compelled to join the grand army in Poland. It is thus that the tyrant hopes to obtain his ends. Italy, Swisserland, the north, and the south of Germany, are all forced alike to give their unwilling aid in support of projects, whose ultimate success would be no less ruinous to themselves than to every other civilized state. Even the semi-barbarians of the east, the Turk and the Persian, are in the rear of this mighty design. By what illusion, or by what power, are such things effected? By what acquiescence, on the part of the yet unconquered states, are such things suffered? Hitherto Austria has not dared to express her genuine feelings. Prussia is calling forth the last remains of her exhausted strength. Sweeden manifests a generous sensibility to the evils and necessities of the age. The mighty plan of ambition, conceived by Buonaparte, comprehends even China; but he failed in seducing the emperor to become his ally. It is stated in a foreign journal, that the last intelligence from Gjacka mentions, that on the invitation of the French commissaries to the emperor of China, to make war on Russia, after a deliberation of six days, he gave for answer, "WE MAINTAIN OURSELVES HONESTLY, AND STAY AT HOME."

LORD MELVILLE.

Injustice and cruelty are nearly allied; hence, we cannot wonder, after the disgusting example of cruelty, which we have all witnessed in the case of lord Melville, that his persecutors should continue to act unjustly towards him. Upon this principle, worthy only of the jurors of a French revolutionary tribunal, those who took an active part in the accusation of his lordship, have not failed to cast insidious aspersions against him, *since his acquittal*, whenever an occasion allowed them to indulge in their savage dispositions. It is not also without great regret, that I feel myself called upon to reproach the public for quietly permitting such infamous behaviour to be carried on, without its experiencing some marks of their disapprobation. The treatment of lord Melville has been repugnant to every principle of natural equity, as well as to the practice of our laws; for throughout the whole conduct of his prosecution, the late house of commons departed from all those salutary maxims which characterized the jurisprudence of this country. From the manner in which they proceeded, it was but too evident, that they went to work less with a view to promote the public good, than to serve the objects of party ambition. First, they prejudged the case of lord Melville, and pronounced him guilty before he had been tried; next, they passed a string of resolutions, imputing against him a violation of law, from corrupt motives, and obtained his removal from the privy council; by which means, he was punished without being heard; and lastly, they brought him to trial, when, after the most ample and solemn investigation, he was fully acquitted of all the charges brought against him! What was the natur

ral course which the house of commons were then bound to pursue? It was required of their honour, as gentlemen, and of their justice, as legislators, that they should have rescinded the proscriptive resolutions which they had voted *in contemplation* of his lordship's guilt. They had a right, indeed, it was their duty, to institute an inquiry; but they had no right to punish before trial. Having, however, overstepped the limits of equity, by exercising an act of discretionary power, it behoved them, if they entertained the least respect for justice, or wished to render its principles venerable among their countrymen, to recal their premature anathemas against the noble lord, and, by a liberal, honourable, and magnanimous line of conduct, to have rescinded their resolutions immediately after his lordship's acquittal. Instead of acting in obedience to these obvious principles, they pursued an opposite course; and persevered in their system of proscriptive exclusion. That the whole pursuit of lord Melville was personal, and that it was persevered in from factious motives, no one, at this time, entertains the least doubt; and, if any fact were requisite to establish the truth of this allegation, their conduct towards Alexander Davison would be a sufficient demonstration of it. Let us compare the two cases, and observe the difference of conduct which was exhibited towards the two persons implicated. In the one we shall discover the most unjustifiable and rigorous persecution; in the other, the most scandalous lenity, and barefaced protection. I admit, that from the 10th report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, there was ground for inquiry respecting the transactions in the navy office; but ought not that inquiry to have been made before the house of commons had passed resolutions, the very object of which was, to hunt down lord Melville, to proscribe him from the councils and presence of his sovereign, and to render him unpopular throughout the country? The Whitbreads, the Greys, and the rest of the Foxites, denied the justice of this proposition, and acted according to *their* maxims of equity, with a vigour truly revolutionary. Now let us observe the tables turned, and these same men in power; after hearing the third report of the commissioners of military inquiry, in which report, the self-convicted delinquent, Alexander Davison, is accused of frauds to an enormous amount, how do they proceed? With an indecent contradiction to their former policy, they actually retained Davison in his situation, and there they protected him until it pleased Providence that they themselves should be driven for ever from the councils of their sovereign! Thus we have two instances, quite parallel, in the outset: one, of a patronized delinquent, the other, of a proscribed but innocent man, as the event has shewn. Upon what motives can we account for such tergiversating and vicious behaviour? or, why should punishment be inflicted upon one individual, serving too as a precedent, while another is exempted from it? Davison, it is true, was neither a minister of state, nor a privy councillor; but he filled an high ostensible situation; he was treasurer of the ordnance; and, therefore, liable to be branded with a mark of public reprobation as a culpable servant of the public. By this reasoning, I intend merely to shew the spirit which influenced the determination of the *same* men under similar circumstances. I do not say that the cases will prove ultimately to be alike: we know that lord Melville was *not guilty* of the charges adduced against him: Davison remains to be tried, and may God send him a safe deliverance. Suspension from office in either case, would have been the severest measure which the house of commons ought, in justice, to have exacted; and I am sure, I should have been satisfied with the application of such a measure even to Alexander Davison, notwithstanding my *close attachment* to him. But the correctors of public abuses, pushed their fury against lord Melville to the extremest verge of tyranny; they deposed him at once, and drove him into exile from court, as if he had been already tried and convicted; whereas, Davison was not even suspended *pendente lite;* but allowed to enjoy his situation with all the emoluments of office. It is impossible to assign any other motive for such a frontless deviation from their own acknowledged principles, except it be, that they thought suspension of little consequence, as Davison, by giving him a *little more rope*, would probably be *suspended* in a more conspicuous manner. Since Davison has been hauled over the coals, and left for prosecution, I have abstained from offering a single observation respecting his pranks and tricks, and for this reason; that while a man is *sub judice*, silence is the essence of justice. But, the whig club rabble acted otherwise towards the injured lord Melville: every encouragement was given to a licentious press, to triumph over his unmerited fall; to decry his long, useful, and diligent services both to his king and

country; and to render him universally obnoxious to his countrymen as a peculator and a man of corrupt and depraved heart. Whereas, Davison was caressed, protected, and retained, in defiance of the public feeling, and in contempt of the opinions broached by the late ministers, when out of power.

Even handed justice, at length, rectified the errors of popular delusion, it vindicated the cause of innocence, and confounded the malice of lord Melville's enemies. What *should* have followed? That lord Melville, who had been falsely and unjustly accused by the late house of commons, should have been restored to the public estimation, in a recorded act of that house. But that house had perpetrated too much mischief already; it had gone too far in debasing the national character, in outraging the feelings of the public, in violating by shameless perversions, the most sacred interests of the country, for it to have been expected that such a house would revoke the resolutions which are enregisterd upon its journals, as living records of its injustice and oppression. The late house of commons was the express representative of Polonious in the play; it could see a weasel in a cloud, or a camel in a weazel.

Ham. Do you see yonder cloud, that's almost in shape of a weasel?
Pol. By the mass, and 'tis like a weasel, indeed.
Ham. Methinks, it is like a camel.
Pol. It is back'd like a camel.
Ham. Or like a whale.
Pol. Very like a whale.

What, therefore, that house would not do, will, I trust, be done, by another house of commons, more just, more liberal, more magnanimous, less intolerant, and more honest—namely, to rescind the resolutions against lord Melville, which, while they remain upon the journals of the house, after the acquittal of his lordship, must present to the world, the record of exasperated and disappointed faction, of revenge both wild and mean, of passions base and grovelling, of pride mortified, of malice unappeased, though defeated, and of truth, justice, and public opinion confounded with their worst and most hateful opposite qualities.

ON ALL THE TALENTS.

LETTER IV.

Sir—Having, in my three former letters, endeavoured to refute the fallacies connected with the causes which led to the dismissal of the late ministry, and which are so strenuously urged by their adherents: having, I trust, proved,

1. That the catholic bill was the sole cause of their dismissal,
2. That the pledge demanded by the king was strictly constitutional, and called for by their own dangerous avowals,
3. That the catholic claims are not opposed only by the king, but by parliament and the people,
4. That the coronation oath is not the only obstacle to these claims,
5. That the king had no secret advisers; and, lastly, that the catholic Bill would very have conferred no benefit upon the Irish people; and that its failure cannot therefore dissatisfy them: I now proceed to the master-fallacy of all, which is trumpeted forth with unceasing zeal, and pertinacity, viz. that the late administration possessed all the talents of the country, and that, putting the cause of their dismissal out of the question, it is a very serious calamity to the nation.

Now, sir, if the question regarded merely the late ministers themselves, it would be immaterial which way it were decided, as the affirmative or negative make equally strong against them; for if it be true, that their services were indispensible to their country, what excuse have they for exposing us to such a loss, by mooting a subject which they must know could never succeed; and which, if it had passed, was not calculated to attain the object they professed to have in view? If, on the other hand, they have given no proofs of the talents they lay claim to, we surely may see them mix again among the common race of men, with no other feelings of regret than those arising from the places and emoluments they carry with them. But the question is of a more general concern, and must not be so lightly dispensed with.

When we consider the warmth of a party feeling which is always afloat in this country, a change of administration cannot, at any time, or under any circumstances, be considered an unimportant concern, or to be resorted to on trivial

grounds: much less can it be so considered, when it takes place in the midst of a war, immediately after a general election, and in the middle of a session of parliament: under such circumstances, a change of administration is, generally speaking, an event much more to be deprecated than desired. I go all the length of those who assert the danger and inconvenience of such a step, and I do so because the argument recoils with redoubled force upon those who urge it; while those in whose behalf it is urged could expose us to such dangers and inconveniences, upon such indefensible and unpardonable grounds as those which compelled his majesty to dismiss his late ministers. But really, sir, unless the late events have driven, as they appear to have done, every thing else out of our heads, it must be remembered that long before their late folly and rashness precipitated them from power, the imbecility and misconduct of the late ministers had raised a pretty general note of dissatisfaction throughout the country. Instead of allowing them to possess all the talents, no inconsiderable part of the public had long since began to doubt, whether, speaking comparatively, they possessed any talents at all; and even their warmest supporters saw, with surprize and regret, the least display of talent in that part of the administration where they had vainly expected the most. In no one of their acts can we trace the individual mind of the noble lord, to whom the country a year ago looked as the life and soul of the government. Up to his death, Mr. Fox was indisputably the prime minister; and his successor appears to have assumed, and to have been tacitly allowed the same distinction.

I am relieved from the minute examination of their conduct which I had intended to enter into, by the powerful and unanswerable statements which are already before the public; especially, those contained in your last number; in a masterly analysis which appeared in the Morning Post, on the day of Mr. Lyttleton's motion; in an admirable pamphlet, intitled "A True History of a Late Short Administration;" and still more by the decisive and increasing majorities in both houses of parliament, strengthened by the addresses which are pouring in to the foot of the throne from all quarters of the kingdom, which, while they are so many death blows to the fallen ministers, are an earnest of support to their successors. Without entering therefore into any thing like a review of their administration, I would briefly ask their adherents, in what instances we are to discover their great talents, or on what grounds their dismissal is to be deplored? Does their attention to our foreign relations, furnish the one or the other? Is it in the appointment of lord Douglas, Mr. Adair, or Mr. Erskine, that we are to discover their wisdom? or is it in their conduct to any one of the courts to which those gentlemen were sent? Is it our commerce that has flourished under their regulations? Is it their concessions to America that are to furnish the theme of approbation? Is it their negotiation for peace, or their conduct of the war? Is it their war, their peace, or their mighty subsidy to Prussia? Is their wisdom and discretion most proved in the commanders they have recalled, or those by whom they have been replaced? Is it the Cape, Buenos Ayres, or sir Home Popham, that their writers would ground their praise upon? At home, is it in their financial or military projects that we are to discover their consummate wisdom? or is it in their conduct at elections, that we are to discover their zeal for the constitution? or, lastly, is it in the memorable topic, by means of which they hurled themselves headlong from power, and which, upon their own shewing, admits neither of palliation nor excuse, that we are to find talents or principles to admire or deplore?

But, unable to defend their conduct upon any of the subjects here glanced at, and many others which press upon the recollection, their advocates adopt another fallacy, the last with which I shall trouble you; and it is this, that their successors are utterly incapable of managing the affairs of the country, and that they acknowledged their insufficiency 14 months ago on retiring from office. This, sir, is as you must perceive, a pretty bold manœuvre; for, admit that the new ministers are unfit for office, and you must, at the same time, assign an exclusive fitness to "all the talents," consent to see them replaced, and the king and country delivered over to their entire disposal.

To be sure there is one other alternative, perhaps nearer the truth, though still more unfortunate; for, admit that the new men are unfit for office, and, after the last year's experience, you must perhaps allow that the country does not possess

any that are. But the whole assertion is, "a weak invention of the enemy." After the outcry that had been made on a former occasion about an administration possessing the leaders of all parties, and the necessity, notwithstanding, that Mr. Pitt was under of standing alone, it was natural upon his death that the other members of his administration should defer to the public opinion, and recommended to his majesty the experiment so generally called for. But there is no proof of their being at that time any incapacity to carry on the government. Whatever the presumption may be, the proofs of incapacity are only on the heads of their successors. The friends of Mr. Pitt had no reason to suppose that when they advised his majesty to form a new admistration, that they were abdicating the government; or that a deference to public opinion would be afterwards charged upon them as an admission of incapacity. Lord Grenville by professing to form an administration composed of all parties, yet rigidly excluding from it, every member of Mr. Pitt's government, disappointed the public expectation, and broke his faith with the country. But a most fortunate breach of faith has it been; for after a year's experiment of this most insignificant and imbecile constellation of genius, we have at least the satisfaction of having one set of men left of tried abilities and integrity, possessing that high recommendation of being *untainted with whig coalition*, and who, with the accession of the duke of Portland, lord Wellesley, and lord Melville, (possesing likewise the avowed support of the honestest member of the late government) may laugh to scorn the rash boasting of their predecessors. Even those who thinking Mr. Pitt the life and soul of his last administration (as it is now clear he was of his first) may be inclined to question the talents of his coadjutors, yet admit to a man that no change can be for the worse, and that it is impossible that the new ministers can fall short of their predecessors in any one talent for office.

But suppose they were untried as ministers; suppose we had not these pledges which we possess of their abilities effectually to serve the country, it will hardly be denied that they possess a few negative merits which are of no small importance in the present state of things. Suppose we could not tell their adversaries who the new ministers are, or what they have done, we can at least tell them who they are *not*, and what they have *not* done. They have none of them been members of seditious societies, nor made pretended reform a stalking horse to power; they none of them ever swore, at Maidstone, that O'Connor's principles and their own were the same; they have none of them been seen sneaking at the court of Buonaparte, and accepting his compliments, at the expense of their country; they have not been correspondents of Brissot or Talleyrand; they have never unblushingly intrigued with county members, or used the influence of a dock-yard to turn out independent country gentlemen, to make way for the acreless sons of officers of the household; they never entered into a cabinet subscription to influence the election of a profligate debauchee; they never pensioned the libellers of their predecessors; nor did they when they went out of office provide, at the public expense, for all their hungry adherents. Nay, nor did any of them ever descend so low, on that occasion, as to lay in a stock of official stationary, sufficient to last the *greatest* man his life.

These and many other such things they have not done, and, I trust, never will do. They are come into power upon the most constitutional grounds, that any ministry ever assumed. They are come in to protect the king and the people from the overbearing ascendancy of a few haughty individuals, who would have made the one a mere cypher, and the other subservient to their own destruction. However arduous the task, however awful the times, they had no other alternative but to accept their places, or shamefully desert their king and country. From that country, then, they will receive the strongest support. They are intitled to have their conduct judged with more than common candour and indulgence. Though I have the firmest reliance, that, treading in the matchless steps of that consummate statesman, whose disciples and companions they have been, they will stand in need of no such protection; but, that, without arrogating to themselves the possession of "all the talents" of the country, they will prove themselves to possess more than those who assume the most. I am, sir, &c. PUBLIUS.

Erratum in the 3d letter, p. 298. l. 14, *for* "*not for the country*" read "*not for the bounty.*"

THE POLITICAL TALISMAN.

Sir,—I once saw a pantomime entertainment (by Mr. Sheridan, I believe) called Harlequin Touchstone, the humour of which consisted in Harlequin's being supplied with a couple of magical pebbles, I think, by the collision of which he could force those who were telling lies to speak the truth against their wills! How invaluable would be such a test or examiner if applied to the speeches or writings of our modern whigs and jacobins! as for instance, to the two late most unconstitutional harangues of the lords Grenville and Howick, to criminate their sovereign before his people! To try its efficacy, let us suppose the motley sorcerer standing at the elbow of the latter of these lords, and compelling him to comment on his own speech, (abridged as much as possible) by the touchstone of truth. The collision of the stones may be marked thus (- -), and as Harlequin, by virtue of his talisman, knows what is coming, he may be supposed also to force some involuntary insertions.

Lord H——— "upon coming into office, the present ministers thought that by conceding something more to the catholics of Ireland, they should not only quiet the turbulent spirit of that country. (- -) *No, they well knew that it would inflame that spirit to the highest pitch)* but set at rest their claims to what could never be admitted, general emancipation. (- -) *Just the reverse; for, though we say this for a blind, we are determined, like our master, Fox, to carry this truly dreadful measure, if possible.)* We meant, therefore to adopt for the conciliation (- -) *I mean, the confusion*) of Ireland, the admission of catholics to hold commissions in the army and navy, promising, as it did, in the present state of the empire, to augment the means of recruiting our public force (- -) *of arming all the disaffected; for, in a much more dangerous state of the empire, we discouraged, as much as possible, all the loyal public force, the volunteers, militia, &c.)* by the introduction of men into the service, who, by the ill-understood (- -) *most wise and necessary)* policy of the present system, had been altogether excluded. After much discussion, his m—'s ministers unanimously agreed that this concession should be promptly made; as it appeared calculated to contribute to the tranquillity (- -) *confusion)* of Ireland, and to draw even from the very sources of discontent, the means of our (- -) *jacobinical)* strength.

Such was our view of the subject, and as such was communicated to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, (- -) *who, both as to religion and liberty, is the strongest contrast that can be conceived to his illustrious ancestor)* that he might confer with, and conciliate (- -) *to our faction, for that is all we aim at;* the catholic nobility and gentry of that part of the united kingdom. On this communication being previously submitted to his majesty, he returned it with expressions of repugnance to the measure, (- -) *as, indeed, well he might!)* upon this, ministers drew up a respectful (- -) *as we call it)* representation, containing all the reasons that operated in their minds to recommend the concession proposed, and his majesty (- -) *teized to death by this importunity)* was graciously pleased to consent to the measure. A second dispatch for Ireland was laid before his majesty, (- -) *still further to harrass and torment him*) who was pleased to return it without any objection, or comment whatever. The extent of this measure was, not only to grant to the catholics, or even dissenters, (- -) *that is, to all that we could depend upon as enemies to the constitution in church and state)* the privilege of serving in the army, but of becoming of the staff, and holding commands. (- -) *And these, at the head of our disaffected levies, were to be our military protectors.*)

Previously to the second reading of this bill, his majesty asked me whether it was the same as the act of the Irish parliament? (- -) *as we had artfully led him to suppose it was; but, as I could stand in this lie no longer)* I stated the difference, and endeavoured to justify it; and here I must acknowledge that his majesty did express his disapprobation of the measure. (- -) *He did not altogether relish the forfeiting of his own title to the crown, nor the plunging of his country inevitably, though quite unnecessarily, into a civil war.*

Finding his majesty had also communicated to lord Grenville his decided (- -) *and well grounded)* objection to the measure, I thought (- -) *or pretended to think)* that I had misunderstood his majesty, or that his majesty had completely misunderstood me; and determined an audience, for the purpose of satisfying his majesty's mind, (- -) *which I knew in the present nature of things, it was impossible to do, by any such reasons as I had to urge.)* However, from an anxious wish to avoid giving

any pain to his majesty's feelings, (- -) *which we had been tormenting by all our measures for above a twelvemonth)* we endeavoured to modify the bill. But finding this could not be done without destroying the vital essence of the measure, (- -) *preventing all the great mischiefs that were intended by it)* and without doing away that which would be satisfactory to the catholics. (- -) *No, we knew very well that the catholics would be satisfied now, if we would but let them alone, and that this bill would render them completely dissatisfied, by leading them on from claim to claim: and we knew too, that it would greatly diminish the public force, by inducing the catholic part of it to withdraw itself till all its extravagant and preposterous demands were complied with.)* We therefore proposed to abandon it altogether, in deference of the feelings of his majesty. At the same time we felt it necessary, for the vindication of our characters, (- -) *and to keep his majesty's feelings in perpetual uneasiness)* to insert a minute in the proceedings of the cabinet, that, from the opinions and principles they had, on many occasions, expressed in parliament, and from a just solicitude for the interest of the empire, (- -) *by destroying it's constitution)* they must consistently reserve to themselves the right of submitting, at all times, for his majesty's decision, such measures as they might deem advisable and expedient for the benefit of Ireland, (- -) *especially that which has a tendency to drench it in the blood of its inhabitants!)*

This done, his majesty (- -) *with a condescension and patience in such a case, almost inconceivable! only)* required, "that ministers should subscribe an assurance, in writing, that they would never propose the question again, nor any measure connected with it," (- -) *so as to subvert the constitution, and dethrone himself)* this, ministers (- -) *most fortunately, I must own, for this country, and for Europe!)* refused to comply with; and I make an (- -) *impudent and traiterous)* appeal to this house, and the country, whether such an objection could be patiently discussed, much less subscribed to, by any man who ever entertained a correct notion of public duty, or was susceptible of a feeling worthy of a respectable public station. (- -) *That is to say, I appeal to the house, and the country, whether his majesty (whom we never style gracious, or any thing of that sort) be a man who ever entertained a correct notion of public duty, or is susceptible of a feeling worthy of a respectable station. Thus have we approached, as near as we possibly could do, to the precedents of a Charles and a Louis, by erecting the nation into a tribunal, and summoning our sovereign to appear and plead at its bar, or silently to submit to its decisions!)*

Thus, sir, the application of my irresistible spell, has, I flatter myself, brought this half-popish speaker to a confession of many things that he wished to conceal, and possibly of somewhat that 'all the talents' might not have themselves discovered. I sincerely wish that the same talisman could be applied to ALL whig-club speeches and writings. If you approve of it, as I fear I cannot often exercise it myself, I should be proud and happy to lend and recommend it to you, sir, or any other friend of his country, who will handle it with a better grace, and use it with a greater effect.

TOUCHSTONE.

THE IRISH PEASANTRY.

But for one end, one much neglected use
Are riches worth your care; (for Nature's wants
Are few, and without opulence supplied:)
This noble end is, to produce the soul;
To shew the virtues in their fairest light;
To make humanity the minister
Of bounteous providence, and teach the breast
That generous luxury the gods enjoy. ARMSTRONG.

Sir—It was my intention to have troubled you, prior to this, with a few remarks upon the present state of Ireland, but as your correspondent, "Observator," has in this respect anticipated my design, I shall merely offer a few suggestions which have occurred to me since the perusal of his letter. That "*charity should begin at home,*" is, I confess, generally considered to be a selfish and unfeeling maxim. But, like all other things, it is liable to exceptions, and in *one* instance, at least, I shall endeavour to prove that the enforcement of this adage is highly proper; not to say, absolutely necessary. With a generosity peculiar to themselves, do the English people hasten to alleviate the distresses, as well of their fellow-subjects, as of aliens

and strangers. Not an inhabitant is there of the continental states, who, beholding the miserable condition of his own country, does not ardently wish he had been born in this land of freedom; not a nation is there, throughout the habitable world, that has not in its turn experienced the warmth of British hearts. Yet, though ever ready to console the wretched, we do not always, I fear, take an equal interest in the welfare of those, whom a superiority of power has placed under our own dominion, and who are consequently intitled to our more immediate protection.

The Irish peasantry, for it is of them I speak, in the vicinity of large towns, may possibly enjoy a considerable share of the comforts of life, but the condition of those who inhabit the interior is, beyond a doubt, extremely different. Many personages of distinction, from various ostensible reasons, declining to reside upon their estates, the management of their property must necessarily devolve upon their *stewards*. And, though I do not by any means, wish to imitate that traveller, who, passing through a frontier town, and finding in the inn, at which he stopped to take refreshment, an intoxicated landlord, and a red haired hostess; gave out, upon his return home, that all the men of that province were drunken, and all the women carotty; still I must insist that many of these superintendants make an ill-use of the authority, with which they are invested, and oppress the vassals of their lords to promote their own interests. An Irish peasant is seldom so fortunate as to obtain a lease of his humble dwelling; and should he therefore unhappily offend his superior, he is exposed to the chance of being turned out with all his helpless family into the wide and uncharitable world. If he be able to procure a small quantity of live stock, it may be productive of advantage, but not *to himself*. The rent must be satisfied, be it raised ever so often; and presents must also be occasionally offered as a propitiatory sacrifice, to avert the displeasure of *his honour's honour*.

Add to all this—that this race of men are from the very tenure of the holdings, kept in a state of vassalage and dependance, and it is no uncommon case if the peasant disobliges his lord by not leaving his little spot of ground uncultivated in the sowing time, or refusing to desert his corn in harvest time, to labour at his lord's private manor to give him immediate notice to quit his home. Moreover, from this mode of proceeding arises another evil.—The Irish peasant, holding only as tenant at will, has no stimulative to industry; for he well knows, that the increasing fertility of his land will encourage the landlord, or at least, his subordinate agent, to raise the rent. And here, I cannot but observe, though with great reluctance, that some avaricious spirits, to gratify their love of wealth, or for other purposes, to enumerate which would be wholly unnecessary, will occasionally employ a quibbling lawyer, to discover a flaw in a lease granted by their ancestors, in order that a poor farmer may be turned out, and a more substantial person placed in his stead.—Let it not be supposed, sir, that this statement is exaggerated. The authority from which I speak is, I may venture to say, incontrovertible. The pitiable situation, to which these peasants are sometimes reduced, drives them to desperation, and often times urges them to some notorious dereliction from their duty. In consequence of the dreadful mischief done by the rebel bands, it has been found expedient at various times, to introduce martial law. The alternate movements of the royal army, and of its opponents have greatly injured the progress of agriculture, and laid waste the face of the land. Time alone, united with peace and industry, can again restore it to its former flourishing condition. It has been argued, that a difference of religious opinion is the principal cause of discontent amongst the lower orders of the Irish; that their priests, in imitation of the ancient Druids, unfurl the bloody banner of contention, and inspire their followers with a degree of madness and enthusiasm, which encourages them to brave the most terrific dangers. These ideas, I can by no means adopt. From the best information I have been enabled to collect, it appears, that the Irish peasantry, if treated with common humanity, are obliging and inoffensive: and, though naturally of a hasty disposition, yet ever ready to forgive; the free exercise of their religion, and uninterrupted possession of their little cabins, is all they desire. Grant them but this, and tumult will cease, and hideous anarchy will henceforth hide her "diminished head." It is much safer to *reconcile* an enemy than to *conquer* him. VICTORY deprives him of his POWER: but RECONCILIATION, of his WILL; and there is less danger in a *will*, which *will not* hurt, than in a *power* which *cannot*. Far is it from my intention to assert, that it is an act

of negligence in any particular administration, or the fault of any particular age, that the subjects of the British empire, in whose behalf I am now pleading, are thus uncomfortably situated. The amelioration of their circumstances must be a work of time. In the interim, let me seriously recommend all thoughtful persons to interest themselves in the welfare of their servants; let not the lord abuse his tenant, for it is possible he may fall below him. There should be a mutuality between the chief and his vassals. The lord should serve them with necessaries, and they him, in his pleasures and conveniences. Gratitude will force *him* to defend his master and promote the advantage of his superior, who has experienced from him kindness and liberality; but uproar and rebellion are the inseparable attendants of imperiousness and oppression.

ANGLICUS.

AMERICAN INTERCOURSE WITH THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Sir.—In corroboration of the statements and arguments contained in many of your former numbers on this important subject; and it being highly essential to insert in publications like yours, which will always be carefully preserved, from the importance of the subjects discussed in them, I wish you to publish in the next number, the following official account of the trade of the island of *Jamaica*, wherein you and your readers will regret to find so large and alarming a proportion of *neutral* shipping employed, to the manifest injury of the *British* ship owners; nay, indeed, of the nation. I am induced more particularly to urge this request, from the endeavours now making to extend further the intercourse between *America* and these islands, by allowing the planters to ship in *American* bottoms, sugar and coffee to those states in *exchange* for *other necessaries!!!* How such an indulgence can be granted, without entailing ruin on other important interests, I have not been able to discover; but it is evident, the more government *gives way* in these respects, both to the *planters* and to *America*—the more is required—How wilfully blind must the planter be to his own interest! in requesting these indulgencies, he is facilitating his own destruction, which can only be *prevented* by resorting again to the *ancient* system: for, notwithstanding the plausibility of *modern* theories, which form *recent discussions* were thought to have been nearly *exploded*, it appears from some *late* publications, they are again attempted to be *revived*; I am convinced Dr. Smith was perfectly correct in stating, that, "as *defence* was of much more importance than *opulence*, the act of navigation is the *wisest* of all the commercial regulations of England."

It will be seen by the following statement, that the tonnage of *British* ships employed last year in the trade of *Jamaica* was *only* 117,433 tons, whilst the tonnage of *American* ships was 177,133, and it is probable, that in nearly the same proportion, the trade of the other British West Islands is carried on. It is principally from these ruinous indulgencies in the *colonial* trade, that there is so great a depression of the shipping-interest of the country, which is likewise increased by the too general employment of *neutral* shipping in the *Baltic* trade; for, during the late administration, nearly all the *naval stores* imported for the *king's service* were brought in *neutral* bottoms. This fact, as to the *Baltic* trade, does *not appear* to be generally known; for it might be inferred, from an observation in "*Thoughts on the value of Commerce*," that the *Baltic* trade was principally carried on in *British* bottoms. The impolitic admission of neutrals into the carrying trade of the colonies, throws so many *British* ships out, that they produce such a competition of British ships in the coal and European trade, that for a long time past the ships employed in them have invariably sustained losses, which can easily be proved by the statements of freights, &c. which have been printed and circulated by the shipping-interest. As to the coasting trade of Great Britain, exclusive of the coal trade, it is very inconsiderable; for, since the introduction of canals, more than two-thirds of it have been lost.

Under all these circumstances, I wish the nation to reflect on the situation it may probably be placed in, on the *breaking out* of *another* war. It is difficult *now* to procure *men* for the *navy*, how much more so will it be then, if these fatal indulgencies are continued? I, however, hope, his majesty's *present* government will see the errors of their predecessors, and endeavour *gradually* to regain all the advantages we have lost by a foolish weak temporizing (and I might say with propriety) wicked policy.

ANTI-AMERICANUS.

The following is a Summary of the Imports and Exports to and from the Island of Jamaica, from the 30th September, 1805, to the 30th September, 1806, agreeable to the Naval Officer's Return, presented to the Honourable House of Assembly, on the 25th November, 1806.

IMPORTS.

	Horses.	Mules.	Asses.	Horned Cattle.
To Kingston	1281	2890	221	471
Outports	66	192	9	327
Total	1347	3082	230	798

Herrings from Great Britain and Ireland.

To Kingston 12,827 Barrels
Outports 34,264 Ditto

Total 47,091

Provisions from British Plantations.

	Barrels Flour.	Barrels Bread	Hhds.	Barrels.	Kegs.	Boxes.	Quintals Fish.	Barrels Beef.	Barrels Pork.	Firkins Butter.	Feet Lumber.	Staves and Heading.	Shingles.	Bushels Corn.
To Kingston	43	—	5630	15,421	523	917	104	164	13	117	471,851	175,260	89,456	156
Outports	105	62	635	6,491	316	1009	166	462	28	56	298,851	58,700	84,000	772
Total	148	62	6265	22,362	839	1926	270	626	41	173	770,709	233,960	173,466	928

Provisions and Lumber from the United States.

In American Vessels.	Hhds.	Barrels Corn, Meal, and Flour.	Bags.	Barrels.	Kegs Bread.	Trs. Rice.	Hhds.	Barrels.	Kegs.	Boxes.	Quintals Fish.	Casks.	Bushels Corn and Peas.	Feet and Lumber.	Staves and Heading.	Shingles.
To Kingston	86	36,962	8,348	2489	2667	1252	1141	11,188	367	3359	419	300	45,035	5,731,413	6,099,975	10,533,411
Outports	34	9,015	—	1842	1072	387	600	14,115	247	2305	—	120	44,956	4,364,618	8,956,491	5,896,220
Total	120	45,977	8,348	4331	3739	1639	1741	25,303	614	5662	419	420	89,989	10,096,031	15,056,466	16,426,631

In British Vessels.	Barrels Corn, Meal, and Flour.	Bags.	Barrels.	Kegs Bread	Trs. Rice.	B gals.	Quintals Fish.	Barrels Corn and Peas.	Feet Lumber.	Staves and Heading.	Shingles.
To Kingston	5864	—	140	210	444	50	80	120	240,629	326,190	396,000
Outports	70	75	77	100	45	162	—	—	28,000	19,000	8200
Total	5934	75	217	310	489	212	80	120	268,629	345,190	404,200

	Hhds.	Barrels Corn, Meal, and Four.	Bags.	Barrels.	Kegs Bread.	Trs. Rice.	Hhds.	Barrels.	Kegs.	Boxes.	Quintals Fish.	Casks.	Bushels Corn and Peas.	Feet Lumber.	Staves and Heading.	Shingles.
Grand Total.	120	51,911	8423	4548	4019	2228	1741	25,515	614	5664	499	420	90,109	10,364,660	15,401,656	16,833,831

EXPORTS.

FROM KINGSTON.

	Hhds.	Trs.	Barrels Sugar.	Phns. Rum.	Hhds. Rum.	Casks Molasses.	Bags Ginger.	Casks Ginger.	Bags Pimento.	Casks Pimento.	lbs. Coffee.
To Great Britain.	53,850	6031	851	7572	352	—	483	479	5126	319	21,094,536
To Ireland.	4213	38	9904	471	249	—	118	105	131	16	79,856
To British Plantations.	107	29	458	2538	141	69	1	—	—	2	58,323
To the United States.	348	37	96	4669	2	29	24	—	248	358	644,171
To the Spanish Main.	——	——	——	485	—	—	—	—	—	—	——
Total from Kingston.	58,523	6481	2395	15,735	744	98	626	384	5505	695	21,876,895

FROM THE OUTPORTS.

To Great Britain.	75,331	11,305	994	21,051	291	—	1180	101	13,064	338	7,355,906
To British Plantations.	73	24	77	1828	34	24	12	—	8	3	10,215
To the United States.	69	427	113	19,589	5	377	957	—	—	58	55,020
To the Spanish Main.	—	—	—	38	3	—	—	—	—	—	——
Totals from Outports.	75,473	11,756	1184	42,456	433	401	1192	101	14,029	399	7,421,141
Grand Total.	133,996	18,257	3579	58,191	1178	499	1818	485	19,534	1094	29,298,036

Account of the Tonnage of Vessels, Trading to and within the Island of Jamaica, during the same Period.

From Great Britain and Ireland to Kingston, 56,131 Tons; to the Outports, 61,301 Ditto. From America to Kingston, 42,651 Tons; to the Outports, 29,482 Ditto. From the Spanish Main to Kingston, 6618 Tons; to the Outports, 173 Ditto. Droggers to Kingston, 3402 Tons; to the Outports, 387 Ditto. Vessels Trading under Free Port Act to Kingston, 6485 Tons; to the Outports, 1118 Ditto.

Total of Tonnage. Great Britain and Ireland, 117,433 Tons; America, 72,133 Ditto; Spanish Main, 6791 Ditto; Droggers, 3789 Ditto; Vessels Trading under the Free Port Act, 7603 Ditto.

STATE PAPERS.

From the London Gazette, Tuesday, April 21.

Foreign-office, Downing-street, April, 20.—The following intelligence respecting the raising the siege at Stralsund, and the subsequent expulsion of the French forces from Swedish Pomerania, has been this day officially transmitted to Mr. Secretary Canning, by baron Rehausen, his Swedish majesty's minister plenipotentiary at this court:—

Malmo, April 17, 1807.—Baron de Bojie, aid-de-camp to his majesty, arrived yesterday with dispatches from baron D'Essen, governor-general of Pomerania, of which the following is an extract,—

Having received certain information of the enemy's having commenced his retreat from Pomerania by small detachments, I ordered the following troops to advance in two columns, for the purpose of forcing him to quit his entrenchments, and to abandon Swedish Pomerania. The first column, under my orders, was commanded by the chief of brigade baron De Tavast, and consisted of eight squadrons of hussars, a detachment of flying artillery, and four battalions of infantry, with their divisions of chasseurs. The second column was of equal force with the first, and was commanded by the chief of brigade baron De Vegesack, under the orders of lieutenant-general baron D'Armfeldt. These two columns, marching on the same line, met with the enemy at Lüssow, attacked him, and, after a vigorous resistance, forced him to abandon that post, and to retire upon Süderhagen. Here the attack was again renewed; a very brisk fire from his light troops checked us for some time, but the fire from the artillery attached to our two columns, soon obliged him to retire upon Voigdehagen, where he was attacked in front by the column under baron D'Armfeldt, and repulsed with great loss; his left flank having been at the same time turned by the corps under the command of baron De Tavast.

Whilst our troops were carrying the village of Voigdehagen, the enemy had abandoned his batteries and entrenchments before Stralsund, and had entrenched himself anew on the heights between Voigdehagen and Teschenhagen, on which he had planted a battery of four pieces of cannon and two howitzers, whose incessant fire prevented our troops from advancing, till our artillery had succeeded in dismounting them. The loss of the enemy on this occasion must have been considerable, since an officer in the Dutch service has said that only 24 men of his regiment were left alive. We had but three officers and about 20 men wounded, in this affair.

The enemy shortly afterwards quitted his position, and retired upon Teschenhagen, after having vainly attempted to make himself master of a marsh covered with underwood, but was prevented from so doing by two companies of infantry, who, by a well-sustained fire, obliged him to retire. My column then made a movement, in order to harass the left flank of the enemy, whose retreat shortly became general, retiring from post to post, with the loss of many prisoners, a quantity of baggage, and magazines of all kinds, of which we have not yet had time to make out complete returns. My column took possession of Loitz on the 2d of April, and, the same day, baron D'Armfeldt's column entered Greiswald, where it took six officers, and a great number of French soldiers fell into our hands, as well as the enemy's hospital, where we recovered all the Swedish soldiers who had been wounded and taken prisoners in the action of the 14th March. Above 1000 muskets, 200 brace of pistols, and considerable magazies, were found there. On the 3d April, I entered Demnien with my column, and I sent on my light troops in pursuit of the enemy towards Mecklenburg. The garrison of Demnien were all made prisoners, after a feeble resistance. Some small detachments of hussars, sent in pursuit of the enemy, were continually coming in with French and Dutch prisoners; and three hussars alone took 104 men on the road to Neukahlan. A great number of prisoners were made, and some stands of arms and provisions taken from the enemy at Dargühn.

A detachment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel baron de Cedeström, took a quantity of baggage from the enemy, together with 2 officers and 207 soldiers. The

magazines that have been taken are very considerable, but there has not as yet been time to make out returns.

I cannot sufficiently praise the good conduct, the bravery, the coolness, and the presence of mind evinced by the chief of brigade baron de Tavast.

Lieutenant-colonel baron de Cederström, major D'Essen, the captains of cavalry Geger and De Platten, and in general all the officers, as well as the troops, conducted themselves with such intrepidity and discipline, that I could not, without reproaching myself, refrain from expressing to your majesty the satisfaction I feel at having had the command of such brave men, or from giving them that honourable testimony on my part which their good conduct so highly deserved.

Baron D'Armfeldt entered the town of Anclam this morning, where he took 9 officers and 150 men, besides a considerable booty; 1995 Frederics d'or, and about 3000 crowns belonging to the enemy's military chest, have also been taken.

(Signed) H. F. D'ESSEN.

Head-quarters at Demmin, April 4.

P. S. According to all the information received at the time of baron Bojie's departure, the number of prisoners already taken by the Swedish troops exceeded 1000 men and 20 officers, amongst whom was a French colonel.

Bulletin of the Operations of the Imperial Russian Army. From the 14—26*th of December to the* 4—16*th of March*, 1807.

" Baron de Benhigsen having, after the battle of Pultusk, effected his junction with the troops under the orders of count Buxhowden, obtained a short time after the command in chief. The whole army then made a movement on the right; the object of which was to protect Regal Prussia, and to stop the corps of marshals Ney and Bernadotte, which threatened Koningsberg. Although this march lay through a country intercepted with morasses and small rivers, the passage of which became more difficult on account of the cold, and of the thaws which often separated the different divisions of the army to a considerable distance from each other; nevertheless, the defeat which the French experienced at Pultusk, did not allow them to profit by those circumstances, and the army, after having concentrated itself, recommenced its operations. In the mean time, the corps of lieutenant-general Essen took a position in the environs of Brank, from whence, according to circumstances, it could cover the left wing of the grand army, and the frontiers of the empire towards Grodno and the Bug, if the enemy attempted to approach them. The 7th of January (19th, N. S.) the head-quarters of baron de Bennigsen was at Rhein, and the next day he advanced to Heiligen Linden. A corps of 30,000 men, under the orders of marshal Ney, comprizing the guards of Buonaparte, commanded by marshal Bessieres, posted behind the Albe, endeavoured to entrench themselves there, but were obliged to fall back. Another corps, under the command of Bernadotte, had penetrated as far as Preussich-Holland to rejoin the former; but being pressed by the Russian van guard, this body fled with so much precipitation, that it was impossible to attack the two corps separately.

" The 11th of January, (23d, N. S.) the head-quarters were at Bischoffstein. Ney and Bernadotte effected their junction, and continued their retreat in disorder, and our troops took many prisoners, who all agreed that our unexpected march to Prussia Royal, had spread the greatest alarm throughout the French army, to whom their officers had promised winter quarters, giving them to understand, at the same time, that an armistice had been concluded with our generals.

" The 14th of January, (26th) general Bennigsen was at Liebstadt. Very brisk actions took place in the neighbourhood of Mohrungen. Our advanced guard, under general Marcoff, attacked by the whole corps of marshal Bernadotte, at first fell back; but being reinforced by the division of lieutenant general Anrep, the enemy was repulsed with loss. He lost a great number killed, and some hundreds taken prisoners. Nineteen officers, and a standard, fell into our power. Marshal Bernadotte lost all his carriages, plate, horses, &c. and only owed his safety to flight, by saving himself, in a peasant's little sledge. The inhabitants of Mohrungen cannot conceive how he escaped the Cossacks.

Supplement to No. 17.

" The brave general Anrep was wounded on the head by a musket ball, as he was reconnoitring, after the affair was over. Some sharp-shooters, concealed in the bushes, singled him out; and in a few hours after, this distinguised officer died, to the great regret of the whole army.

" The 15th of January, (27th) the head-quarters were transferred to Mohrungen. Many skirmishes among the advanced posts were decided to our advantage, and gained us prisoners. The Prussian corps, under general L'Estocq, also gained some advantages. It took prisoners generals Poultrier and Lasseur. Gen. Victor had been taken prisoner near Colberg. The garrison of Dantzic, having made a sortie, routed the Polish insurgents, commanded by Dombrowsky, and took from them many pieces of cannon, and a military chest.

" Buonaparte, after receiving reinforcements from the Vistula, and assembled the different corps, which were falling back upon his army, concentrated himself, and marched against general Bennigsen. The latter, not thinking his position sufficiently good to risk a battle, retreated, in two columns, upon Wolsdorff, where he arrived on the 23d (4th Feb.)

" The two rear guards, commanded by generals prince Bagrathion and Barklay de Tolly, covered the retreat, and repulsed the repeated attacks of the enemy. The next day they followed us close to Burgerwald. The rear guard had new attacks to support; but the next day, at the gates of the town of Landsberg, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a very brisk affair took place between the enemy and the corps of Barcklay de Tolly, which lasted till six o'clock in the evening. The rear guard had succeeded in repulsing the enemy; but not being content with that, it conceived it necessary to pursue them, which drew upon them three columns, and obliged the general in chief to send a reinforcement of three regiments, commanded by prince Basil Dolgorucky. This corps of 10,000 men fought for many hours against near 40,000 Frenchmen, and maintained the field of battle.

" Lieutenant-general Essen, who, in consequence of the movements of general Bennigsen, had repaired to Wysonic-Macowick, had at first thought it sufficient to watch that corps of the enemy which was opposed to him. Although that corps was at least equal to his in number, and occupied a very advantageous position, intersected by morasses and woods, he nevertheless frequently harassed it, by sending out large detachments to attack them, and who, in all the engagements, obtained important advantages, and took many prisoners. When it was known that Buonaparte had quitted Warsaw, and that he was advancing with a superior force against the army of general Bennigsen, lieutenant-general Essen, in order to make a diversion in favour of the grand army, attacked the enemy on the 22d of January, on the whole length of his line, overthrew him at all points, and repulsed generals Savary, Suchet, and Becker as far as the Narew. This battle, however, did not prevent Buonaparte from following general Bennigsen, who having chosen behind Prussian Eylau a position which he judged proper to allow all his troops to act to advantage, and particularly his cavalry, had taken post there, in order to wait the arrival of the French army, whose advanced guard attacked incessantly and impetuously the corps of major general Barclay de Tolly. The ever-memorable day of the 26th, (7th February) put an end to the enemy's progress. At three in the afternoon, the battle, began through the whole line of the main army. It was bloody, and the night came on without the enemy being able to gain any ground. Early on the morning of the 27th the attack was renewed by the French. Both sides fought with fury; but in the evening the enemy were repulsed on all sides, and the Russian army remained in possession of the field of battle. Buonaparte commanded in person, and under him marshals Augereau, D'Avoust, Soult, Ney, and Bessieres at the head of the guards, who particularly suffered. We took on this day 1500 prisoners, among whom are 30 officers, besides twelve standards and 20 pieces of cannon. The French generals Corbineau, Desjardins, D'Ahlmene, and Gudin were killed; Augereau motally wounded; Vial lost an arm; Suchet had his thigh broken; and generals Hautpoult, Piccard, Friand, St. Sculpice, D'Espagne, Second, and Martin were wounded.

" As the occupation of the town of Preussisch Eylau, in front of the field of battle, formed no part of general Bennigsen's plan, and as the army, after so much

fatigue, had need of rest, and was also in want of warlike stores, the commander in chief entrenched himself in the environs of Mulhausen, established his head-quarters at Koningsberg, and left lieutenant-general Platow, who arrived two days after the battle, with 15,000 Cossacks, to harass the French in their retreat. The enemy, on quitting the positions which he occupied, abandoned his sick and wounded.

" On the 9th (21st) of February, the Cossacks advanced towards the environs of Liebstadt, took several hundred prisoners, four officers, a number of baggage waggons, and even forage and provisions. A detachment of nearly two thousand Russian and Prussian prisoners, who were on their route to Warsaw, were delivered; and some hundreds of horse chasseurs, who escorted them, were either killed or taken.

" On the 15th (27th) of February, the Russian head-quarters were at Landsberg. In various petty encounters, the cossacks took some hundreds of prisoners. The garrison of Dantzic defeated the insurgents under Dombrowsky. General Platow, who was constantly in pursuit of the enemy, took from him a piece of cannon, some waggons, and a good deal of baggage. On this day, the number of prisoners taken from the French army, after the battle, and during its retreat from Preussisch Eylau, amounted to 2900 soldiers, and 48 officers.

" The head-quarters remained at Landsberg on the 16th (28th) of February. General L'Estocq's corps of Prussians found itself opposed to that of Bernadotte, between Mehlsack and Heiligenbeil. The enemy retired behind the Passarge. They must have evacuated Guttstadt. The cossacks drove them to the environs of Allenstein; and the engagements on this occasion cost them 400 men, who remained on the field, and 55 prisoners. One hundred Russian prisoners were also recovered.

" On the 17th of February, (1st March) major-general Rnorring attacked the enemy at Allenstein, beat them, killed a great number, took 50, and delivered 200 Russians.

" The army remained in the same position on the two following days. Count Tolstoy's corps formed the left flank at Bishopstein.

" On the 20th February, (4th March) there were some affairs of out-posts. Two officers, a secretary, and seventy-four soldiers were taken. The army kept the same position till the 26th February, (10th March) during which time there were only affairs of out-posts.

" On the 24th February, (8th March) the demonstrations of the French army obliged the commander in chief to concentrate all his forces before Hielsberg. There was an affair between the advanced posts, at the close of which the enemy were repulsed, and pursued by the cossacks. The head-quarters were removed to Barterstein: Buonaparte still at Osterode.

" On the 1st (13th) of March, general de Wittgenstein, having advanced with a detachment to the environs of Neidenbourg and Ortelsbourg, carried off from thence the enemy's patrols, and took prisoners lieutenant colonel Le Grange, aide-de-camp to general Ney, and a major, commander of a regiment of chasseurs. These advantages having attracted the attention of the French, they advanced in force to these points; and general Platow was detached, with eight regiments of cossacks, to support general Wittgenstein, which induced the enemy to retreat.

" The army remained in the same position on the 4th (16th) of March. Murat advanced, with twelve regiments of infantry and cavalry, to Bishoffsbourg, whence he dislodged a detatchment of one hundred cossacks, who nevertheless, in their retreat, made fifty prisoners. In consequence, general Platow received orders to repair to the spot, with 5000 cossack; but the French did not wait his arrival.

" March 6th, (18th). According to the latest advices, Buonaparte is still at Osterode; D'Avoust at Allenstein; Ney at Guttstadt; Soult at Liebstadt; and Bernadotte in the neighbourhood of Wormditt. Murat makes incursions in the neighbourhood of Wartenberg, Bishoffsberg, Passenheim, Ortelsbourgh, and Willenbourgh. According to the best information we have of the French cavalry, it is supposed that Murat makes his incursions for the purpose of procuring forage. Gen. Platow, with a considerable corps, is on the point of cutting off all the French detatchments which are beyond this little town."

BATTLE OF EYLAU.

Report transmitted by his excellency the general in chief, baron Bennigsen, of the Battle of Prussian Eylau.—Koningsberg, March 25.

"On the 25th of January, (6th February) I broke up from Landsberg with my army, which was only 70,000 strong, as several detachments had been made. The French army, consisting of the five corps of the marshals Augereau, Soult, Murat, Davoust, and Ney, which were joined in the evening by Bernadotte, amounted to 90,000 men, and followed me very close, continually engaging my rear, which consisted of the brigades of the generals Marcoff, Bagavoust, and Barklay de Tolly, under the command of prince Bagrathion.

"When I arrived at Prussian Eylau, I ordered my army to take a position at a small distance behind the town, and directed the rear to maintain against the enemy its appointed post, to protect the march of my heavy artillery, which I had been obliged to dispatch by a considerable detour, partly to avoid some roads almost impassable, and partly to facilitate the march of my columns. At the same time I caused the town of Prussian Eylau to be occupied by general Barklay de Tolly, and detached a few regiments of the 8th division to support the rear. This reinforcement enabled gen. Marcoff to take a strong position, and to erect a battery. The enemy did not delay following general Marcoff; and sending their light troops forward, they marched three strong columns against the heights occupied by gen. Marcoff. The latter sent his sharp-shooters to meet the enemy, and cannonaded their columns with grape shot; but as this was not sufficient to stop their progress, the regiments of Pskoff and Sophie charged the enemy with fixed bayonets, and dispersed one column. The second column was overthrown by the regiment of St. Petersburgh Dragoons, and almost annihilated; and the third column was destroyed by the fire from our artillery, under the command of the brave col. Jermaloff. The enemy next began to cannonade our line, and to march against it in four columns, whilst a fifth column directed its march against our left wing, with an intention to take it in flank. As the regiments of Pskoff and Sophie were too weak to meet this charge, they received orders to fall back; and, in their stead, the regiment of Moscow grenadiers, the 21st chasseurs, supported by the regiment of body cuirassiers, the regiments of Kargopol and Ingermanland dragroons, and Elizabethgrod hussars, came to an attack. The four regiments of cavalry charged the enemy's cavalry, which was going to outflank our right wing, and killed a number of his men. The batteries of the 8th division kept the enemy at bay on our left wing; and the regiments of Isum hussars charged the enemy in this quarter with great success.

"The enemy, though beat off at every point, continued to receive reinforcements from all sides, and threatened to cut off our most advanced troops, I therefore ordered the latter to retreat; and consequently they, as well as the 8th division, retreated immediately through Prussian Eylau (as did afterwards the whole of our rear,) and joined the main body, which stood drawn up in the following manner:

"The 5th, 7th, 8th, 3d, and 2d divisions formed two corps, the second of which was disposed in a single column; the 4th and 14th divisions composed the reserve. The right wing was commanded by lieutenant-general Toutsghkoff; the centre, by lieutenant-general baron Sackens; the left wing, by lieutenant-general count Ostermann; and the whole of the van, by prine Bagrathion. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of lieut.-general prince Gallitzin, covered both wings, though a part thereof was within the line. The Heights, situated before my front, were occupied by our batteries. General Barklay de Tolly, and the horse artillery of coloney Jermaloff, which had covered the retreat of the rear, were still in Prussian Eylau; but the enemy soon advanced upon the town in such force, that general Barklay, notwithstanding he performed miracles of bravery, was obliged to cede to superior numbers, and to retreat. As soon as I perceived this, I sent the 4th division to support him. It marched in three columns, overthrew all that opposed it, and retook the town by assault. The enemy suffered a very considerable loss in this attack, notwithstanding they had planted some cannon in the streets, and were firing upon us on all sides from the windows. General Barklay received a severe wound in the arm on this occasion.

"When, at the approach of night, the enemy had entirely ceased firing, I with-

drew all the troops from the town, with an intention to collect my whole force on the other side, and to prepare for a general attack to be made the next day: and in order to be secure from any nocturnal alarm, I placed the 4th division, reinforced by the regiment of Archangel, between the town and the army, whilst the detached corps of general Barklay drew close to the left wing of general Bagavoust.

" On the 27th of January, (8th February) at five in the morning, I formed two columns in the middle of my position, and charged the lieutenant-general Doctoroff with the command of the same: I placed the third column (consisting of the division of general count Kamensky) on my left wing; and the brigade of general Marcoff filled the vacuity which was left in my line, from the 7th division being disposed in a column.

" At break of day the enemy advanced through the town, and I sent some regiments of chasseurs to meet them. At the same time I observed several columns of the French between the town and the height to the right thereof, upon which the enemy had some batteries, which, as well as the columns, menaced my centre. I immediately caused my batteries to be pointed at the enemy's artillery, as well as at the troops defiling from the town, whereby the French columns were forced to halt.

" In another quarter, the French cavalry, which had attacked general Toutschkow on his right, was thrown back by the fire from the artillery of count Sievers. The enemy endeavoured to make himself master of a village situated before our right wing, and seemed to menace our right flank with a large force; but I succeeded in dislodging him very soon from the said village, by the 24th regiment of chasseurs, and some other sharp-shooters. In the mean while we saw several fresh columns of French guards arriving through Prussian Eylau, which were going to attack my right wing and centre. General Toutchkoff immediately ordered the major-general de Fock to advance with his brigade, which (being supported by two regiments of dragoons) charged the enemy with the bayonet, drove him back and killed a number of men, whereupon the enemy retreated in the greatest confusion, leaving eight pieces of cannon behind him. General Zapolsky, who, at the command of general Doctoroff, expanded with one of the columns of reverve, which were placed behind the centre, received the enemy with a well-directed fire of musketry, so that the latter was compelled to give way, and, without allowing the enemy time to rally, charged them with the bayonet, overthrew them, took one eagle and 130 prisoners. At the same time several squadrons of French cavalry, supported by their infantry, advanced upon the left of our centre, and had the temerity to pass through an interstice of our van, but were so successfully attacked by the cossacks and a few cavalry, that only 13 men escaped, all the rest being cut in pieces. The enemy's infantry, by which these squadrons were supported, was repulsed by the regiment of Moscow grenadiers, under prince Charles of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, and the regiment of Slusselburgh foot, which general Von Essen had detached for the purpose. They retreated towards, and joined the columns, which were repulsed by our general Zapolsky.

" At the same moment this column, which had been joined by two other columns of French cavalry, renewed the attack, but was repulsed by the generals Somoff and Zapolsky, with two regiments of cavalry, which had been posted behind our front, and now fell upon the enemy with great impetuosity. Count O'Rourke, with three squadrons of Pawlograd hussars, fell upon the flank of the retreating column, and pursued the same till sheltered by the enemy's cannon. The regiments of Petersburgh dragoons, and of Wlademir infantry, took two of the enemy's eagles on this occasion. In this retreat, the enemy abandoned 20 pieces of cannon. The enemy's intended attack upon our right wing was checked by the sharp-shooters of general Sacken. General Bagavoust, who had occupied the village of Serpallen with a detachment of the van, was attacked at day break. He only defended himself by his sharp-shooters; but as the enemy's column evinced an intention to march round the village, general Kochowsky, with his own regiment of Lithuanian uhlans, and the regiment of cuirassiers of Little Russia, hastened to his assistance, forced the enemy to retreat in the greatest disorder, and finally drove them into a wood. The same regiments next fell upon other columns of French infantry, with

equally decisive success, and repulsed those colums, (which were moving towards our centre, supported by cavalry) which they threw into the greatest disorder, cutting down more than 300 men, and taking 67 prisoners, including four officers. General Von Pahlen, with the brigade of cavalry of general Von Corff, attacked several French columns, which were marching against the division of general Von Sacken, overthrew them, and took one eagle. The regiments of Isum hussars and of Courland dragoons, also made several successful attacks upon the enemy, who, seeing himself thus repulsed on all sides with so much vigour, as his loss was considerable, collected, as well as he could, all his forces, and formed them into very strong columns, which were drawing towards our left wing, with an intention to march round it. General Bagavoust, being too weak to withstand such a superiority, found himself obliged to abandon and to set fire to the village of Serpallen (which he had hitherto kept,) in order to take a different position. His cavalry, posted before him, attacked the enemy several times, but was obliged to retreat behind our left wing. In the mean while, the enemy continued to reinforce himself, and proceeded in his plan to turn our left flank.

"General Kamensky, who had already sent some reinforcements to general Bagavoust, now sent the regiments of Uglitz and Kostroma to his left wing, and caused the village of Klein Sausgarten to be occupied by the regiment of Resan. Count Ostermann, on seeing that a very superior force was advancing towards him, found it necessary to throw back his left wing, with which general Bagavoust closed soon after, upon whom those strong French columns rapidly advanced, with a considerable artillery before them, with flankers, and were almost on the point of turning them. Count Ostermann, though he received the enemy with a very brisk fire of musketry, and charged them repeatedly with the bayonet, was obliged to give way, notwithstanding his repeated exertions. The enemy were already going round our left wing, and obliging the divisions of Sacken and Ostermann to take a position backward, by directing all their attacks upon that point only, and forcing us back very vigorously. I now ordered my horse artillery to advance. General Kutaysoff and colonel Jarmaloff erected their batteries upon an eminence, and fired so briskly upon the enemy, that they halted in a few moments, abandoned the farm-house of Auklappen, which they had occupied, and betook themselves to flight in the greatest disorder. At the same time general Tschaplitz, who commanded a detachment of cavalry, attacked the enemy in the village of Kuschitten, drove them from it, charged the enemy's column, and nearly annihilated the same.

"During these events, the lieutenant-general Lestocq arrived on the field of battle, with the corps of Prussians under his command, and two regiments of Russian infantry, hastening to reinforce our left wing. As soon as he had joined the division of gen. Kamenskoy, and the detachment of gen. Von Tschaplitz, he marched against the enemy, keeping up a brisk fire from his battery. He very rapidly drew towards the left wing of the enemy, with a view to march round the same, and pursed them until the night set in, which obliged him to desist. The arrival of the lieut. gen. Lestocq, and the activity with which he performed all his movements, contributed very much to insure our victory. Whilst the batteries of our left wing were very briskly cannonading the enemy, and whilst lieut. gen. L'Estocq began to pursue them, the enemy, who had occupied the village of Schloditten, did not dare to attack our right wing, which consisted only of the division of general Toutschkoff, because it was covered by the fire of a strong Prussian battery, which gen. Fock had erected there, on an eminence. At night fall, I caused the enemy to be driven from the village of Schloditten, where they lost a number of men. The cossacks particularly distinguished themselves during the whole of the battle, and took 470 prisoners.

"This sanguinary battle, which was begun on the 26th Jan. (7th Feb.) at three in the afternoon, ended on the following day at midnight. The enemy's loss, by their own confession, amounts to 30,000 men killed, and 12,000 wounded; 2000 French are taken, and 12 eagles are in our possession. Our loss consists of 12,000 killed, and 7000 wounded. Fourteen French generals are either killed or wounded; we have 9 general officers wounded, but most of them so slightly, that they have already rejoined the army.

" I should transgress the first of my duties, if I omitted giving to the troops of your majesty that testimony of persevering bravery which they deserve, and assuring your majesty, that your army, whilst it has acquired fresh and immortal glory, displays to the world a new and ever-memorable example, to prove what a people can do, when fighting for the defence of their country, and ready, at the expense of their blood and life, to fulfil the generous views of their adorned sovereign. In vain did Buonaparte lavish his vast resources; in vain did he endeavour to excite the courage of his soldiers, and in vain did he sacrifice so great a part of his army. The bravery and persevering courage of the Russians have withstood all his efforts, and wrested from him a victory which long was doubtful.

" As I remained master of the field of battle, I continued there during the night, in the course of which I considered what was necessary to be done; and I feel happy in having adopted the determination of marching to Koningsberg. There I could procure abundant supplies, of every kind, necessary for the army; there, after a continued and glorious exertion, the army found that repose which was so necessary to it; while the French army, weakened and discouraged, remained under arms. I was in hopes, by thus falling back, to induce the French army to follow me; but only twelve regiments of cavalry, under the commanded of marshal Murat, attempted this, and were almost annihilated, near Mansfield. After this fresh loss, the enemy commenced his retreat.

(Signed) " BARON VON BENNIGSEN."

Paris, April 8.—The arch chancellor of the empire, in consequence of his majesty's commands, repaired to the senate on Saturday, the 4th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

M. M. Regnault, St. Jean D'Angily, and Lacuee, orators of the council of state, being present with the assembly, the sitting was opened with the usual formalities, when his excellency spoke as follows:

" Gentlemen—The implacable hatred of the enemies of France has hitherto rendered fruitless the redoubled efforts of his majesty the emperor and king for the restoration of peace.

" His majesty is therefore compelled to continue the career of his military exploits, which, thanks to the courage of his troops, have been crowned with so many advantages. Still, however, the Belligerent powers are making their utmost exertions.

" Extraordinary recruitings and numerous levies are ordered to recruit those armies which have been annihilated or dispersed by the imperial eagles.

" The emperor, under these circumstances, has judged it only a prudent foresight to adopt in time new means to oppose the repeated efforts of his enemies. His majesty has concluded, that a strong developement of our energies can only tend to bring his enemies to a due sense of their true interests.

" His majesty, in order to accomplish this object, has thought it necessary to call out immediately a part of the conscription for 1808.

" Such, gentlemen, is the sketch of a plan of the senatus consultum, which will be laid before you in the present sitting, after you shall have read the message of the emperor and king to the senate, together with the report of the minister of war, with which it is his majesty's desire you should be acquainted.

" A particular regulation in this plan will not escape your attention, but will afford you a fresh occasion for acknowledging the paternal goodness of his majesty. It is not his majesty's wish that the new conscripts should enter all at once into the fatigues of war, without being gradually accustomed to them. He will assign periods to their services, in which they shall have occasion to signalise their courage. In order to make themselves acquainted with victory in the field, they will be permitted to remain at home till they are instructed in the military manœuvres, under commanders, whose examples will afford them living lessons of courage and devotion to their sovereign, and at the same time inspire them with an interest in the glory of their country. These commanders, gentlemen, shall be chosen out of your

own body. In this regulation of his majesty, for the convenience of the conscripts, you will also perceive another proof of his majesty's tender care, and of those sentiments with which the emperor is actuated in respect to the senate.

"The zeal with which you have hitherto seconded his majesty's great views, and particularly by your decrees of the 24th of September, 1805, and December 4, 1806, is a certain guarantee for that which it is necessary you should exhibit under the present circumstances.

"The ardour of the French youth to assemble under the standards of the emperor, will afford a proof that they are worthy to thread in the steps of their elder brothers, and that, like them, they are ready to form a rampart for the glory of their country.

"Thus the enemies of France will be disappointed—those enemies who have long since persuaded themselves that difficulties, would arise, which have never existed, and flattered their imaginations with fomenting animosities that have been lost in the general feelings of love and astonishment at the hero who governs us; and hence men of all ranks, and all opinions, will join in the common cause. They will all unite under the standard of him, whom they acknowledge as the author of a new order of things, and who has banished from their remembrance all the painful considerations of past calamities.

"Then possibly the eyes of our enemies will be opened, and they will perceive the futility of all their plans; at least, they will be clearly convinced, that an empire established by genius, supported by heroism, and daily strengthened by a fresh accession of love and fidelity, cannot be easily annihilated."

The following documents were afterwards read:

Extract from the minutes of the secretary of state.

"*From the Imperial Camp at Osterode, March* 20, 1807.

"Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.

"We have decreed, and do decree as follows:

The senate shall, on Saturday the 4th of April, assemble at the accustomed place, under the inspection of our cousin, the arch-chancellor of the empire.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON,
"H. B. MARET.

Imperial Head-quarters at Osterode, March 19.

Report of the minister of war to his majesty the emperor and king:—

"Sire.—Never were your enemies so numerous, so well disciplined, and organized as at present.

"The senatus consultum of Sept. 22, 1805, had put 80,000 of the conscription of 1806, under the disposal of government. That of the 4th of December last, has ordered the calling out of an equal number of conscripts for 1807.

"These men, amounting to 160,000, are already assembled under their respective colours. I cannot but bear the most honourable testimony, to the activity of the prefects, and the good conduct of the recruiting officers, and the Gendarmerie, not to mention the loyalty manifested on this occasion by the empire at large.

"But, sire, notwithstanding this general union of all sentiments and opinions, we are not to conclude that your majesty's armies are at present more numerous by 160,000, than they were at the period of the commencement of the fourth coalition.

"Since the 1st of September, the annual reviews have closed, and in consequence of the double inspection which your majesty had ordered, we have been in a situation to pick out and dismiss those old soldiers who had fulfilled the period of their engagement, and who, of course, had a right to the reward of their services, and more especially on account of the honourable wounds they had received. In this manner 15,000 men have been discharged. The men, which an army so numerous, as your majesty has lost by sickness, and who have fallen upon the field of battle, for instance, in the battles of Schleitz and Saalfeld, Jena, and in the affairs of Prentzlow, Golymin, Lubeck, Pultusk, and Bergfried, and Hoff, and in the battle of Eylau; and those whom I have been obliged to send to the depots, in or-

der that they may be discharged after the first inspection, have also been the cause of a decrease of 14,000 men. The real increase, therefore, sire, of your military force, does not exceed 130,000 men. At the conclusion of the war of the third coalition, your majesty had fine, numerous, and formidable armies, and this considerable increase has rendered them still finer, more numerous, and formidable.

"The army of Italy, which your majesty has assembled in Friaul, in the plains of Brescia, Verone, Bassano, and Alexandria, is the most respectable that France ever had in that quarter. No detachment has been sent from that army to join the grand army in Poland, some cavalry excepted, and which has since been replaced by others, in consequence of your majesty's decree to double the number of your cavalry.

"The army of Dalmatia has suffered by sickness, which has been put a stop to by the return of the fine weather. Its losses have been repaired, and the depots in Italy are numerous.

"The army of Naples has received 10,000 conscripts drawn from the depots, several of which have been established in your majesty's Italian states.

"The victories of the grand army have covered the frontiers along the Rhine; these frontiers are covered by a second line of the army of reserve, under the command of Marshal Kellerman.

"The corps belonging to the camp of Boulogne, filled up by the conscription of 1807, defend the Northern coasts of France, against all attacks from the enemy.

"Your majesty has given orders to form three camps, at St. Loo, at the city of Napoleon, and in La Vendée, for the safety of the coasts of Brittany, Normandy, and Gascony. We are occupied in the execution of your majesty's commands.

"The Grenadiers and Yagers of the national guards, belonging to the departments of Gironde, the Lower Seine, and the Rhine, contribute towards the safety of the interior.

"In this situation of affairs, and in obedience to your majesty's commands, I submit to your majesty the necessity of calling out the conscription of 1808, and to form them into five legions of reserve, for the defence of the interior. Your majesty had given me to understand, that besides this line of camps, and this union of the national guards, you wished to have a triple reserve, to secure your territory against any plan of hostile attack whatever. Your majesty further observed, that the camps of Boulogne, St. Loo, the city of Napoleon, and La Vendée, found employment for a great number of the old battalions, who, besides, would be in a condition for service elsewhere, as it might be required, and that your coasts would be sufficiently protected by the national guards, and the new legions of reserve.

"Sire, this prudent foresight is worthy of the chief of a great empire, and a great general; one, who though continually attended by victory, I have constantly seen carefully adopting every measure calculated to repair the consequences of a defeat. When your majesty advanced and obtained the victory of Jena, I received your commands to provision the fortresses on the Rhine, just as if our own frontiers had been threatened by the enemy.

"But however weighty these considerations may be, there is still one which is not less worthy your majesty's heart. According to the usual course of things, the conscripts of 1808, should be called out within the limit of six months, and assembled under their respective colours. Consequently they would have to endure the pain of long marches and heavy fatigues; but now your majesty's goodness condescends to inure them insensibly to the service; for being called out six months before the conscription of 1808 was expected, they will have an opportunity of learning the use of arms in our fortresses, in our own fields, and even in the heart of their own country.

"In consequence of another of your majesty's determinations, in which, actuated by the love of your people, you have entrusted the training of the young men to persons distinguished by their rank, and the services they have performed for the state, your majesty, of course, has confided the command of the legions of the interior and the reserve, to the members of the senate—men who had before distin-

guished themselves by their military skill and courage. These are the fathers of the country, who will nourish and instruct her children. Their honourable experience shall open the career of the French youth in the paths of glory.

"These advantages, sire, must have determined your majesty to call out the conscription for the year 1808.

"One objection, sire, may be made against the motives which have prescribed this measure to your majesty; that is, the increase of the expenditure which it will occasion. But your majesty's finances are in the most flourishing situation. Your majesty's good conduct, in providing extraordinary means for extraordinary measures, has prevented the necessity of laying any fresh burdens upon your people; and, without requiring any fresh sacrifices from them, your majesty will be able to answer every claim that your own glory and the safety of the country can require.

"The prince of NEUFCHATEL, minister at war.

(Signed) "Marshal ALEXANDER BERTHIER."

MESSAGE OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING.

"Senators,—We have given orders for a Projet of the Senatus Consultum to be laid before you, in order for the immediate calling out of the conscription for 1808.

"The report which our minister of war has transmitted to us will acquaint you with the various advantages which must be the result of this measure.

"All the nations round us are arming; England has again set on foot an extraordinary levy of 200,000 men. Other powers, as well as England, are adopting this measure of extraordinary levies, as their last resourse. However strong and numerous our armies may be, we are by no means convinced that the regulations of the Senatus Consultum will be the less necessary and advantageous. At any rate, the sight of the triple barrier of camps, which encircle our territory, must have the same effect upon our enemy as the triple line of fortresses which defend our advanced frontier. This will leave them without the least hope of gaining any advantage over us, will assuage their fury, and finally, in consequence of their total incapacity to do us any injury, will bring them back to a sense of reason and justice.

"The zeal with which our people have executed the Senatus Consultum of September 24, 1805, and that of December 4, 1806, has made a sensible impression upon our gratitude. Every Frenchman will probably shew himself worthy of so honourable a name.

"We have nominated senators to the command and direction of these interesting young men—senators who have already distinguished themselves in the career of glory. We flatter ourselves, that in consequence of this determination, you will justify the unlimited confidence reposed in you. The senators will teach the young men that discipline and patience, which are necessary to support the toils and fatigues of war: you will convince them that these are the principal guarantees of victory: you will teach them to make every sacrifice for the glory of the throne, and good of the country.

"We have triumphed over all our enemies. In the course of six months, we have passed the Main, the Saal, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; We have made ourselves masters of the strongest places in Europe—Magdeburg, Hameln, Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, and Brieg. Our soldiers have proved victorious in several battles; they have taken upwards of 800 pieces of cannon upon the field of battle; they have sent 4000 pieces of heavy artillery to France, 400 Russian and Prussian standards, and made upwards of 200,000 prisoners of war.

"Neither the sands of Prussia, the deserts of Poland, nor the storms of winter, in fact, nothing has been able to damp or extinguish their ardour for obtaining peace by their conquests, and, by means of their triumphs, to return to their native country. Still our armies in Italy, in Dalmatia, and Naples, remain undiminished; our camps at Boulogne, in Brittany, in Normandy, and on the Rhine, remain entire.

"Though at present we ask for new sacrifices from our people, in order that we

may obtain a greater extent of force, it is not that we should abuse this power for the purpose of prolonging the war. Our policy is invariable. We offered peace to England before the fourth coalition had shewn itself: THE SAME PEACE WE OFFER TO ENGLAND STILL. The principal envoy which England employed in these negotiations has made the most public declarations, and in the most unequivocal terms, that the peace would have been both honourable and advantageous to England: thus he has made the justice of our cause appear evident. We are ready to conclude a peace with Russia, upon the same conditions as were signed by her negociator, but which were rejected in consequence of the arts and intrigues of the English. We are ready to restore to the eight millions of the inhabitants whom we have conquered, their tranquillity, and to restore to the king of Prussia his capital.

" But though so many traits of moderation, already so often renewed, have not been able to prevail over the desceptions to which England, enflamed as it is by its passions, has had recourse, that power cannot see the possibility of peace but in our annihilation; nothing, therefore, remains for us but to bear the calamities of war, and to throw the shame and odium of it upon that nation, which continues to purchase its monopoly with the blood of the Continent. We shall, in the resources of our own mind, in the courage, devotion, and the power of our people, find certain means to render all the efforts of that coalition, formed of hatred and injustice, null and void, and to turn them to the disgrace of their authors. Frenchmen, we brave all dangers for the glory and tranquillity of our children.

" *Given at our Imperial Head-Quarters at Osterode, March* 20, 1807.

" Signed by order of the Emperor. " H. B. MARET."

After the message had been read, M. Regnault St. Jean D'Angely ascended the tribune, in order to explain the motives of the senatus consultum. His speech is little more than an echo to the emperor's message.

The examination of the project of the senatus consultum, communicated to them in this sitting, was transferred to a committee of five members, viz. M. M. Lacepede, Colaud, Valance, Lemerier, and Demonier.

This day, at two o'clock, the prince arch-chancellor repaired again to the senate, and after the orators of the council of state were introduced, the above-mentioned ordered their report to be made as follows, by the senator M. Lacepede:

" Gentlemen senators—You have put his majesty's message into the hands of your special committee, dated Osterode, March 20, and communicated to you by the arch-chancellor of the empire.

" You have likewise laid before your committee the project of the senatus consultum, added to his majesty's message, together with other documents thereunto belonging.

" The motives of his majesty's message are explained in the address of his excellency the arch-chancellor, in the report of the minister of war, and in the address of the councellors of state, the orators of the government. These documents have been investigated and discussed in various sittings, with all the attention due to the importance of your determination.

" That nothing should be left to chance when the greatest interests of the country are concerned, the period which will necessarily call the conscripts of 1808, to join their standards, will scarcely run to six months. However, these young soldiers are not to pass beyond the limits of the empire; but they are to be gradually introduced into their new appointment, and to be made acquainted with the military science in the safest and most agreeable manner. They are to be consigned to the instruction of the most celebrated warriors, chosen by the senate out of its own body. Thus they will maintain the tranquillity of the French provinces, and defend its coasts and frontiers against all attacks of the enemy. They will cover France with formidable camps, and lessen the call for fathers of families, whose generous dispositions may have led them to range themselves under the banners of the national guards. They will replace a number of old soldiers in the different departments, who may again long to place themselves under the command of their emperor. They will contribute to the formation of a military force, which, at present, ex-

tending almost over the whole surface of Europe, promises the most decisive advantages. And lastly, by connecting the best military means, they will conquer that peace, which is still offered to our enemies; which is even, this moment, offered by a conqueror, whose astonishing victories have not in the least diminished his moderation. This is his object, and such will be the effects of the senatus consultum submitted to your deliberations. Your committee having observed with pleasure, from the papers laid before them, that the levy of 80,000 new conscripts, will not require any fresh sacrifices, their decision was unanimous. Senators, they have charged me to transmit to you their acceptance of the senatus consultum, which had been previously submitted to your consideration.

"They have also to lay before you a sketch of an address to his majesty, the emperor and king, together with a decree for raising the conscripts, in answer to his majesty's message of the 20th of March, 1807, as a fresh proof of the love, fidelity, and the devotion of all the French to his majesty's person."

In consequence of this report, the senate, in the same sitting, adopted the project of the senatus consultum, together with the address presented by the committee.

The senatus consultum, and this address, are not to be published till they have been approved of by the emperor.

FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Porte wished for peace.—In pursuance of this disposition (perhaps carried too far) they consented to the reinstatement of two of her dismissed Hospodars. She had not yielded to the threats of Russia; she knew that Russia was her implacable enemy; but she yielded to the notes and threats of England. England seemed satisfied, and every thing seemed to give reason to the Porte for expecting the continuation of a peace she so dearly purchased; when all at once Michelson advanced into Moldavia, surrounded Choczim and took it in consequence of a stratagem, after a few shot had been fired. Michelson thereupon issued the proclamation marked No. I. and it was followed by the notification No. II. on the part of the Russian minister, whom the Porte had invited to Constantinople.

The Porte was deeply sensible of this accumulation of insolence, treachery, and hypocrisy. The Russian army was not satisfied with attacking Moldavia, seizing upon Choczim, surrounding Bender, and marching towards the Danube; the court of St. Petersburgh disclosed its intentions still farther by commanding the Turkish inhabitants of the provinces she had attacked, to sell their goods and to quit the district occupied by the army. The peasants were known to sell an ox for a dollar, and to give up their moveables and other effects for still smaller considerations. Already reinforced by Essen, Michelson's army was also further strengthened by the troops which were on their march towards the Danube. The Ottoman empire was in danger; but the French army appeared on the Vistula, took possession of Warsaw. Russia, thus threatened on her own frontiers, hastily recalled Essen and the troops of the Don. Michelson collected his troops into Bucharest, but he could not advance farther. The Turkish army formed, and their advanced guard was sufficient to keep the Russians in the neighbourhood of that place.

The English ambassador at first interfered—he could make no answer to the strong grounds on which the Divan acted. The Porte was attacked in its territories without any declaration of war; the acts of her internal administration were criticised in the proclamation of the enemy's general; not a single diplomatic note preceded the hostile operations, and no way was left open for a reconciliation. The English ambassador also acted in the same spirit; he saw the Russian minister depart, and he remained tranquil. A few weeks afterwards he appeared at a conference which took place on the 25th of January, with the sublime Porte. He handed in the declaration (No. III.) and then went on board of a frigate, ordered the cables to be cut, and disappeared; and on the 29th he sent from on board the frigate Endymion, the note (No. IV.) to the Porte. It was plain at this crisis that it was intended to impose upon the Porte by a sudden blow, for scarcely had the ambassador arrived at Tenedos, when the squadron of admiral Duckworth appeared there also.

After the English admiral had waited some time at Tenedos, he appeared with two three deckers, three eighty-gun ships, two seventy-fours, and a few bomb-vessels, before the Dardanelles. Favoured by a south wind, the enemy's squadron arrived at eight o'clock in the morning of the 19th of February, before the batteries of the two first towers, the latter began a brisk and well-directed fire, which the English did not answer. When they arrived off the heights of the two other forts, the batteries began to play upon the ships. The wind drove the ships forward, and the batteries of the forts were badly manned. Off the heights of Gallipole, the English squadron encountered a Turkish ship of the line and five frigates. The crews of these vessels were in the mosques. Besides, what could this division do against so superior a force? The English attacked them, and were once more guilty of a transgression which is peculiar to this nation, and with which they had already disgraced themselves by the burning of four Spanish frigates. The English admiral, in short, burned the six Turkish ships of war, and yet war was not declared; negotiations were still going on, and the minister of the Porte was still in London.

Constantinople was in an uproar; in place of despondency being produced, all the inhabitants were inflamed.

On the 20th, at five o'clock in the evening, the English squadron appeared before the seraglio. Nothing was prepared to receive them; not a single point was in a state of defence; but every one ran to arms. The grand sultan was the first to proceed to the positions which were thought most adviseable for the batteries to be constructed. Turkish men, women, children, Armenians, Greeks, Ulemas, Sheiks, Dervises all seized upon spades and shovels. Ten French engineers, artillery, artillery officers, arrived from Dalmatia in the night time.

In five days, 500 cannon and 100 mortars were planted on the batteries, and the Turkish empire was not only secured against the destruction of a few houses and buildings, but also against the loss of its honour and dignity;—the only kinds of property which nations can never regain when they have once lost them.

In the meantime the English minister had the impudence to send a boat on shore to demand a truce. The rage which filled all the inhabitants was concealed, and Kiaya Bey went on board of the admiral's ship, to hear the proposals that might be made to him.

The following were those proposals:—

1. The Dardanelles to be given to the English.
2. Fifteen ships of war fully equipped to be taken to Malta.
3. The Porte to declare war against France, and send away the ambassador.
4. Russia to keep Moldavia and Wallachia, Ismail and the other fortresses on the Danube to be delivered up to the Russians.

Such proposals deserved no answer. The next day the Dragoman of the Porte was dispatched, but in vain. Either the acceptance of the conditions, or bombardment, was the language of the English admiral. He did not think that mortars were in readiness, and that bombs would answer bombs.

There was something sublime in the countenances of the people. The zeal they displayed in their labour, their obedience to the directions which were given them, and their loud exclamation of devotion and attachment to their sovereign, astonished every stranger. On the 25th of February, the English ambassador required that a place should be appointed where he could land, in order to confer with the minister of the Porte. The Divan answered, that in future there was no place, no foot of ground in the whole Ottoman empire, where an Englishman could land without being exposed to the just indignation of the people, that even in the seraglio of the sultan himself, there was not sufficient power to protect an Englishman against the exasperation of the musselmen.

The English squadron now saw that they could obtain nothing—that the Porte was not to be terrified—and that their plot had failed. They desisted from the first proposed conditions, but the sultan replied he would not negotiate as long as the English fleet was on this side of the Dardanelles; a sublime answer—to be compared to that of the Roman senate to Pyrrhus. The English now proceeded to use intrigue, corruption, and meanness—the usual arts resorted to by injustice and presumption.

On the 26th of February, admiral Duckworth sent the note, No. V. along with the instructions, to the Reis Effendi, whom he expected to induce to resume the negotiations. We see from this, that there is no longer any mention made of delivering up the Dardanelles or the 15 ships of war. The grand sultan was inflexible; his conduct was energetic and decided. Although educated in the seralio, he behaved himself as a prince who had spent all his life in camps. He was night and day with his troops, or upon the batteries.

On the 2d of March, general Sebastiani was permitted to approach him. The former found him on horseback in the midst of his soldiers. The grand signior said to him, "The English wish that I should remove the French ambassador, and commence war, against my best friend. Write to the emperor that I received a letter from him yesterday, that I shall stand by my engagements, that he may depend upon me as truly as I depend upon him."

The Seralio and the European and Asiatic shores were covered with batteries; every description of fortifications were erected towards the Dardanelles, which were planted every where with cannon, and provided with camps.

In these circumstances the English fleet thought it advisable to withdraw. It has repassed the Dardanelles. The satisfaction of the people is equal to their energy. In a moment there were 10 ships of war, two of which were three-deckers, in readiness, and provided with their stores and seamen. Officers, janissaries, sailors, all strove for the honour of going on board the fleet, and in spite of the advice of the most prudent people, the impatience of the crews who weighed the anchors overcame every obstacle. The fleet has advanced to the Dardanelles. The English came to an anchor on the 3d, two leagues on the other side of the streights, on the side of the old castle of Asia.

The emperor Napoleon, at the first declaration of war, offered the sultan an army to cover the Dardanelles and the Danube. The Porte would at first accept only engineers and artillery officers: it has now required other aid, which is advancing with all speed.

No. III.—*Declaration of the English Ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, in the Conference at Constantinople.—February* 25.

"The Sublime Porte, which has never ceased to manifest partiality for the French, has, more particular since the arrival of the French ambassador, general Sebastiani, in this capital, changed its principles and system towards it own allies.

"The said ambassador, some days after his arrival, having given in a note containing certain threats, the Sublime Porte ought to have returned the note, and sent away the author; the Sublime Porte, on the contrary, received the note favourably, and signified to Russia, that her ships of war would not be suffered to pass the canal of the Black Sea.

"On the occasion of the establishment of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, which took place in consequence of preceding circumstances, the Porte ought immediately to have consented, but the delay of that consent, which was not given till three weeks afterwards, when the Russian ambassador had formally demanded it, was a proof of the overbearing influence which the French court had acquired. The Russian and English courts therefore agreed that the former should send land forces into the Turkish territory, and the latter a fleet to the capital of the Ottoman empire.

"Should the Porte proceed to renew its alliance with Russia and England, on the antient footing, and dismiss the said French ambassador from the capital, the war will immediately cease; but if this be not done, a breach of the friendship with England will be unavoidable.

"To carry this plan into execution, England will send a well-appointed fleet, besides the squadron now stationed off the island of Tenedos. The Russian fleet will join it in the same seas, in order to pass together the strait of the Dardanelles.

"Should the Porte be inclined to give a negative answer to the present proposal, the ambassador will send back to their country all the English merchants in the Ottoman states, and remain himself here to renew the same proposal, and enter into conferences on the subject, when the said combined maritime force shall have formed a junction in the vicinity of this capital."

No. IV.

"*On board of the Endymion, Jan.* 29.—"As the undersigned, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, has received a refusal to the request he made for a passport for a messenger to his majesty's government, and as this refusal has been repeated to day, it is impossible for him any longer to think himself in a country which is willing to keep up its friendly relations with his majesty. It is also, for the very same reasons, impossible for the undersigned, while he remains in this place, to proceed with the negociation now commenced with that security without which there can be no freedom of discussion. He has, therefore, been compelled to adopt the resolution of going on board of the British fleet lying off the heights of Tenedos, where he may enjoy that security which has been denied him here. It will give him the greatest pleasure if the Porte should transmit him an answer to the requisitions which he made at the conference of the 25th inst. and which were to the purport of enabling him again to resume his post. The undersigned will wait a certain time before energetic measures are resorted to, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injuries done to his majesty and his ally the emperor of Russia. The Porte must perceive that the answer can easily be given without the least delay. To the requisitions of the undersigned a simple yes or no only is necessary. The undersigned has considered it his duty to take along with him the British subjects resident here. Their property, as well as the property of the undersigned, and the effects belonging to the hotel of his Britannic majesty are left behind. All this property has been placed under the safeguard of the Porte, and it is hereby declared responsible for the same. While the undersigned assures the Sublime Porte of his high consideration, he expresses a most anxious wish that the Porte will have the wisdom of placing his majesty and his ally, the emperor of Russia, in a situation to produce a renewal of their friendship with the Porte.

(Signed) CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.

No. V.—*Note of Vice-Admiral Duckworth to the Reis Effendi.*

"Vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth had the honour to receive the note of this date, transmitted by his excellency Said Halet Effendi Beilikie, with the proposals annexed. In consequence of what his excellency Said Halet Effendi says, the vice-admiral cannot but perceive plainly that the Porte, from want of authority over its subjects, has not the power of appointing a secure place for the holding a conference. As the vice-admiral knows the sincere respect which his Britannic majesty feels towards his imperial highness, the sultan, he regrets from the bottom of his heart that the influence of a foreign minister has extended itself in such a baneful manner.

"Even to this influence vice-admiral sir Thomas Duckworth is inclined to ascribe the contents of the proposal which the Porte has offered as the basis of a peace. If he had not been aware of this influence the vice-admiral would have been led to believe that there was a studied intention to insult him when a basis for negociations was proposed, which would have only been deserving of notice if Great Britain and her ally, the court of St. Petersburgh, had suffered a defeat from the arms of the Sublime Porte, and had consequently begged a peace. The proposals of the British ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, was delivered in to the Dragoman on the 22d of February.

"There is no inclination whatever to depart from these proposals; and, in order to give the Porte the plainest possible evidence that this is an unalterable resolution, the vice-admiral has the honour to transmit to his excellency Said Halet Effendi an abstract of the instructions which were prepared for rear-admiral sir Thomas Louis, and to which that officer will strictly adhere, if the Ottoman empire, in consequence of the intrigues of the French ambassador, has been unfortunately so disorganised, that his excellency Said Halet Effendi (as he himself declares) is compelled to admit his satisfaction, that no English plenipotentiary has ventured to come on shore to him.

"Vice-admiral sir Thomas Duckworth has only to add, that the British ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, has authorised him to declare officially to the Porte, that his mission is at an end.

"In the event that the Sublime Porte, through the infliction of the occurences of

warlike operations, or from shaking off the yoke of the foreign influence, bymean of which she has been brought at present to the brink of destruction, shall evince a wish to accede to the fair and friendly proposals which Great Britain, in her own name, and in that of her ally, has made, in that case the Porte has only to send off a flag of truce. Such a signification will be attended to even in the heat of battle.

"The vice-admiral cannot sufficiently express how warmly his sovereign is interested in the welfare of the sultan, and how painful it will be for his majesty to learn, in what an unfortunate situation his imperial highness has been placed by the conduct of some of his counsellors.

"The vice-admiral assures his excellency Said Halet Effendi, of his high consideration.

"On board of the royal George, February 26, 1807.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Instructions to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, with respect to his Negociation with the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries.

(After recapitulating the causes of the misunderstandings between the Porte and Great Britain, sir Thomas Louis is desired to intimate to the Turkish ministry, how easy it would be for the British ships to make themselves masters of Constantinople, after passing the Dardanelles, so vainly considered as impregnable. The instructions then proceed:)

"And now to come to the present posture of the negociation, sir Thomas Louis will be pleased to declare, that the instructions he has received, will not permit him to depart from a single iota contained in the proposals transmitted by him on the 22d instant, to the Dragoman of the Porte. If the Porte wishes to retain the friendship of Great Britain and Russia, she must accede to the proposals *in toto*. When those instructions were sent from England, in consequence of which Mr. Arbuthnot made these requisitions, it was very far from being suspected that the French ambassador had been chosen as director in chief of the Turkish military operations. Since the arrival of the British fleet before Constantinople, this ambassador has been seen on the shores, as if he was employed in erecting batteries, and superintending all the measures which the Turkish government thought it expedient to take.

"It is, therefore, not only impossible, in the present circumstances to depart from any thing that has been already proposed, but it is also likewise insufferable, that the French ambassador and an English ambassador should in future reside at the same time in this capital.

"In order, however, to give a proof of the sincere desire which actuates the British government, and those who are entrusted with its commands, not to place the Porte again under the disagreeable necessity which she was once before compelled to submit to, of removing a foreign minister; Mr. Arbuthnot cheerfully consents, (although it is contrary to his instructions) that the departure of M. Sebastiani shall form no part of the public documents to be concluded upon, but only that the Turkish minister shall take all necessary measures to produce the accomplishment of this object, by communicating to that ambassador his determination upon the subject.

"If the Porte will instantly sign an act, containing the articles transmitted through the Dragoman, on the 22d instant, and in addition to this a confidential and secret article, which has for its object the removal of M. Sebastiani, then every hostile measure on the part of Great Britain shall be immediately abandoned, and the sultan will enjoy the friendship of his majesty, in the same manner as if there had been no misunderstanding at all between the two nations."

*** Owing to the importance and length of the state papers, the article on lord Wellesley, must be postponed till next week.

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 18. Saturday, May 2, 1807. Price 10d.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RESPECTING THE PERSONAL FREEDOM OF THE SUBJECT AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

(Concluded from page 281.)

It has been shewn in my last Number upon this subject, that the charge against lord Wellesley, of annihilating the personal freedom of the subject in India is unfounded: I proceed, now, to detect the falshood of the second charge, namely,

That lord Wellesley has violated the liberty of the press in India.

Before I enter upon this discussion, it is necessary to premise, that the regulations laid down by lord Wellesley relative to the press, had a reference to newspapers *only*; and by no means embraced any other description of literary composition. These regulations I here insert previous to the remarks which the nature of the present discussion requires.

1. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.
2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the secretary to government.
3. No paper to be published on a Sunday.
4. No paper to be published at all, until it shall have been previously inspected by the secretary to the government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.
5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

Rules for the guidance of the secretaries to government, in revising the Newspapers.

To prevent the publication of,

1. All observations on the state of public credit, or the revenues, or the finances, of the company.
2. All observations respecting the embarkation of troops, stores, or specie; or respecting any naval or military preparations whatever.
3. All intelligence respecting the destination of any ships, or the expectation of any, whether belonging to the company or to individuals.
4. All observations with respect to the conduct of government, or any of its officers, civil or military, marine, commercial, or judicial.
5. All private scandal, or libels on individuals.
6. All statements with regard to the probability of war or peace between the company, and any of the native powers.
7. All observations tending to convey information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the company's territories.
8. The re-publication of such passages from the European newspapers, as may tend to effect the influence and credit of the British power with the native states.

These regulations, which were adopted by the governor-general in council, and highly approved of by the court of directors, were merely a promulgation of general rules which had been before acted upon. The press in India had always been under strict regulations; and printers had been frequently sent out of the country, by lord Cornwallis, lord Teignmouth, and lord Buckinghamshire. Hence, the only difference between the conduct of lord Wellesley and those noblemen was, that his lordship defined what was before *uncertain*; and to render the information relative to those rules better known, he published the regulations in the Calcutta Gazette: It is evident, therefore, that his lordship displayed the greatest tenderness and respect for the liberty of the subject, when he reduced into a system a code of regulations which was before left to the discretion of the government. Nothing can be more hostile to the principles of true liberty, than incertitude respecting our li- e

warlike operations, or from shaking off the yoke of the foreign influence of which she has been brought at present to the brink of destruction, shall wish to accede to the fair and friendly proposals which Great Britain, in name, and in that of her ally, has made, in that case the Porte has only off a flag of truce. Such a signification will be attended to even in the battle.

"The vice-admiral cannot sufficiently express how warmly his sovereign terested in the welfare of the sultan, and how painful it will be for his m learn, in what an unfortunate situation his imperial highness has been pla conduct of some of his counsellors.

"The vice-admiral assures his excellency Said Halet Effendi, of his h deration.

"On board of the royal George, February 26, 1807.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWO

Instructions to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, with respect to his Negociation Ottoman Plenipotentiaries.

(After recapitulating the causes of the misunderstandings between the P Great Britain, sir Thomas Louis is desired to intimate to the Turkish minist easy it would be for the British ships to make themselves masters of Constan after passing the Dardanelles, so vainly considered as impregnable. The i tions then proceed:)

"And now to come to the present posture of the negociation, sir Thomas will be pleased to declare, that the instructions he has received, will not permi to depart from a single iota contained in the proposals transmitted by him o 22d instant, to the Dragoman of the Porte. If the Porte wishes to retain friendship of Great Britain and Russia, she must accede to the proposals w When those instructions were sent from England, in consequence of which M buthnot made these requisitions, it was very far from being suspected th French ambassador had been chosen as director in chief of the Turkish m operations. Since the arrival of the British fleet before Constantinople, th bassador has been seen on the shores, as if he was employed in erecting batteric superintending all the measures which the Turkish government thought it exp to take.

"It is, therefore, not only impossible, in the present circumstances to d from any thing that has been already proposed, but it is also likewise insuffe that the French ambassador and an English ambassador should in future resi the same time in this capital.

"In order, however, to give a proof of the sincere desire which actuates the B government, and those who are entrusted with its commands, not to place the l again under the disagreeable necessity which she was once before compelled to mit to, of removing a foreign minister; Mr. Arbuthnot cheerfully consents, though it is contrary to his instructions) that the departure of M. Sebastiani s form no part of the public documents to be concluded upon, but only that Turkish minister shall take all necessary measures to produce the accomplishm of this object, by communicating to that ambassador his determination upon subject.

"If the Porte will instantly sign an act, containing the articles transmitt through the Dragoman, on the 22d instant, and in addition to this a confidenti and secret article, which has for its object the removal of M. Sebastiani, then eve hostile measure on the part of Great Britain shall be immediately abandoned, a the sultan will enjoy the friendship of his majesty, in the same manner as if the had been no misunderstanding at all between the two nations."

*** Owing to the importance and length of the state papers, the article on lor. Wellesley, must be postponed till next week.

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE'S WEEKLY P

Vol. II. N° 18. Saturday, May 2, 1807.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RESPECTING THE PERSONAL FREEDOM OF THE SUBJECT AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

(Concluded from page 264.)

It has been shown in my last Number that [illegible] Lord Wellesley, of establishing the [illegible] were founded: I proceed, now, to shew the [illegible]

That last Publication has called the Liberty of the Press [illegible]

Before I enter upon the discussion, it is necessary to explain [illegible] laid down by Lord Wellesley relative to the press, [illegible] and by no means [illegible] any other description of [illegible] regulations I have more particular to the remarks which [illegible] discussion requires.

1. Every printer of a newspaper to print on [illegible]

2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to submit [illegible] whole or the material [illegible]

3. No paper to be published on a Sunday.

4. No paper to be published at all, until it shall [illegible] by the secretary to the government, or by a person [illegible] for that purpose.

5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations [illegible] was embodied in the Law.

Rules for the guidance of the secretary to government, or [illegible] to whom the publications

1. All observations on the acts of the public servants, [illegible] of the company.

2. All observations [illegible] respecting any naval or military preparations whatever.

3. All intelligence respecting the movements of any ships [illegible] any, whether belonging to the company or individuals.

4. All observations with respect to the conduct of persons [illegible] civil or military, native, European or [illegible]

5. All private scandal, or libels on individuals.

6. All statements with regard to the proceedings of [illegible] party, and any of the native powers.

7. All observations tending to create alarm among the [illegible] natives or calculated to [illegible] the company's interests.

8. The re-publication of such passages from [illegible] tended to effect the objects and views of the [illegible]

These regulations, which were [illegible] highly approved of by the court of directors, [illegible] rules which had been [illegible] under stricter regulations, and [illegible] Lord Cornwallis, had [illegible] difference between the [illegible] hardship defined what was [illegible] to those rules before them. [illegible] It is evident, further, that [illegible] pect for the liberty of the subject, [illegible] those which were before [illegible] matter hereby to the [illegible]

No. II

which serve as the laws of court of appeal in all civil in a criminal case, without criminal justice, until lord city, thereby removing the nor-general in council is He appoints all the civil subjects submitted to him the military; for, not a appointed, promoted, or re- ernment is entirely under periments, and great dis- the administration of the overnment is administered, tlemen appointed by the their governments abroad their different capacities. the company, the former tuations in other parts of he company. Thirdly, ing the largest class of ry, in bodies of about with the rest of the to themselves, for the spensible. Fourthly, esty or the company: me of them *licensed* an, M. D. *unlicensed*, liable to the pains gone with a license, of the public offices expect to be here- y, who have gone ia to seek a for- ithout the com- hich they went , have been years service, governors or ships from are, shop- saddlers, total of ,000 at of the family Indies, all of

duty: to explain and make known therefore, the limit beyond which no one shall be allowed to trespass with impunity, is, in fact, to make the law, as a general rule of conduct, paramount to the discretion of rulers. Upon this ground, lord Wellesley's policy deserves praise instead of the censure it has experienced; because, instead of making a display of authority which the law permitted him to do, he laid down positive regulations for the guidance of every man's conduct, by which he was equally bound with the meanest. The publication of these rules therefore, instead of being construed into an act of despotism against the liberty of the press, was the most efficacious mode of maintaining that liberty consistently with the system of government adopted in India, and with the maintenance of good order and harmony among the servants of the company.

In this country, such regulations would give offence, because the press *here* is attended with advantages which can never be felt in India. That system of government which may be conducive to the happiness of the subject in one place, may be the source of his misery in another; and as no general rule can be established for the administration of human affairs, men must be governed according to the circumstances of their situation. Our East Indian dominions are peculiarly situated in this respect. They are not governed by those principles which form the distinguishing features of British legislation. I have already shewn that they were acquired by *conquest*, and are retained by the *sword*. Hence, the policy which must necessarily be enforced in that country, varies materially from the system of government pursued at home; and highly as we prize the value of a free press in Great Britain, we cannot desire to see the same privilege extended to a country containing a population of fifty millions of men, who are contained in subjection by a variety of causes wholly unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, and by the predominant character of a comparative handful of British subjects. If a free press were tolerated in India, according to our acceptation of the term, the British dominion in that portion of the globe would instantly cease. For, under the influence of that press, the order of society there would soon undergo a great political change. It would be in the power of such inflammatory writers as Mr. Charles Maclean, M. D. and Mr. Samuel, to excite the natives of India to a general revolt against the European authority which rules over them.

If we reflect upon the manner in which our Indian power was established; if we contemplate its nature and mode of administration, compared with the diversified classes of its population; we shall find that it is *impossible* to introduce into India, or even to tolerate, that priviledge of free discussion which is the right and boast of Britons, at home.

From the management of a factory, established for the purchase of goods, our power in the East Indies became gradually extended to the government of a vast empire. The violence, treachery, and injustice of the native princes, rendered necessary the construction of forts, and the maintenance of military establishments in the company's commercial settlements, for the protection of their property; and the continuance of this disposition amongst the native powers, occasioned the enlargement of those military establishments, and compelled the interference of the company's servants in their political disputes. To these circumstances, must be added, the policy pursued by France in the middle of the last century, to make India a theatre of the wars between the two nations; by which, the nature of the company's establishment was altered, and military exertions were occasioned, which ultimately procured for Great Britain the empire in India, which she now possesses. It has been already observed, that this empire was acquired solely by conquest, and is, at this hour, maintained by the power of the sword. The liberal and enlightened policy of the British government has introduced into those provinces that were in a condition to receive it, a system of law, *before unknown*, for the security of life and property, which, from its benevolence, has secured the attachment of the inhabitants. But, surely, it will never be contended, that if the *power of the sword* were annihilated, the British nation would retain its empire in India. Accordingly the whole system of British government in the East, is military. The legislative, judicial, and executive governments, are vested by the laws of England in one person—the governor-general in council. He is supreme in every thing, and controlled by

no local authority in India. He enacts the regulations which serve as the laws of that country; he sits in judgment, as the head of the court of appeal in all civil cases; and no sentence could be carried into execution, in a criminal case, without his sanction, given in the high court of appeal and criminal justice, until lord Wellesley appointed a court *specially* to discharge this duty, thereby removing the power from the governor-general in council. The gove.nor-general in council is also the supreme executive officer of the government. He appoints all the civil officers, issues instructions to them, and decides upon all subjects submitted to him from the different departments. He is also at the head of the military; for, not a soldier can be moved, but by his order, nor an officer appointed, promoted, or rewarded. The conduct of the political branch of the government is entirely under his guidance. This is the system, which, after many experiments, and great discussions, the wisdom of parliament has established for the administration of the British empire in the East. The people over whom this government is administered, consist, first, of the company's civil servants, who are gentlemen appointed by the East India company to go to India, there to be placed by their governments abroad to fill subordinate offices in the administration, suited to their different capacities. Secondly, the military officers in the service of his majesty and the company, the former of whom are of the same description with persons in similar situations in other parts of the empire; and the latter are appointed and sent out by the company. Thirdly, the soldiers in the service of the king and company, composing the largest class of the European population; who are scattered over the country, in bodies of about 1000 or 2000 men, and having little or no communication with the rest of the world, they acquire a military character and habits peculiar to themselves, for the maintenance of which, an efficient system of discipline is indispensible. Fourthly, the European inhabitants out of the service, either of his majesty or the company: these are persons who have gone to India from time to time, some of them *licensed* by the company, but the greater part of them, like Mr. Maclean, M. D. *unlicensed*, in defiance of the act of 33 Geo. III. chap. 52, and therefore liable to the pains and penalties of an *high crime and misdemeanor*. They who have gone with a license, have generally begun their career as writers, or clerks, in one of the public offices of government, or as clerks in an house of agency, in which they expect to be hereafter admitted as partners. There are but few merchants, if any, who have gone thither to settle with a capital. Almost every one has gone to India to seek a fortune by his talents or industry. Of the persons resident in India without the company's licence, some have run away from the company's ships, in which they went out, as surgeons, pursers, mates, or even as private seamen; others, have been soldiers in the company's service, who, at the expiration of their five years service, have received their discharge; some have been servants of the different governors or officers who have been in India; and a few have been smuggled out in ships from England, or from foreign parts. The occupations of this fourth class are, shopkeeping, the exercise of various trades, such as shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, coach-makers, curriers, &c. and PROPRIETORS OF NEWSPAPERS. The total of this European population may be computed at 30,000 souls, of whom, 20,000 at least, are soldiers of the army. The fifth and last class, are the natives of the country, amounting to 50 *millions of souls*; and besides these, who are immediately under the British government, there are whole nations upon the continent of India, some in amity and even dependent upon us, and others our enemies; with all of whom the countries belonging to Great Britain are in constant communication, and who have a knowledge of all our transactions. Of all these nations, whether connected with, or dependent upon us, not one in an hundred thousand persons understands one word of the English language. As a body, therefore, they could derive no advantage whatever from the most unlimited freedom of the press. The great utility of the press, and indeed, its main object is, to convey useful information, and to enlarge the minds of men; but how can this be effected in a foreign language? We may as reasonably believe that Mr. Wilberforce and the saints, can communicate their notions to the Eboos of Africa, as that English writers can make their compositions understood by the natives of India. Besides, when we contemplate the relative number of the native inhabitants and European subjects, as stated

above, and the nature of the government placed over them, no man, in his senses, can pretend, that it is expedient the natives should acquire *any knowledge* of our political views or system of administration*. For instance, just before lord Wellesley established the regulations for the superintendance of the newspapers, we were involved in a war with Tippoo Sultaun, the most formidable of all the native powers, and possibly equal to the power of the company. At the same moment, a large army was assembled in the north west of India, to resist the expected invasion of Zemaun Shah; there were strong indications of disaffection in Bengal; and Vizier Alli had murdered Mr. Cherry, our agent at Benares, at an entertainment given to him by that gentleman. This was the moment, which the editors of the newspapers considered as the most auspicious to point out to the Indian powers, and of course to Tippoo Sultaun, the *weak points* in our situation; and to suggest the benefits that prince would derive, from an *immediate invasion* of the Carnatic. The same critical moment was selected, to acquaint the Indian public with the *exact relative number* of the European and native population in India; and to shew the facility with which the former might be *picked off by assassination, one by one*, by the Indians, as Mr. Cherry had been destroyed by Vizier Alli. The supposed motives which the Indian public had for adopting this mode of "freeing themselves from the restraint" of their rulers, were clearly develloped to them by these editors of newspapers, from the purest principles of philanthrophy and benevolence. The distresses of the government, when engaged in negotiations to *avoid war*, were the constant themes of their dissertations. In the same manner, the *sailing of expeditions* was announced; the number and description of the force were told; the *probable objects* of their destination were discussed; and the grounds for the opinions delivered, were fully stated.

This information, however, was not calculated to be of service to the native public only; the European friends of these editors resident at the Danish settlements on the continent of India, at Ceylon, Batavia, the eastern islands, and Manilla, would reap the most substantial benefits from the perusal of such paragraphs, which they took care to obtain by sending vessels to call at certain places upon the coasts of India, particularly Tranquebar, *solely to receive* the Anglo-Indian newspapers. Thus, too, they obtained intelligence of *the time* when *unprotected merchant ships sailed*, and which, they *invariably contrived to capture*.

It is well known that the British and French nations have long been engaged in contests in India, in which Great Britain has had the same superiority which she has maintained in every other quarter of the globe, when engaged singly against France. In the war which succeeded the French revolution, it was natural that the relative strength of Great Britain and France, and the probability of a successful termination of the contest should be a favourite speculation in India. The ideas of the natives were accordingly enlightened by the *patriotic* editors of the newspapers, who *magnified* the strength and resources of France in comparison with those of Great Britain, and who pointed out the probable causes for believing that the contest would end in the defeat, disgrace, and ruin of the latter. Whoever considers the foundations upon which our government in India stands, how it is supported, and the dangers by which it may be threatened and overturned, must acknowledge, that, as the native population could claim no benefit from the unrestrained freedom of the newspapers, the government of India would have neglected its duty, if it had not taken measures to prevent the publication of intelligence, which might eventually be detrimental to the British interests. But, it may be contended that the evils which have been enumerated, ought to have been endured, rather than have deprived 30,000 British inhabitants, residing in India, of the benefits of a free press. Of these 30,000, the majority or 20,000 as I have already shewn, are British soldiers, who, of all men, have least to do with a free press; their duty being confined to obedience to the orders of their superiors, especially in a foreign country. Discussions of this nature must, therefore, be highly improper in respect of the soldiery;

* There are crowds of translators, able and willing to exert themselves in diffusing intelligence among those, from whom it is most necessary to keep it.

and as they are equally so in respect of the natives, they do not appear to be necessary to the company's civil service, or the military officers, and the superior class of British inhabitants not in the service. There are persons of superior minds and education in India, to whom the editors of papers could teach but little: such persons are the servants of his majesty and the company, and administrative officers of the British government in India. Institutions and regulations must be formed for the general benefit; and the convenience or information of any class of individuals, however respectable, must not be permitted to interfere with those regulations. The remaining British subjects resident in India are either licensed or unlicensed. The unlicensed have no *rights*, because the law says *they shall not go there*, and, therefore, it gives them no privilege. The licensed are *legal* residents, and it may be inferred, on that account, that they carry with them the rights and privileges which they enjoyed in their native country. But, it must be recollected that they are *not required* to reside in India; that they resort thither as a *matter of choice*, and in search of *advantages*: therefore, it is not reasonable that they should exercise *privileges* which may be dangerous to the existence of the government, under which they expect to derive these advantages, which induced them to leave their own country.

It would not be difficult to shew that even in England, during such a war as the present, some restrictions might not be advantageously put upon the press, especially when the sailing of expeditions and fleets, and other events, the knowledge of which is important to the enemy, are disclosed. These, however, are evils we bear with, because we cannot obviate them, without submitting the press to a previous inspection, the effect of which might be the suppression of that freedom which we so justly value. It is preferable, therefore, to incur the consequences of giving information to the enemy, upon points whereon he ought to have no information, rather than to limit the freedom of the press, by placing it under any superintendance. Here, we have a choice of evils, and the least is chosen: in India, however, there is no choice. An uncontroulled press produces in that country no advantage whatever, and it is pregnant with evils of a greater magnitude than can be apprehended from the most unrestrained licentiousness of the press in England.

There is yet another view in which this subject may be considered. The liberty of the press, as established here, is an instrument of power in the hands of the people; and in this light only is it essential to the existence of their rights and liberties. Would it be advisable to communicate a similar liberty to the people of India? Would the measure be consistent with the plan of government established by act of parliament for that country? I have shewn, that by that plan the governor-general in council is supreme, and that the people have no political power. If, therefore, a free press should be established in India, upon the principle whereon it is maintained in Britain, the first suggestion of humanity is to withdraw every British subject from India. My argument is as applicable to British subjects resident in India, as to natives. Neither of them enjoy, nor are entitled to *political power* in that country, under the laws of England; consequently, they cannot require the instrument which the liberty of the press would place in their hands.

Having shewn that the principle of restricting the press in India was not a principle introduced by lord Wellesley, but had always existed there, not only in Bengal, but at Madras, and other subordinate settlements, and having explained his lordship's motive in publishing a body of regulations which were before indefinite; it follows, that the charge which Mr. Maclean, conjointly with Mr. Samuel, alleged against his lordship, of imposing "*a heavy fetter on the wonted freedom of the press*," is altogether unfounded and malicious. Previously to lord Wellesley's arrival in India, no persons could establish a paper without the permission of government; and their publications were always liable to a previous revision, if necessary, by the officers of government. Hence, the only difference made by lord Wellesley was, in having the regulations clearly defined, and instead of leaving their interpretation to doubt, or to any constructive meaning, to publish them in the government gazette for general information, that no person might pretend ignorance of them. Lord Wellesley never sent home any person except Mr. Maclean; lord Cornwallis, lord Teignmouth, and lord Buckinghamshire, were compelled to remove many persons for

offences against the government; but no person has ever accused those distinguished noblemen of having annihilated the personal freedom of the subject, and the liberty of the press in India.

All the arguments which Mr. Maclean has employed against lord Wellesley, in his pamphlet upon this subject, I have here completely refuted; but it is unnecessary to animadvert upon his ludicrous proposition, that his lordship was compelled to remove him from India, before the liberty of the press could be extinguished there. He was removed because he resided there without a license, and was thereby subjected to the penalties of disobedience to law. The circumstance of his being the proprietor of a paper in India, was unconnected with the business; though it might have impressed upon him the necessity of treating with becoming decency, the government whose injunctions he was daily violating. As to the regulations themselves, they were rendered necessary by the previous licentiousness of the Indian press; the first and second are the same as prevail at this time in Great Britain, by act of parliament; and the third, forbidding the publication of papers on a Sunday, might be advantageously established any where: the 4th and 5th, enacting a previous inspection by the secretary to the government, were, as I before observed, previously acted upon by preceding governors, and through the justice of lord Wellesley were published, that every person might know the rule of conduct by which to guide himself, as well as to repress the evils which had often arisen from the unqualified communication of intelligence in the Indian newspapers, both to the enemy, and to the native powers. These regulations, as well as the rules prescribed for the guidance of the secretaries in the revision of newspapers, were instituted with a view to the maintenance of the British power in India, and by no means under any idea of fettering the press abstractedly. According to the system of government enacted by the British legislature for the government of India, it was and still remains in the power of any governor-general in council to suppress, or to prohibit the publication of any paper at all, as newspapers are excrescences arising out of that system, and it would not be difficult to shew that they are, in a certain degree, repugnant to it. We made conquests in India not to perpetuate our liberties at home, or to extend their benefits to the countries under our dominion, but to consolidate our power, to secure our channels of commerce, and to extinguish the power of a rival who was continually engaged in exciting the native princes against our interests. It cannot, therefore, be said with propriety, that lord Wellesley annihilated a liberty, which the British subjects in India enjoy, not as a *right*, but solely as a matter of *indulgence*.

So mischievously extensive, however, is the force of wilful misrepresentation, that many persons have given credit to the reports which have been circulated to the prejudice of lord Wellesley; and this Mr. Maclean, together with his colleague, Mr. Samuel, have established a paper in London, for the undisguised purpose of traducing that nobleman. As I have now sufficiently discussed this subject, and have already shewn, from his previous character in India, what degree of credit Mr. Maclean is entitled to, when accusing lord Wellesley, I shall close this article with a few observations relative to his coadjutor, that, by shewing *who* and *what* he is, the public may be the better able to judge of their patriotism and impartiality in the conduct of their common labours.

Mr. Emanuel Samuel, originally a Jew, and apprenticed to an apothecary, went out to India as an assistant surgeon in the company's military service. After his arrival there, by a singular change of professional pursuits, he became a proctor in the mayor's court, at which no regular-bred barrister had ever practised. Upon the institution of the recorder's court, he was admitted, among others of the same description, on account of the want of regular counsellors to practice in it. By-and-by, he set up a newspaper, entitled "The Madras Gazette," and was employed by the late nabob of Arcot in all his controversial discussions with lord Powys. I shall now put a few queries to Mr. Samuel, which he may answer if he pleases. While he filled an office under the government, was he not employed by the nabob as his agent in writing against the government? Was not this fact disclosed and ascertained at the nabob's death, when all his papers were delivered up to the Madras government? Has Mr. Samuel any recollection of a letter which he wrote to the court of Hydrabad, at the commencement of the late war against Tippoo Sultaun

in 1799, the object of which letter was to detach that court from its alliance with the East India Company, and to inspire it with apprehensions relative to the intentions of the British government respecting the Nizam's power? Has Mr. Samuel, I repeat, any recollection of this stroke of treachery? Is not Mr. Samuel, the confidential adviser of Sir T. Turton, in all his charges against lord Wellesley, notwithstanding the declaration of the latter in the house of commons, that he had no connection whatever with any person from India?* What was the specific motive which induced Mr. Samuel to return to England in 1803? It is believed that he was delegated by the agents of the bastard son of the late Umdet ul Umbra, and it is supposed that he brought a considerable sum of money for certain *political gratifications* to such as would engage to obtain the deposition of the present nabob, and to procure the re-establishment of the bastard. This matter should be rectified, otherwise the motives of Mr. Samuel's patriotism and virtue must become extremely suspicious. Lastly, by urging the continuance of this infamous persecution against lord Wellesley, is there any prospect that the editors of the Pilot will be *refreshed* from the fertile streams of Indian opulence?

These queries deserve to be answered; and if they be not answered so as to carry irresistible conviction to every dispassionate mind, the editors of the Pilot will excuse the public for questioning the truth and justice of their accusations against lord Wellesley, as well as for doubting the motives by which they are actuated in making those accusations.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

On Monday last after the lords commissioners had notified the royal assent to two private bills, the lord chancellor, in his majesty's name, delivered the following speech to the lords and commons who were present.

"My lords and gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majesty to inform you, that his majesty has thought fit to avail himself of the first moment which would admit of an interruption of the sitting of parliament, without material inconvenience to the public business, to close the present session: and that his majesty has therefore been pleased to cause a commission to be issued, under the great seal, for proroguing parliament.

We are further commanded to state to you, that his majesty is anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection.

His majesty feels, that in resorting to this measure, under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates, in the most unequivocal manner, his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted; and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogatives of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the security of the constitution.

His majesty directs us to express his entire conviction that, after so long a reign, marked by a series of indulgencies to his Roman catholic subjects, they, in common with every other class of his people, must feel assured of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration; and of his anxious desire to protect equally, and promote impartially, the happiness of all descriptions of his subjects."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"His Majesty has commanded us to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the supplies which you have furnished for the public service.

"He has seen, with great satisfaction, that you have been able to find the means of defraying, in the present year, those large but necessary expenses, for which you have provided, without imposing upon his people the immediate burthen of additional taxes.

"His Majesty has observed with no less satisfaction the inquiries which you have instituted into subjects connected with public economy; and, he trusts, that the

---

* Ten minutes before making this declaration, Sir T. Turton actually passed through the house of commons to the gallery, this same Mr. Samuel from whose brief he was probably speaking!

early attention of a new parliament, which he will forthwith direct to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of these important objects.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty has directed us most earnestly to recommend to you, that you should cultivate, by all means in your power, a spirit of union, harmony, and good will, amongst all classes and descriptions of his people.

"His Majesty trusts that the divisions naturally and unavoidably excited by the late unfortunate and uncalled for agitation of a question so interesting to the feelings and opinions of his people, will speedily pass away; and that the prevailing sense and determination of all his subjects to exert their united efforts in the cause of their country, will enable his Majesty to conduct to an honourable and secure termination, the great contest in which he is engaged."

The Lord Chancellor then, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the said commission, declared the parliament to be prorogued to Wednesday, the 13th day of May next.

The Lords Commissioners withdrew from the House, and the Commons retired from the bar.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

Parliament is now dissolved. The following Proclamation was published on Wednesday night. The writs are returnable on the 22d June, when the new parliament it is expected will meet.

By the King—A Proclamaiton, for dissolving the present parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

George R. - Whereas we think fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to dissolve this present parliament, which stands prorogued to Wednesday the thirteenth day of May next: we do, therefore, publish this our royal proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said parliament accordingly; and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs, of the house of commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Wednesday the thirteenth day of May next. And we being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our royal will and pleasure to call a new parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our privy council, we have this day given order that our chancellor of that part of our united kingdom called Great Britain, and our chancellor of Ireland, do respectively forthwith issue out writs, in due form and according to law, for calling a new parliament. And we do hereby also, by this our royal proclamation under our great seal of our united kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said chancellors respectively, for causing the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the said parliament, to be duly returned to, and give their attendance in, our said parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Monday the twenty-second day of June next.

Given at our court at the queen's palace, the twenty-ninth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seven, in the forty-seventh year of our reign.

God save the king.

I shall next week have ample scope for offering my observations on the events which have happened, and on the characters of the respective candidates. This week I have been too much occupied to enter upon such a discussion.

GENERAL ELECTION.

If the people make a good use of the present opportunity afforded to them of choosing representatives who will maintain our constitution in church and state, and uphold the just prerogatives of the sovereign that constitution will have nothing to fear from the ministers of faction, or the agents of despair. Much was left undone at the last general election; the people having suffered some of the most loyal and confirmed patriots to be excluded from parliament by the force of intrigue, undue influence, and the most gross corruption. Let us not be forgetful of the scenes which took place at the elections for Hampshire, and Norfolk; and let the example of those contests, serve to remind the electors of the urgent necessity of repairing

the breaches which were then made in their constitutional privileges. Mr. Windham has declined offering himself as a candidate for Norfolk; but it is not without unfeigned regret, I observe, that no mention is made of colonel Wodehouse renewing his services for that county. Under the present circumstances, when so grand an appeal has been made to the voice of the people, and that too, upon one of the most important questions of constitutional policy which has ever been submitted to them, it will argue great remissness in the freeholders of Norfolk, if they tamely permit sir Jacob Astley and Mr. Coke to dictate to them again. It will really be a lamentable consideration, to see Norfolk reduced to the condition of a dispeseable borough; and the opponents of a man of col. Wodehouse's principles and respectable family victorous over both.

In Hampshire, Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay have again offered themselves against Mr. Herbert, and no doubt is entertained of their success. Mr. Thistlethwayte has prudently declined; and Mr. Herbert would have acted discreetly if he had followed the example of his colleague, for he may rest assured, that the freeholders of Hants will now wipe away the disgrace of the last election, in which the influence of government was exerted in a most unconstitutional and barefaced manner in opposition to the popular candidates, Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay.

For Westminster, Mr. Paull, again adventures himself, and lord Cochrane and Mr. Elliott are also candidates. Sir Francis Burdett will act as adjutant-general to Mr. Paull, and a more active officer in training and collecting the rabble can no where be found. The friends of the constitution must, therefore, be upon their guard, and unite together to repel the aggression of these infatuated demagogues. Finding that neither his principles nor his purse will avail in Middlesex, sir Francis has publicly announced, that he will no longer insult the loyalty, good sense, and public principles of that county; and by way of giving to the electors of Westminster a rough draft of the principles of Mr. Paull, for whom he is about to canvass with all the zeal and energy of a firebrand, he has discharged the following seditious manifesto against the freeholders of Middlesex:—

"After what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country; and as impossible to imagine that any efforts of ours can at this time procure redress.

Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of loyalty: the leaders of the whigs, under the pretence of the constitution; and the leaders of the catholics, under the pretence of religion; are all evidently struggling for one and the same object—*a share of the common spoil;* whilst the wholesome power of the crown, the fair liberty of the subject, and the real interests of any religion, are all sacrificed to the common object—plunder.

Of the rights of the people at large, and of their welfare and independence, not a syllable is even whispered by any of these factions: and any attempt by others to bring the people or their interests into consideration, is stigmatized as treason.

In this desperate situation of affairs (for such I esteem it) I cannot consent to become a candidate for any seat in parliament.

With the omnipotent means of corruption in the power of our spoilers, all struggle is vain. We must wait for our redress and regeneration till corruption shall have exhausted the means of corruption; and I do not believe that period very distant; the present ministers being most likely to be our best friends by hastening it. Till that time shall arrive, I beg leave to retire from all parliamentary service; without the least abatement of zeal for the rights and liberties of my countrymen, to which I will always be ready to sacrifice my own interests, in any manner, whenever there shall appear the smallest prospect of success.

I am, Gentlemen, with respect and gratitude,

Your faithful servant, FRANCIS BURDETT.

If these be the principles upon which Mr. Paull rests his claim to the choice of the electors of Westminster, he cannot prevail unless they have totally lost sight of all the wholesome maxims of policy by which this country has flourished in defiance of the malignity of its internal, and the violence of its foreign enemies. To include in one sweeping clause of criminination the whole legislature of the nation, as a band of public plunderers; and to aver that all are struggling for a share in the common spoil; and that not a syllable is whispered of the rights, welfare, and independence

of the people; while he himself is represented as the only pure and uncorrupt patriot living, are assertions no less fabulous than insolent and malicious. 'The very fact of a new election, after the general one which had recently taken place, is an evident contradiction to all these statements;' for it demonstrates that the highest attention has been paid to the rights, welfare, and independence of the people, all of which were endangered by the measure which the late administration endeavoured to establish by the most fraudulent and violent means. The electors of Westminster will therefore resist, with indignation, the pretensions of this man and his political associate; for they have had sufficient experience, during the sanguinary progress of the French revolution, that the demagogues who were most forward in sounding the praises of the people, and in asserting their supposed rights, have since become the most active agents in enslaving them. We have all seen, that the advocates of "redress and regeneration," turned out the most consummate rogues and hypocrites, the greatest tyrants, and finally sacrificed "all to the common object—plunder."

The politics upon which Mr. Paull stands, and upon which he calls for support, being now once more avowed with unblushing effrontery, no hesitation can take place relative to the line of duty, and to the exercise of the elective franchise amongst the electors of Westminster. They cannot vote for Mr. Paull, without acknowledging at the same time their enmity to the British constitution—they cannot countenance him, without disgracing themselves—nor can they, consistently with a desire to preserve the benefits of a well regulated society, give their sanction to doctrines, the obvious tendency of which is not only to pull down the fabric of our public policy, but to dissolve at once every principle of social duty and moral obligation. I shall attentively watch the steps of Sir Francis as well as of Mr. Paull, throughout the whole election, and employ my best efforts to provide an antidote to the poison they are about to disseminate. It is only by closely pursuing them, and by detecting the fallacy of their principles, that the common people, to whom they more particularly address themselves, can be enlightened, and their minds disabused. Thinking men require neither antidote nor instruction.

At present, it is not in my power to fix the attention of the public upon either of the two other candidates who have offered themselves: but when they shall have more fully explained themselves, it will not be difficult to recommend the men most deserving of the public support. Our first and greatest object is, to drive Mr. Paull from Westminster, with the same success as we chased Sir Francis Burdett from Middlesex, at the last election. And, unless we are as victorious upon this, as we were upon that occasion, we must sit down under the melancholy reflection, that there are in this country, a body of men, upon whom, time, experience, and just principles, can have no influence; whose minds rankle with seditious propensities, and whose hearts are hardened against every sentiment of public duty, of public freedom, and of public honour.

OF THE PERVERSION OF THE PRESS.

SIR—Those who have despised the credulity of the English journalists, for giving ear to such a thing as defeat or repulse on the part of the French in their contest with the Russian army, may be now called on to answer, why they should not be treated with the same degree of sarcastic severity with which they assaulted the different editors: challenge after challenge, couched in the most caustic language of *vulgar* derision, was offered to every one of those who were credulous enough to suppose possible, what the event has *fully* justified. Foremost, in this throng of scribblers, is the *sagacious* Cobbett: not satisfied with denying the ability of the Russians, to give even a temporary check to the career of Bonaparte, he boldly *named* the period of his arrival in Petersburgh. To persons of common intellect, the thing seemed somewhat problematical, but "*his* nimble nonsense took a shorter course;" like the complaisant devil of *Le Sage*, he raises his favourite in his arms, and spite of all the obstacles of cannons and bayonets, and famine, and thaws, and snows, swamps and Kozaks, fairly places him in the capital of Russia, as easily, and with as much certainty as if he had been conveyed in an English mail coach. I will not however *sting* the *creature* with a repetition of his own coarse *gibes* on the occasion; my charges against his political opinion, are of too serious a nature to admit of being made in

the language of *buffoonery*. I shall content myself with asking him, why he felt himself so confident in the prediction of Bonaparte's success? *I demand his* answer publicly; *I insist* on it, with an authority to which I may fairly lay claim, from one who pronounces with such authority on every public transaction. If he denies my right, then the public may form a fair estimate of the designs and character of this *political Trinculo*. Let me however assure him that, in making this demand, I am not seeking to know what I am ignorant of; his conduct and opinions are perfectly clear to me; I see a consistency in his proceedings which does him as much credit, as it conferred upon Catiline. I am not at all surprized, when he gravely tells the English nation, that Buonaparte's success hitherto, has originated with his having the *mass* of every nation through which he has passed in his favour: it is only part of a system, the remainder of which is conducted on this side of the channel with the same profligacy, while *he* displays the prudence which marks the political character of the *murderer* of France, and hints at the necessity of the rulers of these kingdoms adopting his *merciful* system. We are regaled in Ireland with a panegyric on the religious toleration of this judaizing-turk-christian, and government is (by a set of *humble* petitioners too) seriously recommended to follow his maxims; while *he* discharges his coarse ribaldry, at those who catch at any well grounded report of Buonaparte's disasters. Our journals plague us with a repetition of *his* opinions on the subject, dressed up in language calculated for this meridian, conveying the same ideas, affecting the same vein of humour on the successful atrocities of France, the failures of our allies, and the credulity of poor John Bull, at a moment too, which they insist on to be the most eventful of our history. Sir, I have no means of discovering the general opinion on such a species of scribblers, but I cannot help declaring it, as my most serious opinion, that he who would play off a quibble or a joke, on what he solemnly declared to be the most critical situation of his country, would not hesitate, upon a favourable opportunity, to *stab her to the heart*. We are pretty well acquainted with the merciful warfare of Buonaparte, and from our knowledge in that particular, we can estimate Cobbett's designs in becoming his political advocate. From your situation, you cannot be as capable of ascertaining the means of carrying on the religious part of the system here; I have then to inform you, that the deposition of the pope by Buonaparte, and every circumstance which might tend to discredit the religious character of the latter, are studiously concealed; his successes in the field are rapidly disseminated amongst the lower orders, his aversion from the arrogance and tyranny of England frequently inculcated, and, (let them deny it with what perseverance they may,) the heretical character of the protestant church religiously accredited, though cautiously avowed, attempts have been made to induce the catholics here to detach themselves from the papal throne, and to establish a church (such as was formerly the case) independent of any foreign and *subjugated* jurisdiction: to this, the well-meaning part of the laity have no objection, the obstacles to this innovation have originated with their clergy. As this opposition on their part must have some strong motive for its support, it appears somewhat singular that this motive, (whatever it may be,) has never been avowed either directly or indirectly. The approbation of the laity in favour of the secession, is by no means active; does this lead us to conclude that they are no longer to be influenced in their opinions by the clergy? it is a *dignus vindice nodus*. The clergy on the contrary reject a measure that would remove instantaneously the most serious obstacles to their complete participation with the protestants, in every dignity they are so anxious for, without avowing their reasons. Does this warrant us in supposing their reasons to be such as are just and satisfactory? They wish government to make concessions in their favour, a mysterious threat is held out in case of refusal, while at the same time the character of the avowed inveterate foe to these countries, is held up as a model of imitation to the ministers, (that avowed inveterate foe, who has by his nod filled the papal throne from which the catholics will not detach themselves.) If these opinions are expressed in one uniform speech, what opinion must we form of their tendency, when we compare them with their obstinate adherence to a *fallen degraded chairman*, which no longer retains the slightest affectation of being filled by *divine appointment*? Why truly we must think with the *pious* Cobbett, that we are all wrong, with the exception of himself, the *decent* Paull, the perjured Drake, and the gallant baronet. It may appear somewhat singular, that the same persons have been objects of animadversion at the same time amongst the catholics

party in Ireland, Cobbett in England, and the master of the iron sceptre in France. It is wholly natural, however, that such masses of corruption should harmonize in all their feelings, all their wishes, all their prospects; a similarity of inclination leads them implicitly to the same mode of estimating men and measures: the war with France was unpopular with a party in England and Ireland, who wished to see the Gallic doctrines diffused amongst us. The man, who saw with a powerful intuition the dreadful result of such doctrines, was by them branded with infamy: are we to be surprized that the same man should be abhorred in France? The pacific doctrines of his political antagonist was cried up by the same parties: should the approbation bestowed on him by Buonaparte, be a matter of astonishment to us? When the bulletins, fabricated in Paris, convert defeats into splendid victories, can we wonder if Cobbett be engaged, and the disaffected journals here should prefer arguing from the latitude of Paris, to the modest statement of an honest Russian soldier? You cannot be ignorant, sir, that an end is to be answered by such a system, and in such a case, why should the veracity or falsehood of a statement be regarded by them? They will acknowledge, certainly, a difference between them, in matters of "less pith and moment," but on great and momentous political affairs, this difference they consider as a mere evanescent quality. Had Paull succeeded in his petition, the perjury of Drake might have been considered as a glorious deviation from the contracted path of vulgar veracity, for the furthering of the common good. When I see, in a weekly journal, a virulent attack on literature of a linguist, should I marvel at *any* coincidence of opinion between Jack Cade, and Bill Cobbett; when the decency of dress is ridiculed and pointedly introduced into his thoughts on the catholic question, can I consider it as inconsistent with the resident of a dog-kennel?

Belfast, March 10. TIMOLEON.

TO THE ELECTORS OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

The parliament is prorogued, a dissolution is announced, and we hesitate not to applaud what every true lover of his country has anticipated and recommended. When the constitution is invaded, when the throne is attacked, there is only one true legitimate resource, viz. an appeal to the sense and justice of the people.

His majesty having found his prerogative and independency menaced and invaded by a cabinet junto, has been obliged to change his ministers. This cabinet junto has dared, as a measure of resentment or defiance, to accuse their sovereign at the bar of the nation of unconstitutional conduct, and, by false statements and unwarranted misrepresentations, to arraign his majesty as a criminal before his people.

They further brought forward in parliament a resolution directly tending to censure his majesty, though that censure was disguised in general terms. They had not even the decency to suppose that his majesty was acting by any responsible advisers; but, contrary to every principle of the constitution, their measures were so managed as to point at his majesty alone, as the only guilty and responsible individual, and personally to censure and condemn him. The parliament, however, could not be brought, under any artifices or promises, to support a proposition so dangerous and unconstitutional; yet so deeply connected together, and so widely extended were the adherents of the late cabinet, that 226 members of the house of commons were induced to join in the censure of their monarch.

After this unprecedented attempt, the king, with the most perfect consciousness of his integrity and uprightness, has appealed to the great body of his subjects, in the firm confidence that they will confirm the decision of the house of commons, approve the necessary change he has been forced to make of his ministry, and that they will give both him and them that countenance and support which will on the one hand secure the constitutional independency of the crown, and on the other, enable his present servants to carry on the business of the nation with ease and comfort, unawed by any combination of parties, which might otherwise conspire to interrupt the ordinary proceedings of government.

We conceive that one of the great and fundamental principles of the British constitution is this—that the house of commons is to be considered as the organ of the people, the representative of their power, the interpreter of their will: and whenever the house of commons speaks, it speaks, in legal and constitutional acceptation, the sense of all the commons of the empire.

When, therefore, any great question arises affecting the rights of any branch of the legislature, or the interests of any great description of the people, which was not foreseen or in contemplation at the time the commons were elected; which it was morally impossible for the electors to have foreseen, and which, consequently, they could not have referred to in the choice of their representatives; it is in strict conformity with the fundamental principles of the constitution, that an opportunity should be given to the people of expressing their collective sense on the subject, and making their elections conformably. This doctrine is so evident as to need no proof however it may be illustrated by stating the converse of it. Let us suppose that the house of commons, when once elected, has a right to sit for its legal period of seven years—it might by its power over the purse of the nation, dictate both to the lords and the king, and create a Septennial Despotism.

We now, then, ask you, whether the late transactions which have taken place on the catholic question, were in your contemplation when you elected your late representatives, in October last?

1. Was it in your contemplation that a cabinet junto should, by every possible artifice, by alleged misconception, and by false misrepresentation, endeavour to deceive or to force his majesty to a total repeal of the test laws, as far as the army and navy are concerned?—We answer boldly for you, it was not.

2. Was it in your contemplation, that, if his majesty should evince an unshaken firmness in support of his conscientious engagements to the state, that his ministers should be authorized to impose upon him conditions which should empower them to turn against him all his influence, power, and prerogative, for controling his opinions, forcing his conscience, and exposing his character to obloquy and reproach? —We again answer in your name, that it was not.

3. Was it in your contemplation that, upon the tender of such degrading conditions from his ministers, his majesty should surrender his prerogatives, authority, and independency, into the hands of a cabinet junto?—Here, again, we answer for you in the negative.

4. Was it in your contemplation, that if his majesty, in endeavouring to liberate himself from the attacks of his ministers, should demand them to retract the conditions they had imposed upon him, and to give him an assurance that they would not bring forward again measures connected with the repeal of the Test acts, *as his ministers*, he should be held up to the public as a criminal, should be accused of having violated the constitution, and of having exacted an illegal pledge of his councillors?—We answer again in your name, with confidence, No.

All these circumstances, unprecedented and preposterous, form such a combination of measures, as you could neither have foreseen nor conjectured; and which, although they have taken place, you can now hardly believe.

The attack on the king's independency, the efforts to carry a repeal of the Test laws, an act of supremacy in favour of Roman catholics, and of every other dissenter from the establishment, the attempt of ministers to force the sovereign to admit the cabinet to act in defiance of his sentiments, and the accusing the monarch personally, as guilty of a criminal act in resisting this attempt, are all measures novel and extraordinary, totally out of the common course and current of affairs, and which require a distinct proceeding, conformably to their importance and novelty.

Under these impressions, therefore, the monarch with affectionate confidence in the attachment of his people, and with the most conscientious sense of his own sincerity, in endeavouring to perform the duties, and maintain the trusts committed to his charge, makes a condescending appeal to your sentiments and impartiality.

1. He has refused to give his ministers leave to carry through parliament, with the colour of his consent, a bill, which went to repeal the Act of Supremacy, and the Test Acts, as far as the army and navy are concerned, and to give the capacity of holding the highest naval and military commands to every species of dissenters from the church establishment, whatever sect they might belong to, christian or unchristian, or even if they were of no religion whatever.

2. His ministers having demanded that they shall, on abandoning their obnoxious bill, give their sentiments in support of it, and also give their sentiments in favour of the catholic petition when presented; and, thirdly, be allowed, from time to time,

to bring forward, for his majesty's decision, such measures as they thought proper respecting Ireland—His majesty did in answer desire his ministers to withdraw these demands; and did also desire them to give assurances that they would not bring forward any measures connected with *the catholic question*, as upon that subject his sentiments could never alter.

You have now, then, a plain case before you to decide upon.

Is it your wish to force the surrender of the Test Laws, and to give the whole power of the sword into the hands of the catholics, and of every dissenter from the church establishment? or do you wish to preserve the existing system of general toleration, but at the same time to maintain the established guards of the constitution in church and state?

Is it your wish that ministers should no longer consider themselves as protectors of the king's person, and the guardians of his authority? Is it your wish that they should have a right, while they remain ministers, to arm themselves with the king's power against his authority, and to employ the influence of their own talents, and of the royal prerogative, to carry those measures which the king conscientiously disapproves?

Is it your wish to thrust upon his majesty a set of ministers who have tried to force his conscience by every tricking expedient?—who have imposed conditions upon him subversive of his authority, and insulting to his situation?—and who, finding their sovereign neither to be decried nor intimidated from pursuing his duty, have misrepresented his conduct to the nation, brought him personally to the bar of the public, and endeavoured to censure him in parliament?

If such, we say, is your wish and intention, not only confer your votes again on the late ministers and their adherents, but boldly instruct them to persevere in the line they have begun; encourage them to renew their attack upon the Test Laws and Act of Supremacy, and to redouble their insults on their sovereign.

Is it finally your intention to greet hereafter the ministers of the crown into a *fourth estate*, separate and distinct from the monarch, who shall be allowed, at their pleasure, to withdraw themselves from all responsibility? be allowed to advance sentiments in parliament, and encourage measures, which their sovereign disapproves? and be at liberty to expose him naked, alone, unsupported, and defenceless, as the object of their own reprobation and public odium?

Far be it from us to insinuate or believe it possible that you should nourish for a moment such sentiments as we have just supposed. Sentiments the most remote from the feelings, the most foreign to the principles of Englishmen. You will, therefore, do justice to your sovereign and to yourselves; you will not only declare in favour of the constitution, but shew by your votes, your instructions, your addresses, that the independency of your sovereign is as dear to you as your own; that you are the enemies and ever will be the enemies of any men, or any combination of parties, who shall attempt to enslave their sovereign, and substitute themselves in his place; that you expect that ministers, if they disagree with their sovereign on important subjects, shall dutifully resign their situations, and propose, as private men, what they have not been permitted to urge as ministers; and that you never will admit that ministers, from a criminal love of office and power, shall dare to insist that their sovereign shall continue them in power, and at the same time allow them to state sentiments and opinions hostile to those of their sovereign, and to erect themselves into a separate and distinct estate, with a right to act independently of their royal master, and even in opposition to him.

If we would describe a British sovereign in a state of degradation and contempt, we would picture him as encompassed by a junto of men of the most discordant and hostile principles to each other, who had united themselves and their adherents in a combination, for the purpose of establishing themselves in perpetual power, and who, by the means of managing elections, had obtained such a majority in parliament as enabled them to dictate to their sovereign, and to force him to give up to them all his influence, power, and prerogative, in order to carry measures the most repugnant to his fixed sentiments, and the most offensive to the dictates of his conscience.

If again we would describe the British nation in a state of degradation and contempt, we would represent them as governed by a junto thus linked and confede-

rated, and who having forced their sovereign to consign all his powers into their hands, against his will and conscience, and exerting that power to carry measures which the nation disapproved, and were endeavouring to make the nation believe, that they were acting with the consent of the monarch.

From such an ignominious condition, the virtuous and manly firmness of the king has rescued himself and his people. Whether his efforts shall be ultimately effectual and successful, whether it shall be of momentary or lasting impression, depends upon you. The preservation of the protestant constitution of the realm, the maintenance of the independency of the monarch, are now placed in your hands; it is for you to decide, whether the constitutional guards of an establishment, erected at the reformation and the revolution, for the support of the protestant religion, are to be preserved or surrendered? It is for you to determine whether the king of these realms is to be an independent monarch, *subject only to the laws*, or whether he is to be the slave of any junto or combination who have confederated for the purpose of usurping the influence of the executive power!

In doing your duty at this great crisis you have no impediment in your way. The late cabinet themselves have proved to you, that for the tranquillity or safety of the state, their catholic measure was not necessary, for they themselves have abandoned it.

The catholics themselves have also declared it not to be necessary: for at their last meeting in Dublin they have expressly said, that it was a half measure, which they never petitioned for, and that it had been framed with a view to pacify some low insurgents in the west of Ireland, and not to answer their objects or views.

The catholics themselves have also consented for the present to drop their petition, which goes to demand the repeal of all our Test laws whatsoever.

In doing your duty upon this occasion, you will have also little to regret if you entirely take away from the late ministry any prospect of an early return to power; for if we are to judge of them by their measures and conduct, their continuance in power would give little encouragement to the hopes of the nation.

Did they, let us ask, shew any regard for the constitution, when, contrary to the principles of the act of settlement, which was framed in order to remove the judges from being under any influence of the crown, they made the chief justice of England a cabinet minister?

Did they act with any regard to public feeling when they endeavoured to force the India company to nominate lord Lauderdale to be governor-general of India? and when upon the almost unanimous rejection of him, they menaced that company with compulsory proceedings?

Did they shew any regard for the loyal exertions of the nation, when they lowered the character of the volunteers, curtailed their necessary allowances, and stigmatized their character by degrading reflections?

Have they shewn any wisdom or ability in their modelling of the *levy en masse*, which is now so formed as to be entirely incapable of being rendered of service to the country, without producing more danger than it would avert?

Did they not evince a disposition to sacrifice the feelings of the navy to the spirit of party in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope? This most important settlement was re-conquered by the gallantry of sir David Baird, and the skilful conduct of sir Home Popham, who originally suggested and planned the enterprise from the private information he had fortunately obtained. Sir David Baird received for his service a cold letter of common thanks and acknowledgement, but sir Home Popham was treated with the most marked contempt and indignity.

Does not such conduct as this to a meritorious officer and a brave squadron, who were resigning their lives in his majesty's service, and had been crowned with success, deserve the reprobation of a generous nation?

What are we to say with regard to the alteration of the military system, which is producing daily embarrassments of a very serious kind, and which is hourly increasing in expense? The mere military pensions alone amount at present to near 500,000l. a year, and will increase to one million.

What are we to say as to their negotiations for peace, which they carried on for nine months without ever settling the basis on which the treaty was to commence; whilst they suffered all the exertions of the nation to stagnate, and tamely permitted

Buonaparte to overthrow the empire of Germany, erect the confederation of the Rhine, and destroy Prussia, without an effort on our side, or even a preparation to make an effort?

Can you lament the loss of those ministers who, when every thing depends upon the resistance which Europe can make against Buonaparte, have detached 15,000 of our best troops against Spanish America, where their exertions, as far as the real objects of the war are concerned, are totally lost—lost in expeditions, which lord Grenville himself stigmatised as *foolish, wild, and romantic!*

We know not yet the full extent of the proceedings at the Dardanelles. It appears we have failed; and we can only say, that if the condition imposed by sir J. Duckworth had been accompanied by a force sufficient to command success, their imperious severity could not have been justified in a power which appeared as a mediator; but, unaccompanied by such a force, the harshness of the menace is lost in its folly and presumption.

What have been the exertions of the late ministers for supporting our allies in the north of Europe, since the failure of the negotiations? Not a man has been sent to their assistance, not a transport prepared to make a diversion, none of the supplies demanded by our allies have been forwarded, and our whole aid has been confined to the advance of eighty thousand pounds to Prussia, a sum not equal to the yearly emoluments enjoyed by the Grenvilles alone when they were in office.

We say little of the abilities and conduct of the ministers they have employed on foreign missions; but never did the interests of our merchants suffer so severely in any quarter of the world as they have suffered in Russia, from the misconduct of our diplomacy.

The American treaty is not yet before the public; the news of its failure is also, we believe, premature: Happy would it be for England were that failure to be the case, for if the provisions of that treaty, as detailed in the public papers, are true, the ratification of it will be the greatest blow that the navigation of this country could experience.

The nation may feel pleased for a moment at the plan of finance which prevents an addition of taxes at present; but they must be sensible that any plan which is confined to the principle of borrowing on existing funds, must ultimately be ruinous; as all money so raised, must be raised by compound interest, and when once the funds are mortgaged, the nation will be left without resource.

After this short and rapid sketch of the measures of the late administration, we see not why we should wish their continuance, or regret their departure.

Their successors cannot do less for the country, and from their ability and habit of business, there is every reason to believe they will do more. Animated by the confidence of the sovereign, if they shall receive the support of the people, we may hope at least for greater wisdom in the national plans, greater success in our enterprizes, and we may rest secure that no dangerous innovation will be attempted on our domestic establishments.

It is supposed that on such occasions as the present, a dry reference should be made to the principles of the constitution, and no appeal be allowed to the virtues of the sovereign. We cannot bring ourselves to endure such cold-blooded indifference.—If a sovereign, during a reign of forty-seven years, has shewn himself the example and pattern of every human virtue; if he has saved us from being involved in the confusion and anarchy which have convulsed the nations around us, by his steady moderation, and unshaken firmness; if he has preserved our national character and habits, by the purity of his morals, and promoted our attachment to our religious establishments by his unaffected piety; if, by the wisdom of his councils, during the most arduous conflict, the glory and the power of the empire have been augmented and extended, whilst it has, at the same time, been the continual bulwark of other states:—we say, if a sovereign, possessing such qualities, has done so much for his people, he ought not to be abandoned by them in his old age: but possessing a mind still firm and vigorous, and unimpaired, he may fairly claim some proof, in the hour of trial, of their attachment and affection, some effort of zeal and loyalty to preserve his dignity and independence.

Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N° 19. Saturday, May 9, 1807. Price 10d.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNITED EMPIRE.

"When complaints and discontents are sown among well-meaning men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own ends under those of the public, and, by the good and service of the nation, mean nothing but their own. The practice begins of knaves upon fools, of artificial and crafty men upon the simple and the good; these easily follow, and are caught, while the others lay trains, and pursue a game, wherein they design no other share, than of toil and danger to their company, but the gain and the quarry wholly to themselves. They blow up sparks that fall in by chance, or could not be avoided, or else throw them in wherever they find the stubble is dry: they find out miscarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the officers, and then with the prince; sometimes with the execution of the laws, and at others with the institutions, how antient and sacred soever. They make fears pass for dangers, and appearances for truth; represent misfortunes for faults, and mole-hills for mountains; and by the persuasions of the vulgar, and pretences of patriots, or lovers of their country, at the same time they undermine the credit and authority of the government, and set up their own. This raises a faction between those subjects that would support it, and those that would ruin it; or rather, between those that possess the honours and advantages of it, and those that, under the pretence of reforming, design only or chiefly to change the hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest." *Sir William Temple. Of popular Discontents.*

THE motto which I have prefixed to this address, though a long one, is nevertheless so full of instructive truths, and is so applicable to our present circumstances, that it could not be curtailed without disparagement to the subject to which I now request your serious attention. It is useful to revive at this time the sentiments of one of our most illustrious statesmen, a man who never swerved from his principles, who never forgot, for a single moment, the rightful duties of a subject, nor the privileges of the people; who never flattered princes, nor courted the applause of the multitude.

I have long sought for an opportunity, when I might boldly avow the rules of political faith by which I have been governed, and explain my reasons for preferring one set of men and their measures, to the characters and measures of their opponents. Since the commencement of this work, there have not been wanting occasions, when, according to my best judgment, this desire might have been advantageously accomplished; and at no period, could this task have been better executed than during the late general elections, when I was personally and infamously traduced by the demagogue of Middlesex, and his supporters. But, I was deterred from the measure by the advice of those friends whose opinions I shall ever respect. Hence, I have borne with stoical indifference, the scurrility, the falsehoods, the buffoonery, and the insolence, which, week after week, were lavished upon me by Mr. Cobbett, and other public writers, not because I am incapable of feeling, but because whatever has hitherto been ushered into the world against me from the press, does not apply to me: it is the galled jade only that winces.* But my par-

* I have often been diverted with the buffoonery even of Cobbett; and, on no occasion have I derived so much entertainment from the effusions of his prolific pen as when he traced the genealogy of my descent from the illustrious and remote antiquity of the sovereign of the Pelew islands. It was done with such inimitable

ticular case does not deserve the notice of the public any otherwise than as it is closely connected with the political discussions which are now afloat: and as we are called upon to exercise our elective franchises upon a great national question, this appears to be so favourable an opportunity for an investigation of the principles and conduct of men, that I can no longer forego the temptation of entering fully into the discussion. In the course of an inquiry of such extent, I shall be compelled to take a very comprehensive range: and to review many important transactions which ought now to be exposed in their clearest light. To do this with effect, it will be proper to examine public characters as they are, and as they have been; to probe, as deeply as possible, into the motives of their actions; to shew their conformity or repugnance to the principles of our government; and lastly, to inquire whether there be any particular circumstances in our moral or political state, which requires that the foundations of our constitution should be unsettled, in order to make way for hazardous and equivocal speculations. The nature of the investigation embraces a view of our domestic parties; and the result of it will serve to direct the people in the choice of their representatives.

The most prominent features of our age consist, in the fluctuation of public principles, and in the easy and accommodating virtue of public men. These are bad features at any time, but at a time of great national difficulty, they are the worst distinctions of a state. From the year 1792 until the year 1801, the people were divided into two great parties, which, from the intenseness of their mutual antipathy, the irreconcileable nature of their views, and the mighty interests involved in their struggles, banished wholly the well known distinctions of Whig and Tory, and marshalled the country under two distinct bodies—those who were resolved to support, and they who were equally resolved to subvert the constitution. During those eventful political contests, the leaders of parties were scarcely distinguished from the crowd on either side; for every talkative incendiary considered himself to be equally, if not better fitted to share in the government of mankind than the oldest and most experienced statesmen. But there was one man, whom Providence reserved for the tempestuous age which he adorned and controuled, whose unshaken fidelity to his sovereign, whose commanding genius sustained by the most courageous resolution, whose attachment to the British constitution, equalled only by his zeal for the liberties of the civilized world, qualified him to move upon a more elevated sphere, and to be at once the admiration of the good, and the hatred of the wicked. He towered above all his competitors, and stood alone, arrayed in glory, himself an host. I need not mention his name: for who among us does not feel, amidst the general conflagration and tumbling edifices of civilized society, the proud consciousness of national independence, and the comforts of domestic security, which we all derive from the wisdom and enlightened policy of his long and arduous administration? What man, whether high or low, refuses to him the meed of having driven the storm of revolution from our shores, of having guarded the altars of our God from pollution, and the throne of our sovereign from the felonious gripe of anarchy? Conspiracies, treasons, and rebellions variously masked, he exposed and defeated almost as soon as they were hatched; at length, grown old in the prime of his days, in the service of his country, he was called from us to receive in another and an happier world the rewards of those transcendant virtues which he had invariably displayed in this life.

But, though the old party distinctions of Whig and Tory were lost in the awful struggle in behalf of social order; yet, the nation habituated to range itself under leaders, considered Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, as the champions of the respective parties. To Mr. Pitt, the friends of the constitution attached the endearing epithet of

---

taste and fidelity, that I shall certainly recommend him to be raised to the rank of a *rupuh*, and preferred to the office of *ursorum magister*, which, at our court of *Gedong* is always filled by the chief droll. As Mr. Cobbett may conclude that these are Malay words, I think it right to acquaint him that they are *Latin*, and mean *the ward of the bears*. He will have nothing to learn to qualify him for the situation, as the only qualification necessary is, for the keeper to resemble, in all respects, his wards.

the guardian of the public weal, while they regarded Mr. Fox as the leader of the revolutionists, and the apologist of all the crimes of France. To Mr. Fox, his own followers, together with that portion of the dissenters who united themselves to the revolutionary party, attached the name of champion of the constitution, as they would have it; but the great majority of the thorough-paced jacobins, considered him as a rogue. I had the honour to share in the opinion of the latter party, and it has been my misfortune to have had no cause for altering that opinion.

Mr. Fox, as the leader of a party, stood upon a very commanding eminence, before the unhappy epoch of the French revolution; and though history does not record one solitary legislative act devised by him, throughout the whole course of his life from which his country derived any advantage; yet his splendid endowments, and his astonishing facility of debating upon either side of a question, according as it might suit the ambitious views of those with whom he was connected, necessarily placed him at their head. When, however, the duke of Portland, Mr. Burke, and the most respectable portion of his party, seceded from him, in consequence of his invincible passion for the French revolution, he became as outrageous as lord Howick is at present, and from being the leader of a powerful party, he dwindled into the demagogue of a contemptible faction. Forsaken by his former friends and pitied by some of them, extolled by the dissenters, execrated by the followers of Mr. Pitt, adored by his remaining little junto in parliament, as well as by the whig club, distrusted by the republicans, despised by the corresponding societies, he really appeared as a sort of amphibious animal, to whom no one element was appropriate or natural. Resentment hurried him on to support the wildest excesses of the human imagination, despair made him contemplate the venerable institutions of his native country with a jaundiced eye, while he viewed the pigmy philosophism of France as in a magnifying mirror, which increased in greatness the nearer it was approached. It is also not to be overlooked, that notwithstanding the systematic inconsistencies of this former part of his life, Mr. Fox, was rigidly consistent in his opinions respecting France, from the first dawn of the revolution, until the end of his days. In all his principles, he was steadfastly and warmly supported by lord Howick, and others of the Foxite part of the late administration, who now appear to have known of their disguise since their disgrace, and to have resumed their natural, fierce, and intracticable habits.

(To be continued.)

TO H. R. YORKE, Esq.

I have lately turned my thoughts, accurately to consider the late momentous change of administration, and the proceedings of parliament on that subject. The proceedings of the late ministry were indeed very mysterious: in bringing forward the catholic question, which they knew to be wholly incompatible with his majesty's feelings, and with his *coronation oath*; and then endeavouring, by a sophism, to exonerate themselves, saying "that it is contrary to the duties of confidential servants of the crown to restrain themselves, by any pledge expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare of any part of his majesty's extensive empire." If it had been added, *(consistent with his majesty's honour, and the welfare of the whole,)* the resolution would have weight with it—but as it now stands, it is not maintainable. On the contrary, I am surprised that a motion was not brought forward to render it a crime worthy of impeachment, for any minister to endeavour, under any pretensions whatsoever, to advise his majesty to dissolve that original compact, which, at his coronation, he made with his people.

Another matter, I consider it to have been their base and perfidious treatment of the king, to turn that part of his gracious conduct, which seemed to imply a *reluctance* to part with his ministers, and nothing but inevitable necessity would induce him to it; for, otherwise, he might have demanded no pledge at all, it being his unalterable right to dismiss his servants without assigning any reason for it.

The next remark I have to make is, that no such powerful reason existed, to cause the mighty alarm that has been so falsely and insidiously insisted upon by the adherents to the catholic question: for I know it to be impossible for all their influence to arouse the lower orders of the people to support a presumptuous aim of establishing a Roman catholic aristocracy, which, by their own account, would avail their poorer brethren *nothing*; but rather increase a set of ambitious lords, who would finally sell their interests. It is not *disloyalty*, but *poverty*, which renders the lower orders liable to be misled; and, if some favourable acts of the legislature were adopted to improve and encourage industry, and inculcate good morals in the country, it would be impossible either for the Pope or Buonaparte, or the important Mr. *Keogh*, to raise a rebellion in this country. His majesty, thank God, has invincible friends in this country, of every religious persuasion. However, he has some, who, like the bear in the fable, (such as that savage DOCTOR, who is as bad as a *fire Brand*,) who bruises his friend's face, in order to kill an insignificant fly.—There is a meeting this day of the catholics, and I will venture to affirm it will end in smoke.

AN APPROVED LOYALIST.

Celbridge, April, 18, 1807.

LORD GRENVILLE, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, to the Secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

SIR, *Downing-street, May 2, 1807.*

The society for promoting christian knowledge, of which I am a member, has thought fit to publish, during a general election, a resolution, declaratory of its opinion respecting a political measure recently submitted to parliament.

That measure, brought forward for purposes of peace, union, and public security, by men who yield to none of their fellow-subjects in loyalty to their sovereign, and attachment to the civil and religious constitution of their country, is there stigmatised as hostile to the established church and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm, and as subversive of those principles which placed his majesty's family on the British throne.

It is natural for those whose characters are thus aspersed, to inquire by what right any persons have taken upon themselves, in the name of such a society, to give countenance and currency to an injurious and groundless calumny, fabricated for the watchword of a party, and calculated only to excite and to uphold popular clamour.

The society was instituted, as its annual publications declare, "for the increase of the knowledge and practice of our holy religion, by the support of charity-schools, and by the distribution of bibles, prayer-books, and religious tracts." Those who have directed the present proceeding, can best explain in what manner christian knowledge, or christian practice, will be increased by promoting religious animosities and civil discord, by stirring up the blind prejudices and ungovernable passions of the ignorant; and by circulating amongst our fellow-subjects, instead of the word of truth and charity, the libellous and inflammatory calumnies of electioneering contests, and party violence.

As a member of the society, solicitous for the promotion of its genuine objects, I desire to enter my dissent to a resolution purporting to express its unanimous opinion. I object to the propriety of its taking part at all in the political divisions of the country: I object to its labouring to extend and prolong those divisions with respect to a measure publicly withdrawn, and of which there is consequently no longer any question. But, most of all, I object to the truth, and, may I not add, to the decency, of a censure, which if it were founded either in justice or in reason, would apply to almost every description of public men, and would even im-

plicate all those authorities which are the most entitled to our respect and reverence.

If to permit the king's subjects of all persuasions to serve him in his army, be "an unconstitutional innovation," with whom, and when did it originate? It was first made the law in Ireland fourteen years ago, at the express recommendation of the crown, delivered from the throne by one of his majesty's present ministers, then lord lieutenant of that kingdom.

If the adoption of a similar law in Great Britain would be "an act of hostility to the established church," to whom shall that hostility be ascribed? To those who now proposed, or to those who long ago engaged, for that concession? To the framers of lord Howick's bill, or to those members and supporters of the present government, who in the year 1793, gave and authorised that promise to the catholics of Ireland.

If the employment of catholic officers and catholic soldiers in the general service of the empire; if the permitting them to hold and exercise, at his majesty's discretion, all military commissions, the rank and station of general not excepted; if the relieving them in this respect from all penalties and disabilities on account of their religious persuasions; if these things be matter of just alarm "to the ecclesiastical constitution of this country," when was the moment for that alarm? In the year 1804, all this, and more than this, was done in an act proposed by Mr. Pitt, with the concurrence of his colleagues now in administration, passed by the British parliament, and sanctioned by his majesty's royal assent. That act legalised a long list of military commissions, antecedently granted by his majesty, with the advice of the same ministers; and it enabled his majesty prospectively to grant, at his discretion, all military commissions whatever to catholics, not indeed to British or Irish catholics, but to foreign catholics; to men who owe his majesty no allegiance, and who are not even required to disclaim those tenets which all our fellow-subjects of that persuasion have solemnly abjured.

What ground of difference will then remain to justify these outrageous calumnies against the late proposal? Is it that men were permitted to aspire to the rewards and honours of a profession, to the toils and dangers of which the legislature of their country had long since invited them? Is it that the same indulgences which had been promised and granted to catholics by others, were not withheld by us from protestant dissenters? Or is it, lastly, that we judged our own countrymen and fellow-subjects entitled, *under his majesty's discretion*, to the same confidence and favour which parliament had so recently extended to foreigners of all nations and all descriptions.

And let me further ask—if these concessions, all, or any of them, are subversive of the principles "which placed his majesty's illustrious house upon the throne," what is to be said of the far more extensive indulgences proposed in 1801, by that great minister now no more, whose name I have already mentioned? Were *his* principles also subversive of the established church, and of the civil constitution of the monarchy? And if he too must be involved in this indiscriminating and injurious censure, what condemnation will not those men deserve, who, in the very moment of pretended danger, have advised his majesty to call to his present councils, the authors, the partisans, and the supporters of Mr. Pitt's plan? a plan including all that has been now proposed, and extending very far beyond our measures.

On the expediency of these measures statesmen may differ. To stigmatise them as hostile to our establishments, or dangerous to our constitution, is to libel both the throne and the parliament—to calumniate the existing laws—and to impute to the most considerable public characters of our age, both the living and the dead, principles and purposes disclaimed by themselves, and contradicted by the whole tenor of their lives. It is for the Society to consider whether such a conduct be consonant to the character which it befits them to maintain, or in any manner conducive to the objects of a charitable and religious institution.—I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

The Rev. G. Gaskin, D. D. Secretary to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

TO LORD GRENVILLE

My lord,—I have not been more amused than vexed by your lordship's extraordinary attack upon the reverend Dr. Gaskin, and the society to which he is secretary; for one naturally feels indignant, though a smile cannot be repressed, when a considerable character makes himself ridiculous. Having so long taken the lead in the contests of the senate, what could induce your lordship to enter the lists with the rector of Newington? It is like an old actor, who, after many campaigns, has been at last hissed from the London theatres, but still hopes to make a figure in a strolling company. Stripped of your laurels in the house of lords, you endeavour to snatch a sprig from the brow of Dr. Gaskin.

Analogous to the absurdity of your writing at all, is the absurdity of the publication itself; for what can be so preposterous, as for a person who is reprehending others for calumny, to be guilty of slander, and in imputing want of charity to manifest the most rancorous uncharitableness.

Your lordship, feeling sore at the opinion expressed by the society, that your lordship's and lord Howick's bill, "*was an innovation hostile to the established church,*" might, if you thought it prudent, have calmly proved the contrary. You might have shewn, in a decorous and gentlemanly style, that the society was in an error, and have persuaded them to retract it. But though the terms of peace and union are on your lips, I am afraid there was something else in your heart, when you asserted the resolution of the society "*to have been fabricated for the watchword of a party, and calculated only to excite and to uphold a popular clamour.*" What could thus induce your lordship not to express a hope, that the conduct of the society might have arisen from an erroneous judgment, but at once, without the slightest reason, presumption, or pretext, to attribute the whole to the most unworthy and factious motive? But this, I suppose, is the style you are used to in your speeches in the house of lords; and having accustomed yourself to the bitterness of debate, you can neither lower your tone or feelings to the good manners of a gentleman, or the charity of a christian.

You rather insultingly ask, what *right* had the society to interfere on a political subject? Let me answer, the same right which your lordship had to force it forward. An innovation, repealing indirectly all the religious tests, as to the army and navy, which were enacted by our ancestors, to be the guards and outworks of our religious establishment, may be a *political* question, but it is an *ecclesiastical* question too.—And if our constitution is so moulded that no religious change can be made by the church alone, it is also so modelled, that it cannot be made by the state alone: every member, both of church and state, has a full and complete right of interference in every measure which affects them both.

It is a novel assumption in your lordship to exclude ecclesiastical persons from the *right* of giving opinions on the policy of removing the guards of the church establishment.

You enter into the defence of your bill, and your defence is as shallow and sophistical, as your attack on our motives is uncharitable, and your denial of our right is despotic.

You seem to be aware of the obnoxious tendency of your measure, by the cautious and guarded terms in which you endeavour to soften and palliate its principles and enactments.—Your bill, forsooth, is merely a measure to *allow the king's subjects, of all persuasions, to serve him in the army and navy. Vertriq decoris obvolvis vitium.* Is this, however, the true statement of your measure, in all its bearings, tendencies, and consequences?

Let me, my lord, refer you to *Observations on the Catholic Bill, written by a lawyer, and published at Hatchard's.* You will there find it pourtrayed in very different colours.

You will there see, that by your bill all constitutional preference to the established church is abandoned in it; that the system of complete and intire indifference, on

religious opinions, is set up; that the commanders of our army and navy need no longer profess themselves to be of any sect of religion, Christian, Jewish, or Mahometan; and that the act of supremacy and all the test laws are entirely set aside.

These things your lordship must be forced to acknowledge; and then, my lord, let us look to the necessary consequences. Religious indifference is the parent of infidelity, and infidelity the forerunner of revolution.

You refer us to precedents.—*Precedents are all against you*; for in every relaxation of the test laws, those laws are referred to and re-enacted: *precedents are all against you*, for you counsel concession for the sake of tranquillity and peace, when it is known, that every concession of the present reign to the catholics, great and numerous as they have been, have been turned into grounds of new demand, and made pretences of fresh discontents. *Precedents are all against you*—for when you recite an act, enabling the king to levy foreign soldiers during the war, are you not ashamed to construe a temporary measure, adopted for a temporary purpose, upon an immediate pressure, as a ground for altering the fundamental principles of the constitution for ever? What would you think of the statesman who was to bring in a bill to repeal the Habeas Corpus Act, and found it on the precedent of its temporary suspension? What would you say to the absurdity of arguing the exception to a rule to be the rule itself. *The precedents are all against you*;—for when you refer to Mr. Pitt's measure, what was the case?—Was there not one universal cry throughout the country against the measure then in contemplation?—Did not the resistance of the monarch, and the cry of the nation, induce Mr. Pitt to abandon it?—But did Mr. Pitt then accuse his king to his people; did he move resolutions of censure on him in parliament? Did he term the resistance of the clergy at that period, inflammatory, libellous, defamatory?—No, my lord, he took a far different line of conduct—he retired, as he thought it his duty, from the cabinet, maintaining to his royal master, a demeanor of the most dutiful and affectionate respect; and having retired, still supported his government. In parliament, he maintained a conscientious and constitutional reserve on his sovereign's conduct;—knowing that the measure in which he had been engaged could never be carried into beneficial effect, unless it was cordially supported by the king, and acquiesced in by the nation; and seeing no new prospect of such a conjuncture, he could not bring himself to keep the country in perpetual disquiet and irritation on so dangerous a subject; but, according to the suggestion of his manly mind, he gave an assurance to his sovereign, and an intimation to the catholics, that he would never revive the question.

Your lordship, with the utmost haughtiness of tone, assumes that the policy of your measure is so unquestionable as utterly to preclude discussion: no common subject is to venture a doubt on the *principle*, and even a statesman is merely allowed to question its *expediency*.—To call your measures *hostile to the establishment, and dangerous to the constitution*, is, in your lordship's temperate language, *to libel both the throne and the parliament, to calumniate the existing laws, and to insult both the living and the dead.*

One would think, my lord, upon reading this denunciation, that you had lost your understanding with your office, and doubled your pride and arrogance.

I beg leave, my lord, to protest against that despotism which usurps a claim to *infallility*, that will suffer no one but a statesman, forsooth, to discuss the repeal of the Test laws, and lays every man who dares oppose innovation under a ban of interdict. I will be bold, my lord, to assert, that the Vatican, in the height of its power, never fulminated a more insolent anathema.

What, my lord! if I dare to represent your lordship's measure according to the dictates of my judgment and conscience, am I to be held up to the nation as a *libeller of my sovereign, a libeller of the parliament, a libeller of the laws, and a calumniator of the living and the dead.* This is really out-heroding Herod: my *lord Peter*, in the *Tale of a Tub*, is quite tame in comparison: but I suppose this is the style of your cabinet minutes; this is the way in which you treat your sovereign: How then can Dr. Gaskin expect a milder language? He, however, good man, and our society, will console ourselves, that we are not worse used by you than your royal master: you

dragged him before the tribunal of the nation, and you have dragged us too: you tried to pass a vote of censure on your king, and you cover us with the foulest reproaches. We must be content to suffer with our sovereign in one common cause, and to kiss the rod with patience, when laid on by your tender and forbearing hand.

Is it, my lord, by such conduct as this that your hope to retrieve your lost popularity? Is it by such language as your letter contains, that you hope to make an impression on the electors of Great Britain? Be assured, my lord, if the people of England detest any character, it is that of supercilious and despotic haughtiness, which admits neither of contradiction nor dissent, and which endeavours not to conciliate or persuade, but to force its measures by ministerial menace and aristocratic combination.

I might admit, my lord, that if the society to which we belong had published a comment on your political measures; if we had published a censure on your sending 1300 veterans upon a *wild, mad, and romantic* expedition against Spanish America; if we had issued a censure upon your disgraceful and despicable project of conquering the Ottoman empire with seven sail of the line, the former wasting our force, and the latter disgracing it, there might have been some ground for the severity of your reproaches; but when a lay lord issues a prohibition against clergymen being vigilant for the church; when a discarded statesman forbids the examination of the measure for which he was dismissed; and when he insists that those who are most concerned to maintain the test laws, have no right to defend them, or to publish their honest opinions, I must expose the arrogance of such an attempt, if made in a serious hour; or I must pity it, if dictated by disappointment and rage.

A Member of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge.

THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

A dinner had been appropriately advertised in the papers for May day, it being the anniversary of the chimney-sweepers' carnival, at which, sir Francis was announced as the intended chairman, by way of signal for a full and complete assemblage, rank and file, of all the revolutionary tribes. But this advertisement was afterwards revoked, and Paull proclaimed himself chairman by a subsequent notice, "As it was intended to move certain resolutions expressive of the opinions of the free and independent electors, that personally applied to sir Francis Burdett." When the happy hour had arrived for the meeting of the reprobate spirits, and for disgorging their malign and pestiferous opinions;

> ——Round they threw their baleful eyes,
> That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
> Mix'd with obdurate pride and steadfast hate;

in search for our arch-enemy, but he was no where to be found. Mr. Paull, after having grinned horribly a ghastly smile, in his usual manner, and ruminated for a moment on the various turns of fate below, thus communed with himself:

> ——If he whom mutual league,
> United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
> And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
> Join'd with me once—

Should not join with me now, what the devil will become of me! At length, perceiving its necessity, he resolved to assume a bold look of self-importance. Upon which the flock revived a little, and there was a general hubbub;

> ——But with looks
> Down-cast and damp; yet such wherein appear'd
> Obscure, some glimpse of joy, to have found their chief
> Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost

In loss itself; which on his countenance cast
Like doubtful hue; but he, his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears.

As soon as he stood up, and contrived to make his little carcase in duodecimo, discernible,

The hubbub then began to cease:
The noise was hush'd, and all was peace.
The rogue had neither shame nor manners;
His hide was only fit for tanners:
With downright malice to defame
Good honest cocks was all his aim.
All sorts of folks hard names he'd call,
But men of worth, the worst of all.
Grotesque his figure was and vile,
Much in the Hudibrastic style:
His pate was neither round nor flat,
But shap'd like mother Shipton's hat.*
You'd think, when this baboon was speaking,
You heard some d—d blind fidler squeaking.
Now this sad dog by dirty joking
Was every day the great provoking;
The mob despis'd the rogue, and yet
To hear his vile harangues they'd sit
Silent as though he'd been a Pitt.
His screech-owl's voice he rais'd with might,
And vented thus his froth and spite:

In vulgar prose. †

"Jeontlemen.—As there *is* some trifling mistakes about the call for this here meeting, Mr. Jones Burdett wishes to make an explanation on the part of sir Francis Burdett."

——Attention held them mute.

Mr. Burdett then said, "that his brother had never given the slightest authority to have his name used upon the business of the Westminster election. He had thought that *he himself could do no good (Anglice* mischief) by coming forward as a candidate; ‡ and, *therefore*, he could not be very *anxious* about bringing *any body else forward in that capacity.*"* He then read the two following letters from his brother, in order to shew there had been a mistake in Paull's advertisement.

---

* Vide the full length engraving of the hero in any of the picture shops.

† Vide his *grammatical* and *eloquent* correspondence with the deputy high bailiff of Westminster, after the late election.

‡ Meaning thereby that he could no longer play merry Andrew to please himself and humbug his friends, the crowd; his tricks having become stale, and the ridicule of the town.

* Nothing can more strongly pourtray the egregious vanity of sir Francis, the fury of his disappointed ambition at the failure of all his efforts to make himself the leader of a party, and his contemptuous opinion of his poor droll, than the above declaration. "If I, the great *Katterfelto*, cannot be at the head of my profession, no strolling juggler shall be permitted, with my consent, to exhibit my tricks. I am the *alpha* and *omega* of sedition: and if I have not succeeded, even with the assistance of my grey-headed puppet shew-mover behind the curtain; you, "*dear Paull*," cannot pretend to be my rival, though backed by your *scene-shifter*, who *weekly* lends you his aid."

To the Electors of Westminster, assembled at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

"Gentlemen—I am exceedingly distressed by the disagreeable necessity imposed upon me to contradict thus publicly the implied import of the two advertisements by which you are called together this day. They were both inserted without any communication with me; and never should have been inserted, if any means had been afforded me of preventing it. As soon as I knew of the first advertisement, placing me in the chair, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Paull."—[The letter to Mr. Paull was here read by Mr. Burdett:]—

"Dear Paull, *Wimbledon, April 29.*

Your letter this morning occasioned me great surprize, and to speak the truth, some displeasure. I must say, that to have my name published for meetings (like "Such a day is to be seen the great Caterfeito!") without my previous consent, or any application to me, is a circumstance I should really, from any one else, regard as an insult. You were acquainted with my sentiments and determination not to do any thing, even for my own election; and I should have thought must have been consequently aware of the impossibility of my coming forward in any body's else. I yielded to your desire that I should nominate you, although I should much rather avoid even that; but as I highly approve your conduct, I do not object to that one act, as a public testimony of such approbation, in case you think it (which I do not) of any importance—but to that single act I must confine myself, or be exposed to be reproached, and justly, with inconsistency and folly. I shall pay the greatest attention to Cobbett's promised letter; but my own mind is quite made up; the country cannot be served by taking a part, and thereby acting in the delusion.

"Yours notwithstanding, very sincerely. FRANCIS BURDETT."

"The advertisement of this day is still more offensive to me: as it might, if not thus contradicted by me, lead many persons to suspect that I had a dissembled wish to be elected into parliament, notwithstanding my public declarations to the contrary. I beg you, gentlemen, to accept this explanation from me, as an act of fairness towards you, whilst it is one of strict duty towards myself. With every wish for the happiness and prosperity of the electors of Westminster, I beg leave to subscribe myself, your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

May 1, 1807. F. BURDETT."

After these letters had been read, Paull shewed himself again, and addressed his gaping auditory in substance as follows:

"*Jentlemen!* Nothing can be more further from my mind than any intention to revolve my honourable friend wi' inconsistency, or to efford him, in any thing whatever, the most slightest cause of displeasure; for I can assure you that I ever have been, and ever shall be, his most obedient humble sarvant. The principles of sir Francis Burdett have been the light and guide of my pertitical conduct, and I conceive that my faithful adherence to 'em are the best claim which I can have in behalf of the partiality and support of the electors of Westminster. I have received offers from other quarters,† but I have refused 'em wi' scorn;‡ for I am connected w.' no body else except sir Francis Burdett. It is my pertikelar ambition to pursue that great drelinquent the marquis Wellesley, whose curtikurristics of his government in India was, one continued scene of progression, and uproarious speculation. I trust I have already rendered the most perspicuous services to the country, by bringing his conduct before the public; and composing in their full light, the system of capacity and repression, which marked his caractur. Should I again have the honour of your votes and be returned to parliament, it is my firm hope that I shall, in defiance of opposition and obliquity, be able to survive the charges I've brought against him, and to see, notwithstanding of all dark manœuvres and intrigues, that justice shall at last be done, and the honour of the nation vindicated. As to the catholic bill, I say it is all delusion from beginning to end. It is the cause that was looked upon as turning out the late ministry, but the bill itself was preg-

† Why did not he name them?

‡ Why reject kind offers with scorn? besides, scorn implies a sense of dignity on the part of the person who rejects a proffer.

nant with "no popery," and threatened no dangers to the established kirk. Them who introduced the bill, also wanted to delude the people, as they pretended it should be of great benefit to the catholics at large, while, it only was to flatter the pride of some catholic peers and jeontlemen, who could influence a few votes in favour of ministers. In these ways, the people is sacrificed to corrupt influence.

If I get in, jeontlemen, I shall strive to remove the conception of this bill, and bring in one that will serve the purpose better. Whatever misunderstanding is arose between me and sir Francis Burdett upon this meeting, our perlitical sentiments will always remain the same. I sincerely hope that sir Francis will come in parliament, for, without him, I despair of being able to do any good.* I am a decided friend to the constitution, and you cannot have a better proof of it than my perfect similarity of opinion with sir Francis Burdett, whose perlitical opinions is the light and guide of my conduct."

This speech of Mr. Paull was delivered with his wonted grace, and expressive eloquence, and it was frequently interrupted by thunders of applause. A string of resolutions was then read by our old acquaintance, Mr. Charles Macleane, M. D. the object of which was, to prevail upon Sir Francis Burdett, to become a candidate for Westminster. Mr. J. Burdett, alluding to this resolution, observed that his brother still entertained the conviction he expressed in his address to the freeholders of Middlesex, BUT, *should the electors of Westminster consider him as a fit person to represent them, and elect him, he should exert his best endeavours to discharge the trust.*

During the evening, the company drank "the king, lords, and commons," chuckling each other, ogling, and leering all the time like the priests of Memphis. They also gave "confusion to all factions," (excepting their own,) "sir F. Burdett, and Mr. Paull, and success to their election." Several truly patriotic songs were sung, but I have not been able to ascertain whether the grand hymn to insurrection was sung that night. There is one verse of that hymn so poetical as well as sublime and descriptive of the wishes of the children of liberty, that I shall here give it; it is to the tune of "Give me death or liberty."

Proud bishops next we will entwine
Among priest-crafted martyrs,
The guillotine on peers shall wait
And knights we'll hang in garters.
These despots long have trod us down,
And judges are their engines,
Such guilty minions of the crown,
Demand the people's vengeance!

The business of the day, the appointment of committees, &c. having been gone through, the company dispersed on an active canvass for their favourite candidates.

The next occurrence to which our attention is called, is, Mr. Paull's letter to the elector's of Westmiester, dated at 10 o'clock, the same night. It runs thus:

"The letters that were read this night from sir Francis Burdett, I have not time, nor have I inclination to comment on. I assert positively, that on Sunday last, at Wimbledon, not only did sir Francis most chearfully consent to nominate me as he had done last November (which was at a dinner at the Crown and Anchor), but that he would also serve for Westminster, if chosen with me.

"On Monday, sir Francis and myself, dining at colonel Bosville's, received Mr. Fawkes's advertisement for Yorkshire; and then, for the first time, he expressed his regret that I had resolved to stand for Westminster. Yesterday I shewed the amended advertisement to sir Francis Burdett (which he now says he disapproves of;) it then met with his highest approval. I subsequently shewed it to colonel Bosville, and in a few minutes afterwards I quitted the house of colonel Bosville, joined sir Francis and Mr. Burdett, in Bond-street, who both agreed, in consequence of the

* Why then offer himself, after Burdett had declared that he would not be a candidate?

consent to serve, that sir Francis's advertisement should be discontinued until it was known what might be the event of this day's dinner. Without any communication with me, Mr. Burdett entered the Crown and Anchor. What occurred he has undertaken to submit to the public, and on which I shall make no further comment. Anxious to stand well in your estimation, I subscribe myself, gentlemen, your devoted servant,

JAMES PAULL."

After having dispatched this epistle, Mr. Paull, accompanied by a friend, set off to Wimbledon, where sir Francis Burdett resides, in order to demand an explanation, or rather an apology for the unpleasant dilemma into which he had been brought by his *own mistake* of the baronet's letter; and upon the refusal of sir Francis to make an apology, Mr. Paull, with great spirit resolved to convince the world, that he was not a fractional part of a man, but could shoot his bosom friend who had been "the light and guide of his political conduct," with as much *sang-froid* as he could snip the snuff of a candle. The baronet also upon this occasion plucked up courage; which the most timid animals will do when driven to the wall. Accordingly, they met at a wood near Wimbledon, and after firing at each other without effect, one of the seconds sounded a parley, and asked sir Francis whether he would make an apology, and then the parties might shake hands *. Upon the baronet's refusal, they fired a second time, when the bullets took effect, though in a very slovenly manner. Burdet was wounded in the thigh, and Paull in the leg.

This transaction deserves the notice of the public, no otherwise than as it is connected with the views of these two pestilent incendiaries who have been shooting at each other. If they had killed each other, they might have furnished the town with a topic for a day's conversation, but every honest man takes so *lively* an interest in their *fate*, that he would have neither pitied nor remembered them. The circumstance of their former friendship being so suddenly interrupted, is not a new case in the history of demagogues: indeed, nothing is more common, when men of this cast, under the mask of *liberty* are, in reality, struggling for *power*. No two men could have been better friends originally than Robespierre and Danton; they entertained the same principles; they promulgated the same licentious doctrines; they acted upon the same liberticidal projects; yet, when both commenced a race for power, when each strove which of the two should the soonest obtain the enjoyment of it, they became, from that moment, envious of each other, and their mutual envy was soon converted into a mortal hatred. Garat, their common friend, contrived to bring them together, in the vain hope of effecting a reconciliation. They dined together, spoke affectionately to each other, and calmly talked over the state of public affairs. At length, towards the close of the conversation, Danton conjured Robespierre not to be suspicious of his friendship; he entreated him, in the most eloquent and affecting manner to reflect, that if he perished, Robespierre could not long survive his fate. Robespierre acknowledged the justice of his observations, assured him with tears in his eyes of the continuance of his friendship; and Garat as well as Danton were so sensibly affected, that they also burst into tears. They kissed each other, and severally returned home. Danton was guillotined four days after.

The case applies exactly to our two demagogues. If they had been actuated by the generous principles of regulated freedom; if their hearts had been warmed with the moral beauty of social order; if they had been engaged in an honest zeal to promote the honour and happiness of mankind; the latent frauds, which have been brought to light through their quarrel for popularity, would never have been detected. But their inexorable hearts do not beat as other men's hearts do; their foul conceptions, hatched in the womb of anarchy, have been brought into life by all the furies of ambition. Thus, while they are criminating and re-criminating each other, they disclose, in their controversy, the curious fact, that they are both hypocrites; that they have been striving to trick each other, as well as to trick the public.

* There was no need to propose that they should shake hands, as their hands had been shaking from the time they reached the ground.

These facts I shall substantiate presently: but before I perform my part, let us see how the duped partizans of each of the demagogues have acted upon this occasion. At a meeting holden on Monday last, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, composed of a party who had met for the express purpose of nominating Burdett *only*, and of another party who assembled in consequence of the resolutions at Paull's dinner on Friday, and who were desirous of nominating both of them, a considerable difference of opinion prevailed respecting the nomination. Some of those who had been before the most strenuous advocates of Paull, declared, that, in consequence of what had passed between him and Burdett previous to the duel, they should withdraw their support from Paull in future. A statement of facts having been loudly called for, a Mr. Adams came forward and said, that " he had been a warm supporter of Mr. Paull, and had relied at first upon his statement, that sir F. Burdett was to nominate him, and was not unwilling to stand also as a candidate. When he saw, however, the advertisement of sir F. Burdett, he and others expressed great surprize, and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the baronet, to know his determination. That deputation, of which he was a member, waited for a considerable time at the house of colonel Bosville, in the expectation of sir Francis's coming to town. Sir Francis, however, did not come to town, and they resolved to go down to his house at Wimbledon. In coming out of the house of colonel Bosville, they met Mr. Paull, who told them that there was no occasion to go to Wimbledon, as he had just received a letter from sir Francis, declaring, " that he would neither see man, woman, or child, while the election lasted." They however did go down, and instead of finding that to be the case, they were immediately admitted. Sir Francis then declared sentiments exactly similar to what were expressed in his advertisement. Afterwards there was a letter from Mr. Paull, *confessing that he had made an unwarrentable use of the name* of sir Francis Burdett, and expressing anxiety to have this misunderstanding set right. The impression which then remained on his mind, and on many of that deputation, was, that Mr. Paull *had behaved so improperly, and had attempted so much trick and deception, that he ought not to be brought forward as a candidate.*'

A gentleman then rose, and called for that letter, which Mr. Adams had not then to produce.

After several other persons had delivered their opinions, in favour of their respective darlings; and after it had been stated in the course of the debate that Burdett had expressed his willingness to stand as a candidate for Westminster, provided 2000 of the electors should subscribe their names, for the purpose of giving their votes, and influence for him at the ensuing election, which declaration of support had been given; the meeting resolved by a large majority, to nominate both. Mr. Charles Macleane, M. D. upon this occasion, renounced his Indian friend Paull, and sided with Burdett. It appears, however, that the decision of the meeting was not agreeable to the artful scheme of Burdett, and his immediate partizans. Accordingly they formed an exclusive party, at the same tavern, with one Mr. Samuel Brooks in the chair *, and issued into the world, on the next day, the following drolleries, in the shape of resolutions:

1. That the recent conduct of Mr. Paull has been such, as to induce us to withdraw from him our support at the ensuing election.

2. That the whole conduct of sir Francis Burdett, bart. has been *frank*, *honest*, and *manly*, and in the late instance we have only to regret that, yielding to public prejudice, his *valuable life* should have been put to hazard, when he stands *almost alone the devoted and intrepid friend of humanity—of England, its people, and its laws !!!*

3. That sir Francis Burdett, baronet, at this critical juncture, in withdrawing

---

* This meeting must have taken place apparently after the one already adverted to, as, according to an advertisement, dated from the same place, at the same time, and signed by one M. D. Maclean, both the demagogues were resolved to be " fit and proper persons to be put conjointly in nomination," to represent Westminster.

from parliament in despair of the public cause, from the general corruption and venality of the times, could not have recollected, that when to controul bad government, and to guard the public liberty, becomes difficult, the duty increases with the difficulty; and it is therefore more necessary, more urgent, and more important, that we should recur to the old principles of English freedom, and call upon him to SERVE us in parliament, to correct the abuses of administration, and guard the constitution.

4. That it would be *to the immortal honour* of the city of Westminster, and afford *a great and glorious example* to the electors of the united kingdom, that they should return sir Francis Burdett, bart. to parliament, free from every sacrifice and expense to himself, upon independent principles, consonant to the genuine spirit of the constitution of England, which declares that elections shall be free and without corruption."

Having laid before my readers a full account of every circumstance which has hitherto transpired relative to these two candidates, I shall now proceed to shew how they endeavoured to out-jockey each other, and to trick the public. I begin with the baronet. In his address to the freeholders of Middlesex, which I inserted in our last number, he states in terms the most positive that language can convey, as follows: " in this desperate situation of our affairs (for such I esteem it) *I cannot consent to become a candidate for any seat in parliament.*" There was no necessity for introducing the word "*any*," when addressing the county of Middlesex; but the fact is, that at the very time his advertisement appeared in the newspapers, he was actually negociating *in secret*, through the medium of the artifices of Horne Tooke, to get a body of the electors of Westminster to supplicate him to offer himself as a candidate, though he was aware that his friend Paull intended to stand for that city; that it was utterly impossible for both of them to succeed; and consequently, that if he were to offer himself as a candidate, his success *must* depend on the overthrow of this friend, who would thereby have sustained all the anxiety, trouble, and expense of a canvass, without any participation of the victory. Again he says in the same address, " till that time shall arrive," (viz. " when corruption shall have exhausted the means of corruption,) I beg leave to RETIRE FROM ALL PARLIAMENTARY SERVICE." Now, when he or his friend Horne Tooke penned this article, he either meant what he wrote, or he did not. If he meant what he wrote, Mr. Paull is unquestionably justified in his conduct, inasmuch as the positive assurance of the baronet's inflexible determination to resign, encouraged him to offer himself again. If he did not mean what he had written, (which, as we shall presently see is the fact) he has betrayed his friend, and acted towards him with consummate treachery and duplicity, for the sake of gratifying his own restless and turbulent ambition. I have said, that Burdett did not mean what he wrote: I will now prove it. At the very time that he was circulating his address to the freeholders of Middlesex; and when that hoary-headed sinner and veteran son of treachery, Horne Tooke, was coolly circulating his lies amongst the unfortunate young men who sat at his table, that " *in the present times, he thought it better such men as sir Francis Burdett should have nothing to do with seats in parliament:*"* On the very day, when that aged and finished villain, now tottering on the brink of the grave, was striving to consummate the infamous career of his most infamous life, by corrupting and debauching, like another Catiline, the innocence of our youth; at this very time, I say, did Burdett and Horne Tooke, *advise and know, that a requisition should be made to Burdett on the part of some of the electors of Westminster, that he should offer himself as a candidate for that city.* The low and pitiful scheme had been tried with effect before; for I can produce evidence to shew, that at the period when sir Francis Burdett was first nominated for Middlesex, it was contrived that he should be *solicited* by a number of freeholders, in order to give a gloss to his affected patriotism, and to make it appear that he was ready to sacrifice his personal ease to gratify the wishes of his countrymen. This system of revolutionary tactics, has ever been the prominent feature of Horne Tooke's crafty political management. But, if any addi-

* Read the speech of Mr. Power, at the Crown and Anchor meeting, on Monday. I have extracted Mr. Power's words from *the Times* morning paper of Tuesday.

tional proofs were necessary to establish this truth, I desire my readers to refer to the daily papers. The progression of Burdett's low stratagems keeps pace with the simplicity and infatuation of those whom he has duped. In the same newspapers wherein his address to the freeholders of Middlesex is recorded, you will find the following advertisement, viz. "The electors of Westminster are earnestly requested not to engage their votes, *as the result of a communication with sir Francis Burdett this day*, will be made to the electors at large, at a public meeting to be called forthwith." Not one word of Paull. They do not even condescend to notice him, though he had announced himself as a candidate from the first moment when a dissolution of parliament was expected. The result of this communication was expressed at the first meeting at the Crown and Anchor, and confirmed there by Mr. Burdett, the brother of sir Francis. What was that result? That sir Francis, notwithstanding his explicit avowal that he had relinquished *all* parliamentary services, would consent to stand for Westminster, *if the votes and influence of* 2000 *voters were secured for him to begin with.* It is now evident, for when rogues quarrel, we generally come at the truth, that this arrangement had been some time in train, and was well known to the partizans of Burdett who attended at that meeting; for they did not hesitate to declare, rather unguardedly, that the stipulation required by sir Francis *had been complied with.* Thus then his declaration to the freeholders of Middlesex was a mere artifice, a cloak to veil meditated fraud, and to exhibit him in the light of a Cincinnatus, *who was to be forced reluctantly from his retirement for the good of his endangered country.* It was therefore highly expedient, in order to carry on the deception with success, that poor Paull should be kept in the dark; for being a blundering sort of a biped, he might, in the effusions of his patriotic zeal, (self always included) have blown the whole transaction, and unintentionally have rendered the baronet, the ridicule of every one. Accordingly, Paull was allowed to go to a certain length, and though Burdett may not have encouraged, yet he certainly did *not* discourage him, as is evident from his letter to Paull, read at the meeting, wherein he consents to nominate him, though *he does not see what good will result from it.* The first and only time that Burdett dissuaded Paull from offering himself as a candidate, was at a dinner at Mr. Bosville's, where they received Mr. Fawkes's advertisement to the county of York: "then," says Paull, "for the first time, he expressed his regret that I had resolved to stand for Westminster." It should be remembered, that all this while, Burdett himself was contriving, through the instrumentality of his secret agents, to procure the requisition to be made to himself from the electors of Westminster. His object was, no doubt, to induce Paull to decline, in order that when a requisition was made to himself, he might have an opportunity of returning a species of *nolo episcopari*, concluding however, with "since you will have it so, &c." By this manœuvre, if it had been realised, Paull would have been kept in the back ground as far as related to himself, but he would have been converted into an useful and bustling agent for the baronet. The stratagem, however, failed; not because Paull had penetrated into the secret, but because the little man's vanity persuaded him that he was a personage of much greater consequence than the event has proved him to be. Upon this principle Paull proceeded; and as Burdett's scheme had failed, it became necessary to resort to another; and therefore, the old man of Wimbledon suggested the propriety of disowning Paull altogether, for the letter of Burdett certainly goes to that extent. Although Paull's advertisement respecting sir Francis Burdett taking the chair had appeared for several days; although it was afterwards recalled, and Mr. Paull proclaimed himself for the chair; not one word transpired between the baronet and himself upon the subject; not one syllable of "displeasure" was expressed by the baronet to Mr. Paull, either in person or by letter, in the interval between the publication of the first advertisement, and *two minutes* before the appointed time for the meeting. If sir Francis Burdett had really intended to conduct himself towards Mr. Paull as the friend he professed himself to be, he would unquestionably have made a friendly expostulation *in private*, and afforded him time to retract any misconception or imputed impropriety of conduct. But this obvious and gentlemanly mode of proceeding would have thwarted the views of the privy council assembled at the house of the old man of Wimbledon. No, no, they resolved to give Paull rope enough, and then

availed themselves of his foolish vanity and ambition, to turn him off in the nick of time. Just as he was about to enter the dinner room, the messenger of state arrived from Wimbledon, bringing with him the decree of council, by which a wholesome revolution was effected in a trice. The plot now began to unravel itself. First, it is a misunderstanding; then it rises into the magnitude of a conspiracy; this terminates in a duel; which leads to Q. E. D. the resignation of poor Paull, and the elevation of the baronet upon his shoulders. Thus, it is clear, that Burdett tricked his friend, and tricked the public. Let us now see how Paull also endeavoured to trick Burdett as well as the public; but as he possessed neither the experience of the baronet in dexterity, nor the support of a tried old hypocrite, it was not to be expected that he should succeed in over-reaching his quondam colleague. According to Mr. Paull's account, we find, that his announcing the great Katterfelto as the chairman of the intended meeting of his friends, arose from a *misunderstanding*, which misunderstanding he has since acknowledged to have been a *trick* of his own, to attract a greater number of spectators. As sir Francis had positively assured Mr. Paull that he would not offer himself as a candidate for Westminster, Mr. Paull, in high spirits, concluded that he should, of course, obtain the suffrages of all the electors who would otherwise have voted for sir Francis. Relying upon this assurance, and being wholly unsuspicious of the trick which Burdett was playing upon him, he took it into his head to name sir Francis as his chairman; in doing which (even admitting that it was without the baronet's consent) he certainly did not take too much upon himself, considering their political co-operation and private friendship. In this scheme, Mr. Paull was evidently influenced by a view of promoting his own interest; because, if sir Francis had attended the meeting (which he might have done without the least deviation from the rule he had laid down for his own government in his address to the freeholders of Middlesex) the process would have been plain and simple; and Mr. Paull would have then received the sanction of the arch-leader of the rabble. But it seems that Paull devised subsequently a stratagem by which he hoped completely to secure the baronet, which was, to place himself in the chair, for the purpose of moving certain resolutions respecting sir Francis, which resolutions went to solicit sir Francis to stand conjointly with himself for Westminster. Mr. Paull considered this as a finished piece of dexterity; but he knew not his man. However, confident in the declaration that sir Francis would not be a candidate for any seat in parliament, and swallowing the very bait that was laid for him, this conjuror fancied that if he should move resolutions in favour of sir Francis, while, at the same time, he knew or rather believed he knew, that the baronet would reject all offers made to him, the necessary result would be, that all the friends of Burdett would fix their eyes upon him as their sole resource, and that sir Francis would be compelled to enter into some pledge to give him his support, or at least his countenance. While, therefore, he held out to the public that sir Francis Burdett was privy to all his operations, if not at the bottom of them, he spared no pains in private to prevent their mutual friends from having any direct communication with the baronet; "I have just received a letter from sir Francis," said he, when he met the deputation appointed to play their part in soliciting the baronet to come forward, "and he declares he will not see man, woman, or child, during the election." Why should he have made this assertion, if he were not apprehensive that they intended to propose Burdett? It is clear, therefore, that he wished to trick his friend, as well as to trick the public; for the advertisement calling a meeting of the friends of sir Francis had appeared, and Mr. Paull justly began to tremble for the success of his first manœuvre. He was consequently obliged to devise this new trick in order to prevent any of the choice spirits from having access to the baronet. Henceforward, it was a matter of importance for him to keep the baronet at Wimbledon, little thinking, that the baronet and his trusty agents were at work in close divan at the old man's house. Under this impression, he vainly attempted to outwit sir Francis; but that more expert manager had so completely foiled him, that upon the discovery of his total defeat, Mr. Paull (whether drunk or sober is of little consequence) set off to Wimbledon to demand satisfaction.

This is the history of the intrigues, machinations, and deceptions of the two demagogues, who have tried to trick each other, and to trick the public. Should the

electors of Westminster, after such flagrant proofs of base, corrupt, and profligate vice, give their preference to either of these despicable incendiaries, the least punishment they deserve is, to be disfranchised, and for ever rendered incapable of giving a vote for a representative in parliament. They have equally insulted the public honour; and if there be any distinction in baseness between the two demagogues, Sir Francis Burdett stands convicted, beyond all doubt, as the most flagitious and the most reprobate. But that ignorant, and illiterate young man, will, ere long, perceive the detestation that accompanies his name and character; and, if prudence will not suggest to him the propriety of hiding his face from the sight of his countrymen; their indignant spirit and curses will force him into obscurity. He is qualified, in point of talents, knowledge, or experience, to be only the president of an alehouse mob; and his late colleague Paull, is fit merely to be the secretary of such an assemblage. Of the two, Mr. Paull has certainly the advantage in point of integrity, and fair dealing; but, as the conduct of both has been distinguished by the most fraudulent devices, each is unworthy to be supported or even mentioned by HONEST MEN.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

To the Electors of the County of Hants.

GENTLEMEN.—Mr. Thistlethwaite, one of your late members, mortified and disgusted at having been the tool of persons who were glad to make his name and fortune subservient to their own purposes, has, with a degree of prudence and propriety, of which he will, on a future occasion, have no cause to repent, withdrawn himself from the present contest. His colleague, however, ventures to shew himself to you again. Undismayed by the means which placed him in his seat, and still less by the manner in which that seat has been so justly forfeited; Mr. Herbert, who was brought in upon the shoulders of Mr. Thistlethwaite, whose election was secured by Mr. Thistlethwaite's second votes, by Mr. Thistlethwaite's money; aided by the undue influence of government, and the advantage of a premature canvass; —this gentleman, deprived of all his former means of support, ventures again to present himself to our notice. It behoves us, therefore, to inquire what additional pretensions Mr. Herbert has to our favour, which he had not six months ago. I believe, a very cursory investigation will shew, that his claims are not only not increased, but are, if that be possible, very much diminished since he was elected.

The great fundamental objection to this young man still continues;—an objection which no recommendations, if he had them, ought to overcome, viz. that he has *not an acre of land in our county*; and has, therefore, no common interest with his constituents. Mr. Herbert's election was, on that account, the most severe blow the county representation ever experienced. Let us hasten to wipe out the stain, by placing our opulent county upon a footing with those of the rest of the kingdom, and free it from the disgrace of an *acreless* representative.

But, gentlemen, let us look a little into Mr. Herbert's conduct in parliament, and examine how far he has forfeited or fulfilled the pledges he thought proper to make us. In the rude and insulting address published by this gentleman after his election, he presumed to tell us that he had been elected by our unbiassed suffrages, and that his conduct in parliament would be regulated by those principles of liberty for which his family was distinguished. Now, gentlemen, without stopping to inquire (for it would be a vain task) what attachment to liberty Mr. Herbert's family has ever shewn: but admitting, for the sake of argument, that liberty and Highclere are inseparable, let me ask you, whether the whole of Mr. Herbert's parliamentary career has not belied his professions? Take his first speech in parliament on the *Lancaster petition*, in which this gentleman boldly avowed the most arbitrary and despotic sentiments that ever were heard within the walls of parliament; for he boldly declared, that the freemen of Lancaster (nearly 2000 persons) ought to have been disfranchised for daring to petition the house of commons; that is, for exercising the great constitutional birthright of Englishmen. This, gentlemen, was the first step of your whig member;—this his first offering at the shrine of liberty and the constitution! His next speech was of a similar nature, and upon

a similar subject; only brought home with tenfold interest to your bosoms; I mean upon the petition presented by a great and respectable body of yourselves, for an inquiry into the circumstances of Mr. Herbert's own election. Upon the discussion of that petition, facts were laid before the late house of commons, proving the most unconstitutional interference of government in that election. What, under such circumstances, should have been the conduct of a friend of liberty and the constitution? What should have been the conduct of a whig? What the conduct of a man who thought the charges untrue? Why, gentlemen, to court inquiry. But that was not Mr. Herbert's line of conduct. He spoke and voted against your petition; against all inquiry into the circumstances of his own election.

Mr. Herbert, gentlemen, early distinguished himself in parliament upon the subject of the *oak-bark* bill, a topic of lively concern to the landed interest of this county; and either to shew his attachment to liberty, or, perhaps, to retaliate the opposition he received from the landed interest, he has devoted the greater part of the time he has been in parliament to the perpetuating those disgraceful laws which prevent an owner of timber from selling his bark to any but a tanner.

You next see Mr. Herbert voting for the motion made by his brother, to screen *Sir C. Hawkins* from prosecution.

Against these votes what has this friend of liberty to set off? Has he ever voted against the late ministry, or ever inquired further into any measure than what part the ministry took in it? Did he vote against the bill which was to give papists the command of the army and navy? Did he vote against the infamous motion which went to try our good old king at the bar of the house of commons? No, gentlemen;—no member for a treasury borough was ever more obsequious than the whig representative of Hampshire.

It is against such conduct that his majesty has wisely determined to appeal to his people, and to you among the rest: and it remains with you to mark, with indignation, the conduct thus appealed against. Of the result of Mr. Clute and Sir Henry Mildmay's election, there can be no doubt; but it is our duty not merely to elect them, but to crown them with a triumph which may effectually dismay our adversaries, and prove ourselves the friends of our king, our country, of religion, liberty, and social order. I am, &c.

AN INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDER.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.—Hor.

Since it has pleased the divine wisdom to interpose in favour of our happy constitution, by inspiring our truly patriotic king with uncommon understanding and resolution; and since so much depends upon the honesty and integrity of ministers, as well as on their talents and qualifications, for so important a trust, the new change will draw the *utmost attention* of the public eye, to *all* their movements. May they learn from the past, that ability without morals will eventually endanger any nation! No responsibility is equal to the responsibility of truth and justice.

Multi iniqui atque infideles regno, pauci sunt boni.

Have not the artifices of designing men, to establish themselves in uncontrouled power, nearly again kindled up the destructive fire of civil discord? They surely imagined, that if they had secured to themselves, the affection of the catholics of Ireland, by whose assistance, intrusted with a share of political power, and by the menaces of four millions of people, they would have become the absolute regents of the empire, without a possibility of being disturbed. This is the second time that an aristocratic faction has endeavoured to overturn the state. What a triumph, therefore, does our beloved and revered sovereign enjoy?—It is the triumph of virtue, and of reason.—Besides, the means employed by the ex-ministers were fraudulent to the last degree. They thought to succeed by raising the expectations of the catholics to objects which they never could effect, but surreptitiously, and by surprise, founded on a wrong supposition, that they had a weak understanding in their master to deal with, which could not discern their diabolical intentions—and on the surmise, that they would have *succeeded*, they must eventually have found themselves

disappointed: They, and their popish adherents, would have been overwhelmed by the irresistible courage of every true loyalist in the nation.

As the ex-ministers claim the monopoly of *all talents*, it is but fair to inquire, how far they are deserving of such an assumption! Does it argue or demonstrate abilities to fame, and to introduce acts of parliament, which they are afterwards ashamed of, and obliged to retract as totally discordant with public opinion and public good? Does it argue a good understanding, at this time of peril, to stigmatise our brave and generous volunteers, and, by hurting their high sense of honour, to abate their zealous ardour in their country's cause? Does it shew a knowledge of sound politics to remove those essential tests which, in a nation like this, abounding in religious distinctions, are a fortress to protect our constitution in church and state? But, perhaps, it may be said, what has government to do with religious creeds? The answer is evident—nothing certainly, if religion had nothing to do with government.—It protects all religious persuasions, but establishes its own: and for this obvious reason—because, its own is more deeply interested in its support and welfare: and, to pull down the establishment would be to introduce anarchy, by the struggle which each religious profession would make to model the state agreeably to its own religious fancies.

Give but political power into the hands of the catholic, and perfect equality, and the next struggle he will make, is for rule and pre-eminence—It is the nature of man; especially when zealous for a religious creed. But supposing we were to allow these gentlemen to have a mediocrity of talents—they are certainly ungrateful to the best of kings, whose very mode of dismissing, argued a reluctance to part with them: If he had not intended to continue them in office, he need not have proposed any pledge: he was fully authorized by his prerogative to do so—therefore, a generous servant to so good a master would have placed this favourable construction to the pledge required. As if the king had said, that, being sensible of their merits in more instances than one, he was disposed to be partial to them, and to continue them in their respective offices—that his majesty was certain, if they were attached to him, as he hoped to have reason to acknowledge, they would gratify him with a pledge not to bring forward a claim inconsistent with his coronation oath, to injure his feelings: and, surely, if the minister is bound to give salutary advice to his king, nothing which would derogate from *his honour*, or clash with that *compact* he had made with his people, could be reckoned a part of *that* obligation.

It was not handsome on their dismissal to use the harsh and unbecoming language which occurred, against a peer of the realm, who had been acquitted of the charges brought against him after an impartial trial. It was not fair, however true, to bring forward the charges against the political conduct of others, which their own recent conduct in a great measure approved, without considering that a few years consideration might have changed their sentiments to a better way of thinking.

It is impossible for the ablest philosopher, and shrewdest politician, to account for the conduct of his majesty's ministers for some years back, upon national grounds, respecting *Ireland*—one party has been alternately fighting against another. Disturbance and rebellion, not half extinguished by one minister, has been smothered by the artifice of another. The loyalist has been heated with contempt, and the degraded rebel raised to honour; insomuch, that were it not for the exertions of our firm and conscientious king, at this day, not an independent man would repair to the royal standard.—The protestants were told that the union would effectually secure them from the hordes of biggoted papists, which vowed their extermination:—the papists were told a contrary story, that the union would put them into the possession of all their claims. Neither of these assurances had a prospect of being fulfilled until *now*—all the confidence of the protestants is *now* placed in the *king alone*. The menace of a *fictitious four millions* of people; coming from the lips of a despicable shopkeeper, seems to have had great weight with the late ministry—or else, perhaps, the mystery may lie in this—in a cunningly devised scheme, to secure themselves in their places, by a pretended friendship to the catholics, whom they could cajole with promises, which, however, they knew themselves unable to effect.—They had not the wisdom to foresee the danger and the ruin which might [illegible] the consequences: had the catholics succeeded, the protestants who hold the prin[illegible]

pal property in their hands, would have considered the compact of the revolution broken, and might have devised a method of separating the two countries for ever—and, if such a separation should take place, it never could be effected without the co-operation of the *protestants* of *Ireland*.

The British empire, in this case, must eventually fall; that glorious empire, which, notwithstanding the degeneracy of many of her children, is the only support of religion, of whatever description, and the guardian of moral principles.

The Roman catholics are infatuated; they are under a mild and auspicious government; their religion and their properties are protected; their immunities are as extensive as they ought, in reason, to expect.

'What in the name of wonder is meant by the late ministry styling themselves *all the talents*? There was not long ago a famous robber and rebel in the county Kildare; of the name of TALLANT, who having quartered himself in the house of a farmer which he was accustomed to frequent, there came by chance a party of robbers to the same house, and demanded entrance: being interrogated who they were, they replied *interrorem*, we are *Tallant's gang*—we are *all the Tallants*; but they were dreadfully surprised and chagrined when they were informed that the great TALLANT was inside, who dispersed all the sham *Tallant's* with a successful discharge of his blunderbuss. We have nothing more to fear from *All the Tallents*. As for the conduct of those Irish members of the imperial parliament, who supported the motion of a *fire Brand*, in order to arraign the conduct of our patriotic king; what shall we think of them? Let them be sent back to their constituents, who will never trust them more. Had his majesty made any attack upon our constitution in church or state; had he in a dastardly manner annulled the benefits we had received by the revolution, and cast an odium on its *glorious* and *immortal memory*; they would have received unbounded applause and support; but now they are sunk into everlasting contempt and ignominy.—His majesty has gained the everlasting applause of the loyalists of Ireland—Let him but pronounce the word, and he will find an invincible host to vindicate his honour and his cause; an host of independent warriors, before whom, millions of insidious enemies would tremble. All we had to fear was the want of a steady and a wise ministry.—Our fears are now vanished by our hopes; but vigilance is expedient.—Ye valiant heroes of the north of Ireland, be not elated with a *tumultuous joy*, even on the present occasion; give not your enemies the smallest occasion to point out any impropriety in your conduct, to justify their treachery; imitate not only the courage but the humanity and goodness of your royal master; who, like the author of our religion, does good to those who despitefully use him. The poorer catholics of Ireland are our countrymen; they are oppressed and urged to mischief only by a few aristocratic leaders.—They are most of them of a loyal disposition, and will have reason to know that although their *turbulent leaders* have lost their object, it will turn out eventually for the benefit of the poor. The new administration, no doubt, will introduce laws to promote their happiness and independence—but, mark what I say, for I ever was your friend, ye are my countrymen, and your welfare is dear to me, though our creeds are different; nothing will be given to violence and outrage; demean yourselves with honesty, sobriety, and industry; and you shall find who are your *best friends*. As for advocates, you have need of none with your gracious sovereign: and depend upon it, that he who is most faithful to his *own religion*, will be most tolerant of *yours*, and will be ready to yield you every aid and protection, which are consistent with the safety and honour of the British empire.

In a good and righteous cause, the Irish papist is an honour to his country; as on the plains of Maida, when he prostrated the power of France, (as your celebrated orator Mr. KEOGH, expresses it) and tore the standard from Buonaparte's invincibles.—There he was acting as an honest soldier in the best cause; but it was not so, when the Irish papist fought in a diabolical cause at Wexford, and at Ross, &c. &c. &c. and assassinated his own countrymen; he then acted the part of a murderer, and a coward, and brought eternal odium on his country: what think you then, of that mild government, which means still to be kind to you? If, therefore, you still entertain one solitary virtue in your bosoms, you will be penitent, and your gratitude will be everlasting.—That villain, "who sat by the cradle of your indepen-

dence, (as it is expressed) that *villain* has brought you into all the ignominy and the disgrace, which repeated murders must entail on your posterity, in order to gratify his own private interests."—He was Judas Iscariot to his king, and if his political conduct and intrigues were known, there is not a doubt, but he has been a traitor to his own deluded votaries.—Trust him not; the apparent message which he has sent for you, is a mockery of loyalty, and a subterfuge to screen himself.—I hope my advice, (for it is honest,) will be salutary to you; but believe me, if it be neglected you will have reason to *curse* the man who watched your cradle. That man, will now, I hope, so far do his duty, as to revisit the cradle of what you falsely call your independence, and with the compassion of a nursing father, rock the cradle once more, to quiet your griefs, and lull your perturbed genius to tranquil rest.

AN INDEPENDENT LOYALIST.

Celbridge, April 25, 1807.

THE SQUIRE AND HIS SERVANTS, OR THE VILLAGE UPROAR.

Sir,—There has been a great uproar in the village where I reside, in consequence of the squire at the great manor-house having turned off all his servants at a moment's warning; and I am induced to send you an account of the whole affair, together with the circumstances which led to it, as (comparing small things with great ones) I cannot but trace a strong analogy between several traits in their conduct, and that of the late discarded ministers. My narrative, at least, will shew that the difference in men consists not so much in their real quality as in their opportunities of displaying it to advantage; and, that however cabal and intrigue may flourish at court, we can produce just as good specimens of them in the country.

Our squire placed implicit confidence in his late steward; and, on his death, was much at a loss whom to appoint as his successor. He offered the place to Billy Bottom; but Billy refused to accept it, unless the old gentleman would also take all his friends and connexions into his service, adding that they were the only set of clever fellows to be found, and that the squire's affairs could not be properly managed without them. The whole set puffed one another off at such a rate, and accused all the old servants of ignorance and incapacity so loudly, that the squire was at last prevailed upon, by the general clamour raised through their artifices, to give Billy Bottom a *carte blanche*, authorising him to hire just whom he pleased, and manage the estate in his own way. Billy had lately connected himself with a set of very loose, suspicious characters; and all the sober people in the village were surprized that the squire, knowing what he must have known of them, would consent to admit them into his service on any terms. During a long litigation between him and an overgrown upstart in the next parish, they constantly asserted that the squire was in the wrong, and trumpetted the praises of his opponent, though he notoriously got possession of his estate by turning out the legal heirs, (who are now subsisting upon the charity of well-disposed persons) and openly avowed his intention of using the squire himself in the very same manner. Some years ago, when a very alarming riot broke out among the bargemen employed on the canal that runs close to our village, these fellows, instead of assisting the constables to quell it, stood aloof, and let the rioters take their own course. Indeed, after they were apprehended, one of the party went to visit them in confinement, gave them liquor and money, and had the assurance to make a formal complaint to the magistrates, that they were not so well treated as they deserved. They once saved a most notorious rogue from the gallows, by giving evidence to his character; though had the jury known them better, their testimony would have weighed very little in his favour, for all they said, or indeed could say of him, was, that he was *just as honest as themselves*.

In consequence of such misconduct, the squire had, for a long time, refused to employ any of them; and when, through their influence with Billy Bottom, they forced themselves into his service, they soon shewed themselves in their true colours. That shrewdness and cunning, on which they prided themselves, proved very different from sound understanding. They had been too long accustomed to habits of idleness to endure regular application; and, indeed, the rogues were too happy to work; ragged as Falstaff's raggamuffins, their first care was to equip themselves,

on the credit of their places, with new clothes, and all manner of finery. They spent their time in feasting and carousing; and one of them, inspired by the jolly god, had the impudence to harangue the parishioners on the hardness of the times, and the necessity of submitting to all manner of privations. He told them, that if they could not keep a cottage over their heads, they must be thankful for a room; if they could not afford a room on the ground floor, they must be thankful for a garret; if they could not pay for a garret, they must be thankful for a barn; and, if they could not find a barn, they must be thankful for the workhouse.

Instead of working themselves, their great occupation was finding fault with every thing that had been done under the directions of the former steward; and yet, what little they did, that turned to any good account, was done by treading in his steps. Whenever they acted upon any new plans of their own, they became the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood; which, indeed, was not to be wondered at, for they were put into their places without any regard to their qualifications.

Two of them were appointed to pay the people their wages on Saturday nights; one of whom formerly belonged to a company of strolling players, and was carried before a justice of the peace, on a charge of having cheated the manager of the money he had taken for admission. The other had just been let out of gaol, and some very bad stories about new mal-practices on his part, soon got wind. His comrades, indeed, in order to keep up appearances, made a shew of *hauling him over the coals*, and pretended to discharge him; but actually kept him in his place, and paid him his wages, till they were all turned out together. Be it remembered, notwithstanding, that when one of the fellow servants of the former steward was suspected of improper practices, they affected such a regard for honesty, and raised such an outcry against him, that he was sent to sessions to take his trial, where it appeared that he had been accused wrongfully. However, it threw a slur upon the poor man's character, which cost him his place; but, as one of their own friends got it, they laughed in their sleeves, and said it was an excellent trick.

WILL WISP was employed to hire as many men, to work in the fields, as the squire had occasion for; but never procured a sufficient number. When the neighbours noticed the deficiency, he whipped a magnifying glass out of his pocket, and desiring them to look through it, see, said he, these men are twice as big as the scrubby fellows who used to be employed here, and so I have raised their pay. Will, who had a smattering of every thing, one day read in a book of anatomy, that woman was only an inverted man, and immediately conceived the idea of remedying the scarcity of men, by making them out of women; but, unfortunately, could persuade none of the fair sex to submit to his experimental operations. During a spell of dry weather, he once set about inventing a machine to attract the clouds and bring down rain; which he declared was just as easy as to attract the lightning by conductors: but the rain fell, and the project was forgotten. Will was a most eccentric fellow, desperately fond of bull baiting, cock fighting, and any sort of bustle or mischief; never missed a fair, and once went off, in the midst of harvest, and staid above a month at a country election. In short, he possessed considerable talents, perpetually misapplied; and every sense, but common sense.

CHARLES GRUFF was at first appointed to look after the barges, but he soon quarrelled with that duty, and exchanged it for a different employment. Indeed, he quarrelled with every thing, even with nature herself; for being bald, to make amends in one place, for what she had denied him in another, he let as much hair grow on his chin, as was deficient on his crown. These enormous whiskers had the appearance of a black beard, and with his equally black pole and sallow face, his head, when he was speaking, had the perfect resemblance of that of a jew rabbi, holding forth in a synagogue; or with the proper costume, and a box of wares, he might have made an admirable jew pedlar at a masquerade.

LITTLE HARRY, just sent home from school, undertook to be book-keeper; but when he was wanted in the counting house, he was footing it away with the lasses at every village hop. The only figures he attended to, were the figures of new dances; instead of opening a new set of books, he was practising new steps, and dancing reels, when he should have been settling accounts.

It would be tedious to describe them all, individually, so I shall now give you

some account of their general proceedings; for you must know that though they were very jealous of each other, and quarrelled dreadfully about the distribution of the loaves and fishes, yet they united most cordially in keeping them all to themselves: and this principle of common interest was the only bond of union that kept them together. The leading men among them held frequent meetings, from time to time, to concert such measures as were most likely to blind the squire, and prevent any reports from coming to his ears, that might operate to their disadvantage, by exposing the consequences of their ignorance or idleness; some instances of which I shall now relate.

With regard to the law suit that I before-mentioned, they first offered to compromise it in a most disgraceful manner; and, when that attempt failed, it appeared that they had neglected to prepare the proper documents, or to fee counsel, and so starved the cause that judgment had nearly gone against the squire by default.

The old gentleman had a number of barges in which he used to send all his produce to market by the canal, and bring back a variety of necessary articles in return; but they persuaded him to employ other people's barges, and let his own lie and rot. It was shrewdly suspected that some of his servants had sons, and that others had daughters, connected with the people, for whose advantage they thus picked the old gentleman's pocket.

The poor of the village used to be maintained at the expense of the parish after they were past labour; but these lads insisted upon their being maintained as soon as they had worked seven years, by which strange system we should have had more people in the workhouse than in the field, and the poor's rates would have been raised to an enormous height. Many of the neighbours had been in the habit of volunteering their services to the squire, to secure his harvest, or on any other emergency, without fee or reward. But these fellows abused, instead of thanking them, and swore that their master scorned to let any body work for him for nothing. A little subscription had been raised in the parish, for the benefit of widows and orphans, for the relief of those who were disabled by any accident; out of which, rewards were also sometimes given for good conduct: but as the money did not pass through their hands, they did every thing in their power to depreciate this benevolent and laudable institution.

They discouraged all the tradesmen and shopkeepers in the village, and persuaded the old gentleman to deal with people who lived at a distance, so that many of his neighbours began to think of shutting up their shops altogether, and removing to other parts of the country.

Instead of paying his bills and settling his accounts every Christmas, with the income of the year, they insisted that all those who gave the squire credit, should receive post obit bonds in payment. By this means they avoided all immediate demands, got the squire's whole revenue into their hands, and lived in clover. To be sure the next heir would have found all his resources anticipated, and his estate eat up with these usurious contracts; but that gave them little concern; to make hay while the sun shone, was their maxim.

At last, they took it into their heads, that instead of going to church on Sunday, as the squire had always been in the habit of doing, with all his tenants and servants, no man should be obliged to go unless he pleased. To say the truth, most of them had no religion at all; but the wife of one of them, who is known to be a papist, was supposed to be at the bottom of this plot, for the finery about mass is very attractive to females. The squire remonstrated against any such innovation. His servants contended for liberty of conscience, and decried the bigotry of the darker ages. However, finding the squire resolute, they at last gave way, and went to church the following Sunday; but signed a round robin, declaring that though they had done so that day, just to please him, they would do as they liked in future. This insolence roused the old gentleman into proper spirit, and he paid them all off at a moment's warning.

Some of them it seems did not sign the round robin, nor approve of its contents. HARRY ADDLE protested that he was noticed for his attachment to church; that his grandmother had taught him to say his prayers night and morning, and to go to church on Sundays; that he had lived in the constant practice of these duties, as the

whole parish could testify; and that it was a great hardship on him to lose his place because his colleagues had acted improperly. But Harry's greatest attachment appeared to have been to his place, for his duty never prompted him to find fault with the proceedings of his companions, till he discovered they were on the eve of being turned out; and the squire considering him as a silly blundering fellow, with a good deal of duplicity in his composition, refused to reinstate him in his service.

Ned Brow swore that he was against the round robin; not that he cared a farthing about the church, but because he always sided with his friend Harry Addle, who got him admitted into the snug parties, held in the steward's room: but that he did not value his place, for he was sure of employment as a hackney law writer.

Tom Skin declared that he had never been consulted about the round robin; and that so far from his wishing to give up going to church, he could bring witnesses to prove, that, at night, when the church doors were shut, he had been found on his knees, praying in the church-yard. Tom was a high spirited, good tempered fellow, with a spice of enthusiasm about him; and had a warm sense of attachment to his friends, which would not allow him to separate his fate from theirs. One of Tom's foibles was, his delight in a pun; and, happily, on this occasion, a pun consoled him for his disappointment. Hearing one of his friends, read in a daily paper, that the duke of Queensbury was so ill as not to be expected to live through the day, and that Mr. Opie, the celebrated artist, was dead, "that is just in the natural order of things," says Tom, "old Q. ought to go next, for O. P. (Opie) went yesterday." He laughed to excess, as usual, at this happy *impromptu*, sent off fifteen copies of it to the editors of the different daily papers, and felt as happy, for the moment, as if he had got a place, instead of having lost one.

The rest of the set were, at first, very outrageous; sallied away to the public-house, and attempted to raise a party among the parishioners in their favour, thinking by that means to force themselves upon the old gentleman again. Billy Bottom went into an upper room, where the most respectable part of the inhabitants met in the evening; and Gruff, with some of his associates, went into the tap-room, where they both harangued much to the same purpose. They enlarged upon their own matchless talents, and great services; complained of having been most shamefully ill-treated; and declared that the squire's affairs would inevitably go to ruin without them; but, to their great mortification, the majority of those to whom they addressed themselves was of a different way of thinking. Finding that their old master continued firm and inflexible, that more and more of their pranks were found out every day, and that he was continually congratulated upon having got rid of them, they at length lowered their tone, and submitted quietly to their fate. All that we have to fear, is, that many of them, having no longer any honest means of getting a livelihood, will return to their old evil courses, and become, as they were before, a nuisance to this part of the country.

The squire has reinstated in his service the people whom he employed during the life time of his former steward, a man of excellent understanding, and unimpeachable integrity; and, from the school in which they were trained, we are sanguine in our expectations, that they will conduct themselves not less to the honour and advantage of their master, than to the satisfaction of the parishioners in general.

April 24, 1807. AGRESTIS.

JOSEPH'S DREAM.

Sir,—It was well observed by sir William Temple, in answer to a Frenchman, who boasted of the pleasures of conversation enjoyed by his countrymen, that there were only two topics worthy the attention of men of sense, religion and politics; and that, in France, they dared not discuss either. In Britain, where, thank God! we are not under the same restraint, our discourse generally turns upon these subjects; as was the case in a party with whom I spent the evening of yesterday. When I retired to rest, and the other faculties of my mind were suspended, imagination continued active; and the impressions of what had passed produced a dream, which I am tempted to commit to paper, flattering myself that you will allow it a place in your Review.

I thought that his majesty had been graciously pleased to appoint me prime minister; but that, on entering into office, I found the late administration had converted the *bed of roses*, which they had received from their predecessors, into a bed of thorns. That the perfect harmony which subsisted between religious sects of every persuasion, when they undertook the management of public affairs, had been wantonly disturbed by their unseasonable discussion of the catholic question. That the system of national defence, founded on that patriotic enthusiasm which had prompted every man to rally round the altar and the throne, in the hour of danger, had been destroyed by their malignant obloquy, and ungenerous ridicule; while their own project, of supplying the place of our gallant volunteers, by dragging out 200,000 unwilling conscripts, to be drilled by the parish officers, appeared so absurd even to themselves, that they were ashamed to carry it into execution; and thus, in the true spirit of modern reformers, they had pulled down the old structure, without erecting a new one. I dreamt, too, that they had conceded those invaluable maritime rights, by the proud assertion of which, Britain had maintained the empire of the ocean, and been enabled to balance the preponderating influence of her haughty foe among the continental powers. That our colonies were declining under their ruinous policy, which permitted neutrals (falsely so called, for such neutrality is more injurious than hostility,) to transport unmolested the produce of the enemies colonies to their respective mother countries. That our carrying trade was rapidly decaying, from their pernicious system of granting licenses to neutral ships, to carry on those branches of commerce which the wise policy of our forefathers had restricted to British ships: that, in consequence, not a single merchant vessel was building in any of the dock-yards of the river Thames; that thousands of British seamen were driven into foreign service; and that, thus, the late ministers had destroyed the great nursery of our navy, and sapped the foundations of that power which constitutes at once the glory and the security of the empire. I thought, too, that instead of manfully meeting the exigencies of the occasion, they had been led by a dastardly love of popularity, to flatter the people with the idea of repose from taxation; giving themselves credit for great sagacity in devising a new system of finance, to the comprehension of which every junior clerk in a counting-house was equal, that if both interest and principal were borrowed, no interest need be provided for: a system which raises money at compound interest; mortgages future resources to provide for present demands; which Neckar adopted a few years previous to the French revolution; which contributed to that event, by the dilapidated state to which it reduced the finances of France; and would soon have produced the same fatal effects in Britain. I dreamt, too, that their conduct, while in office, had been so different from their professions when out, that they had turned public virtue into a jest. That they had given places of trust and confidence to men of unprincipled characters. That declaiming in tones of thunder against peculation, when one of their political opponents was suspected of mal-practices, they condemned and punished him before trial; and when on a trial his innocence appeared, made him no reparation, but unblushingly retained among their own partisans the offices of which he had so unjustly been deprived. That, on the contrary, when the fraudulent practices of one of their own friends were detected, the sword of justice, which before had been brandished with such hasty and unrelenting vengeance, slept in the scabbard; and he was suffered to continue in the undisturbed enjoyment of his place and emoluments, till the whole party was dismissed from the councils of his Majesty.

Finding myself called upon to take the reins of government under such discouraging auspices, I dreamt, that by raising no unreasonable, and gratifying all reasonable, expectations, I happily succeeded in calming that ferment of religious irritation which the late ministry had so unnecessarily excited. That by justly appreciating that spirit of national enthusiasm, which has ever raised the people whom it has animated to the greatest height of glory, I had rekindled that flame of patriotic ardour which had been so injudiciously extinguished, and again saw in proud array those bands of gallant volunteers, at whose aspect our haughty foe had before shrunk back appaled, from his meditated threat of invasion. That by reas-

suming our maritime rights, I once more held the balance of Europe in my hands, and deterred the enemy from his rapacious projects, by threatening to retaliate at sea, for every outrage which he might commit upon the rights of nations on shore. That by strictly enforcing the old maritime rule, of prohibiting neutrals from carrying on any trade in time of war, which was not permitted them in time of peace, the produce of our colonies enjoyed the monopoly of every market in Europe; while every attempt, either open or covert, to import that of our enemies, served but to enrich our gallant tars at their expense. That in consequence of the encouragement held out to British shipping, our builders' yards were again in active occupation; our seamen returned in crowds to the service of their native country; our commerce covered the ocean, and furnished inexhaustible resources for the support of our navy. That by not shrinking from the sacrifices necessary for the exigencies of the state, public credit was restored, and the enemy disappointed in his hopes of wearing us out by a war of finance. That men suspected of public peculation were impartially proceeded against, whether friends or foes; abuses not merely inveighed against, but prevented; and order and economy established in the national expenditure.

"I dreamt, that in this flourishing state of things I had convened the parliament; that his Majesty's speech expatiated on the leading topics of these important and happy changes. That an address, re-echoing the sentiments from the throne, was ably moved and seconded. That a noble lord, who filled a conspicuous part in the late administration, with that intemperance and asperity which mark his character, aggravated on this occasion by envy and disappointment, attempted, with perverted reasoning, unfounded assertions, and gross misrepresentation, to deprive me of my well-earned honours. That fired with indignation, I started up to answer him; ——————but, sir, in my agitation, I actually jumped upright in my bed, awoke, and behold it was a dream!

I am aware that dreams are of two sorts; or to use the words of a poet, whose language cannot be changed without being injured——

Sunt geminæ somni portæ; quarum altera fertur
Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes.

Two gates the silent house of sleep adorn;
Of polish'd ivory this, that of transparent horn:
True visions through transparent horn arise;
Through polish'd iv'ry pass deluding lies.

Dryden's Virgil. Æneis, book 6.

But as this dream of mine is founded on fact, as far as it relates to the past; and as by the past we learn to judge of the future, I am sanguine in my expectations that the whole will be verified, with the exception of the particular circumstance of my becoming prime minister. That this idea floated in my mind may be accounted for, without impeaching the credibility of the rest of my narrative, for the prosopopeia is a figure in which the unfettered imagination delights to indulge; and it is a natural, and indeed common transition, for spectators to fancy themselves actors, in scenes where they take a lively interest.

I hope, sir, you will record my dream in your Review: that when, hereafter, my predictions are fulfilled, I may be remembered and rewarded. I shall then expect that either the king himself, or at least the minister of the day, will send for me, and say as Pharaoh said to my namesake, "There is none so discreet and wise as thou art, that he will take his ring from off his hand, and put it on my hand; array me in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about my neck." I fear you will think that I am dreaming again. The idea is in one sense just; but the dreams of men awake differ in this respect from those of men asleep; that the former generally mingle views of private emolument with those of public benefit, while the latter are pure and undefiled with baser matter. I shall therefore confine myself to the publication of my nocturnal visions, and keep my waking thoughts to myself.

May 6. 1807. JOSEPH.

From The LONDON GAZETTE, May 5.

Admiralty-Office, May 4, 1807.

Extracts of a Letter and its Inclosures, which have been received at this Office from Vice Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, addressed to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship Ocean, off Cadiz, the 8th of April, 1807.

Sir,—His Majesty's sloop L'Espoir has joined me to-day, bringing dispatches from vice admiral sir John T. Duckworth and Mr. Arbuthnot. Copies of the vice admiral's letters to me, detailing the proceedings of the squadron in passing and re-passing the Dardanelles, the burning the Turkish ships which lay off Point Pergulies, with lists of the killed and wounded on the 19th and 25th February, and 3d March, are herewith transmitted. I am &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

Royal George, without the Dardanelles, March 6, 1807.

My Lord,—Together with this letter, I transmit to your lordship two letters of the 21st and 28th ultimo; the former of which will have informed you of my arrival with the squadron near Constantinople, and the latter of an unlucky attempt, in which the marines and boats' crews of the Canopus, Royal George, Windsor Castle, and Standard, had been engaged.

It is now my duty to acquaint your lordship with the result of the resolution, which, for the reasons I have already detailed, I had adopted of forcing the passage of the Dardanelles. My letter of the 21st is dated at anchor eight miles from Constantinople, the wind not admitting of a nearer approach: but the Endymion, which had been sent a head with a flag of truce, at the request of the ambassador, was enabled to anchor within four miles. Had it been then in our power we should have taken our station off the town immediately, but as that could not be done from the rapidity of the current, I was rather pleased than otherwise with the position we had been forced to take, for the conferences between his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and the captain Pacha, of the particulars of which your lordship is in possession, it was promised by Mr. Arbuthnot, that even when the squadron had arrived before Constantinople, the door to pacification should remain open, and that he would be willing to negotiate on terms of equality and justice. In consideration of this promise, and as it would convince the Porte of his majesty's earnest desire to preserve peace, as well as possess her ministers with a confidence of the sincerity of our professions, it was the opinion of Mr. Arbuthnot, to which I concurred, that it was fortunate we had anchored at a little distance from the capital, as a nearer approach might have given cause for suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen.

At noon of the 21st, Ysak Boy, a minister of the Porte, came off, from whose expressions Mr. Arbuthnot thought it impossible not to believe, that in the head of the government (for in the present instance, every circumstance proved that between him and the armed populace a great distinction is to be made) there really existed a sincere desire for peace; and the negociation was carried on, as will appear by the documents transmitted to your lordship, till the 27th; but from the moment of our anchorage till we weighed, on the morning of the 1st of March, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in our power to have occupied a situation which would have enabled the squadron to commence offensive operations against Constantinople. On Sunday, the 22d, alone, for a few hours, the breeze was sufficient to have stemmed the current where we were placed; but such was the rapidity on shore where the Endymion was at anchor, that captain Capel thought it very doubtful whether the squadron could have obtained an anchorage, though it had been held in preparative readiness, by signal, from day-break; but the peculiarly unsettled state of the weather, and the minister's desire that I should give a few hours for an answer to his letter, through Ysak Bey, prevented me from trying. Before five o'clock, *p. m.* it was nearly calm,

and in the evening the wind was entirely from the Eastward, and continued light airs or calm till the evening of the 28th, when it blew fresh from the N. E. and rendered it impossible to change our position.

Two days after our arrival near Constantinople, the ambassador found himself indisposed, and has been ever since confined with a fit of illness, so severe as to prevent him from attending to business. Under these circumstances he had delivered in the 22d to the Turkish minister a project, as the basis on which peace might be preserved, and at his desire the subsequent part of the negociation was carried on in my name, with his advice and assistance; and while I lament most deeply that it has not ended in the re-establishment of peace, I derive consolation from the reflection that no effort has been wanting on the part of Mr. Arbuthnot and myself to obtain such a result, which was soon seen from the state of the preparations at Constantinople could be effected by negociation only, and the strength of the current from the Bosphorus, with the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered it impracticable to place ships for an attack without a commanding breeze; which, during the ten days I was off the town, it was not my good fortune to meet with.

I now came to the point of explaining to your lordship the motives which fixed me to decide in repassing the channel of the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital, and I feel confident it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impractibility of our force having made any impression, as at this time the whole line of the coast presented a chain of batteries: that twelve turkish line of battle ships, two of them three deckers, with nine frigates, were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops: add to this near two hundred thousand were said to be in Constantinople, to march against the Russians; besides there were an innumerable quantity of small craft, with boats; and fire-vessels had been prepared to act against us. With the batteries alone we might have coped, or with the ships, could we have got them out of their strog hold; but your lordship will be aware, that after combating the opposition, which the resources of an empire had been many weeks employed in preparing, we should have been in no state to defend ourselves against them as described, and then repass the Dardanelles.

I knew it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's orders, to attempt every thing (governed by the opinion of the ambasador) that appeared within the compass of possibility; but when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge (which must have arisen, had I waited for a wind to have enabled me to cannonade the town, unattended by the remotest chance of obtaining any advantage for his majesty's service) must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to relinquish it; and if I had not been already satisfied on the subject, the increased opposition in the Dardanelles would have convinced me I had done right, where I resolved on the measure as indispensably necessary. I therefore weighed with the squadron on the morning of the 1st, and as it had been reported that the turkish fleet designed to make an effort against us, to give them an opportunity, if such was really their intention, I continued to stand on and off during the day, but but they shewed no disposition to move.

I therefore, as every hour was of importance, bore up at dusk with the squadron; we arrived off Point Pasquies towards the evening of the 2d inst. but the daylight would not admit of our attempting to pass the castles, and the squadron came to anchor for the night; we weighed in the morning, and, when I add that every ship was in safety outside of the passage, about noon, it is not without the most lively sense of the good fortune that has attended us.

The Turks had been occupied unceasingly in adding to the number of their forts, some had been already completed, and others were in a forward state. The fire of the two inner castles had, on our going up, been severe, but, I am sorry to say, the effects they have had on our ships returning, has proved them to be doubly formidable: in short, had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a very doubtful point, whether a return lay open to us at all. The manner in which they employed the interval of our ab-

sence has proved their assiduity. I transmit your lordship an account of the damages sustained by the respective ships; as also their loss in killed and wounded, which your lordship will perceive is far from trifling. The mainmast of the Windsor Castle being more than three-quarters cut through by a granite shot of eight hundred weight, we have found great difficulty in saving it. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Right Hon. Lord Collingwood, &c.

P. S. I am sorry to observe that, in the course of this letter to your lordship, I have omitted to mention that, having placed the honourable captain Capel, in the Endymion, which had been advanced in the stream of the Bosphorus, for the purpose of ascertaining when the squadron could stem the current, and for a watchful observation of the movement of the Turks, as well as to facilitate communication with the Porte, I feel myself indebted to that officer for his zealous attention and assiduity during the time he was placed in that arduous situation. J. T. D.

Royal George, off Constantinople, Feb. 21, 1807.

My lord,—I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship, by the late first lieutenant of the Ajax, the various details relating to the transactions of the squadron till the 17th ult. Your lordship will from thence have been informed of my resolution of passing the Dardanelles the first fair wind. A fine wind from the southward permitted me to carry it into effect on the morning of the 19th.

Information had been given me by his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and sir Thomas Louis, that the Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castle; and conceiving it possible they might have remained there, I had given orders to rear admiral sir Sydney Smith, to bring up with the Thunderer, Standard, and Active, and destroy them, should our passage be opposed.

At a quarter before nine o'clock the whole of the squadron had passed the outer castles, without having returned a shot to their fire (which occasioned but little injury). This forbearance was produced by the desire of his majesty's minister, expressed to preserve every appearance of amity, that he might negotiate with the strongest proof of the pacific disposition of our sovereign towards the Porte; a second battery on the European side fired also with as little effect. At half past nine o'clock, the Canopus, which, on account of sir T. Louis' knowledge of the channel, joined to the steady gallantry which I had before experienced, had been appointed to lead, entered the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, and sustained a very heavy cannonade from both castles, within point-blank shot of each. They opened their fire upon our ships as they continued to pass in succession, although I was happy in observing, that the very spirited return it met with had so considerably diminished its force, that the effect on the sternmost ships could not have been so severe.

Immediately to the N. E. of the castles, and between them and Point Pesquies, in which a formidable battery had been newly erected, the small squadron which I have already alluded to were at anchor. The van division of our squadron gave them their broadsides as they passed, and sir Sydney Smith with his division closed into the midst, and the effect of the fire was such, that in half an hour the Turks had all cut their cables to run on shore.—The object of the rear-admiral was then to destroy them, which was most rapidly effected, as in less than four hours the whole of them had exploded, except a small corvette, and a gun-boat, which it was thought proper to preserve. I inclose to your lordship a statement of their number, and when I add also an account of the loss his majesty's ships have sustained, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction that we have suffered so slightly; as, had any of their stone shot, some of which exceeded eight hundred weight, made such a breach between wind and water as they have done in our sides, the ship must have sunk; or had they struck a lower mast in the centre, it must evidently have been cut in two; in the rigging, too, no accident occurred that was not perfectly arranged in the course of the next day. The sprit-sail-yard of the Royal George, the gaft of the Canopus, and the main-top-sail yard of the Standard, are the only spars that were injured.

It is with peculiar pleasure that I embrace the opportunity, which has been at this time afforded, of bearing testimony to the zeal and distinguished ability of sir Sydney Smith; the manner in which he executed the service entrusted to him was worthy of the reputation which he has long since so justly and generally established. The terms of approbation in which the rear-admiral states the conduct of captains Dacres, Talbot, Harvey, and Moubray, which, from my being under the necessity of passing the Point of Pesquies before the van could anchor, he had a greater opportunity of observing than I could, cannot but be highly flattering; but I was a more immediate witness to the able and officer-like conduct which captain Moubray displayed in obedience to my signal, by destroying a frigate with which he had been more particularly engaged, having driven her on shore on the European side, after she had been forced to cut her cables, from under the fire of the Pompée and Thunderer. The sixty-four having run on shore on Pesquies Point, I ordered the Repulse to work up and destroy her, which captain Legge, in conjunction with the boats of the Pompée, executed with great promptitude and judgment. The battery on the Point, of more than thirty guns, which, had it been completely finished, was in a position to have annoyed the squadron most severely in passing, was taken possession of by the royal marines and boats crews of the rear division; the Turks having retired at their approach, and the guns were immediately spiked. This service was performed under the direction of captain Nicholls, of the Standard's marines, whose spirit and enterprize can never be doubted; but as circumstances rendered it impracticable to effect the entire destruction of the redoubt, orders were given by sir S. Smith to captain Moubray, which I fully approved, to remain at anchor near the Pasquies, and to employ lieutenants Carrol and Arabin, of the Pompée, and lieutenant Laurie of the marines, to complete the demolition of the redoubt and guns, which when performed, the Active was to continue in the passage of the Dardanelles till further orders.

At a quarter past five, p. m. the squadron was enabled to make sail; and on the evening of the next day, the 20th, came to an anchor, at ten o'clock, near the Prince's Islands, about eight miles from Constantinople, when I dispatched captain Capel, in the Endymion, to anchor near the town, if the wind, which was light, would permit the ship to stem the current, to convey the ambassador's dispatches to the Sublime Porte in the morning by a flag of truce; but he found it impracticable to get within four miles, and consequently anchored at half-past eleven p. m.

I have now the highest satisfaction to add, that the conduct of the officers and ship's companies of the squadron under my command, has fully supported the character of the British navy, and is deserving of my warmest eulogium.

Having endeavoured to pay just tribute to those whose duty necessarily called them into this service, I should feel myself very deficient if I omitted to mention that his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and lord Burghersh (who had requested to take a cruize with me) were among the most animated in the combat. To captain Blackwood, who, after the unfortunate loss of the Ajax, volunteered to serve in the Royal George, great praise is due for his able assistance in regulating the fire of the middle and lower decks; and when the Royal George anchored, he most readily offered his services to convey a message to the Endymion, of great moment, her pilot having refused to take charge of the ship. From thence he gave his assistance to arrange the landing of the troops from the sixty, and setting her on fire; indeed where active service was to perform, there was his anxious desire to be placed. His officers, too, requested to serve in the squadron, and their services, in passing through the Dardanelles, met with approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

A List of Turkish Ships and Vessels taken and destroyed by the Squadron under the Command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. at Anchor off Point Pesquies, the 19th February, 1807, within the Ports of the Dardanelles.

Burnt.—1 line of battle ship, 64 guns, 4 frigates, 3 corvettes, 1 brig, 2 gun-boats.

Taken possession of—1 corvette, 1 gun-boat.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Royal George, at Anchor off Prince's Islands, Feb. 28.

My Lord—I have to inform your lordship, that it was perceived at nine o'clock yesterday morning, that the Turks had landed on the Island of Prota, near which the squadron was anchored, and were erecting a battery in a position to annoy us; I immediately ordered the marines of the squadron to be prepared for landing, and the boats to be manned and armed, and the Repulse, with the Lucifer, having been directed to cover them, they proceeded towards the island. The Turks, on the ships firing a few grape to scour the beach, quitted the island in their boats, when all but one boat with eleven men escaped, the which, with two guns they had intended to mount, fell into our possession.

At half after two o'clock in the afternoon, sir Thomas Louis sent to inform me, that he had received intelligence of a small number of Turks being still on the island, and requesting permission to send marines to take them, my reply was, that no risk whatever must be run, but if it could be effected without hazarding the people, it might; and a party of the Canopus's marines was immediately sent on shore in consequence, with the most positive orders to captain Kent, from sir Thomas Louis, not to pursue the object, if he found it attended with any hazard. At four o'clock the party on shore made the signal for assistance, and the marines and boats manned and armed were directly ordered away from the Royal George, Windsor Castle, and Standard, with particular directions to bring off the Canopus's people, but to avoid being drawn into danger. A little before sun-set an officer was dispatched with orders for the whole to return on board.

On the return of the boats, which was not till after dark, I heard with the deepest regret of the loss we had sustained; a list of which I herewith transmit, and do most particularly lament lieutenant Belli, a young officer of the fairest promise, who had never served but with myself. To account in some degree for this unlucky affair, it appears that the information of a few Turks only having remained on the island was entirely false, as nearly an hundred of them had retired to an old convent, from loop-holes in the walls of which, they defended themselves with musketry. The people of the Canopus had in the first instance advanced close under the walls, and in endeavouring to relieve them from their unpleasant situation, the others suffered.

In order, if possible, to prevent the retreat of the Turks from this island, the launches of the squadron, armed with their carronades, were ordered to row guard during the night, under the direction of captain Elliot, of the Lucifer; but notwithstanding every possible vigilance, they are supposed to have escaped in the night, as the next morning it was represented to me that only seven Greek inhabitants of the place were remaining.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

To vice-admiral lord Collingwood, &c. &c. &c.

Abstract of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships under the orders of vice-admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, on the 19th of February; at the attack of the Prota, the 27th; and on returning through the Dardanelles, on the 3d of March, 1807.

February 19.—Royal George: 2 seamen killed; 2 petty officers, 22 seamen, wounded; 1 private of marines, killed; 5 privates of marines, wounded.—Canopus: 3 seamen, killed: 1 petty officer, 8 seamen, wounded, 3 privates of marines, wounded.—Pompee: 5 seamen, wounded.—Windsor Castle: 7 seamen, wounded.—Repulse: 1 petty officer, 2 seamen, wounded.—Thunderer: 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 9 seamen, wounded; 1 private of marines, killed; 4 private of marines, wounded. Standard: 1 officer, 5 seamen, wounded.—Endymion: 1 private of marines, wounded.—Active: none killed or wounded.—Meteor: none killed or wounded.

February 27.—Royal George: 1 officer, 2 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 1 seaman, wounded; 1 private of marines, wounded.—Canopus: 1 seaman, killed; 1 pilot, 1 petty officer, 4 seamen, wounded; 1 officer, 1 private of marines, killed; 1 non-commissioned officer, 4 privates of marines, wounded.—Pompee;

none killed or wounded.—Windsor Castle: 1 seaman killed.—Repulse: 1 private of marines wounded.—Thunderer: none killed or wounded.—Standard: 1 officer, 1 non-commissioned officer of marines, wounded.—Endymion: none killed or wounded. —Active: none killed or wounded.—Meteor: none killed or wounded.

March 3.—Royal George: 2 seamen, killed; 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 22 seamen, wounded; 1 private of marines, killed; 2 privates of marines, wounded.—Canopus: 3 seamen, wounded.—Pompee: none killed or wounded.—Windsor Castle: 3 seamen, killed; 1 petty officer, 12 seamen, wounded.—Repulse: 7 seamen, killed; 3 seamen, wounded; 3 privates of marines, killed; 1 officer, 6 privates of marines wounded.—Thunderer: 2 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer. 10 seamen, wounded; 2 private of marines, wounded.—Standard: 4 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 3 petty officers, 37 seamen, wounded; 4 seamen, missing; 6 privates of marines, wounded.—Endymion: 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 8 seamen, wounded. Active: 1 officer, 4 seamen, wounded; 3 privates of marines, wounded.—Meteor: 7 seamen, wounded; 1 officer of marines, wounded.

Total.—1 officer, 33 seamen, killed; 10 officers, 13 petty officers, 169 seamen, wounded; 4 seamen missing from the Standard—1 officer, 7 privates of marines, killed; 3 officers, 2 non-commissioned officers, 38 privates of marines, wounded.

Return of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships under the orders of vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, on the 19th of February; at the attack of Prota, the 27th; and on returning through the Dardanelles, on the 3d of March, 1807.

Royal George: lieutenant George Lawrence Belli, 6 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; Mr. John Forbes, first lieutenant, slightly wounded; lieutenant N. J. Willoughby, badly wounded; Mr. George Holbrook, slightly wounded; Mr. Furneaux, midshipman, badly wounded: Mr. Dalrymple, midshipman, ditto; Mr. John Alexander, midshipman, ditto; Mr. —— Rouse, midshipman, ditto; Mr. Cotesworth, midshipman, ditto; 45 seamen, and 8 marines, wounded.

Canopus: captain Kent, of the marines, 4 seamen, and 1 marine, killed; Mr. John Nichols, master's-mate, badly wounded; Mr. George Wray, midshipman, ditto; Mr. Geerge Moore, pilot, ditto; 15 seamen and 8 marines, wounded, 1 since dead.

Pompee: 5 seamen, wounded.

Windsor Castle: 4 seamen, killed; Mr. William Jones, master's mate, slightly wounded; 19 seamen, wounded.

Repulse: 10 seamen, killed; Mr. Jos. Magui, master's mate, slightly wounded; lieut. Marshall, of the marines, dangerously wounded; 4 seamen and 8 marines, wounded.

Thunderer: 5 seamen and 1 marine, killed; lieut. J. Waller, badly wounded: lieut. Colby, slightly wounded; Mr. Moore, midshipman, ditto; 19 seamen and 6 marines, wounded.

Standard: 4 seamen, killed, and 4 seamen, missing; lieut. D. Harrington, badly wounded; lieut. Fynmore, of the marines, ditto; Mr. Wm. Shorbridge, boatswain, slightly wounded; Mr. John Haines, master's mate, ditto; Mr. William Smith, midshipman, badly wounded; Mr. C. Jay, midshipman, slightly; 42 seamen and 7 marines, wounded.

Active: none killed; Mr. Mark Palmer, boatswain, badly wounded; 4 seamen and 3 marines, wounded.

Endymion: 3 seamen, killed; lieut. John Langdon, badly wounded; 8 seamen and 1 marine, wounded.

Meteor: none killed; lieutenant G. E. Ballchild, of the marine artillery, badly wounded; Andrew Foley, gunner, ditto; Thomas Coombes, gunner, ditto; John Brown, artillery gunner, slightly wounded; 4 seamen, wounded.

Total—42 killed, 235 wounded, and 4 missing.

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°20. Saturday, May 16, 1807. Price 10*d*.

TO THE HONEST AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN!—If ever there was a moment when the exercise of your suffrages required a sound and wholesome discretion, this is the time: for you are now called upon to decide whether your loyalty and patriotism be proof against the bold attempts and wily artifices of the abettors of anarchy and misrule? Whatever your political opinions may be; whether you be friendly to the late or to the present administration, one fact is most certain, that you cannot consistently with your predilection for either, throw away your votes in favour of sir Francis Burdett. The manner in which he has been obtruded upon you originated in a fraud unworthy of any man who pretends to the character of a patriot. In his address to the freeholders of Middlesex, he stated, in language the most unequivocal, that no consideration should induce him to sit for any place in parliament; and the reason whereon he grounded this resolution was the libellous one—that the representatives of the people of this great empire were an horde of plunderers who had no other object in view, than to share in your spoils. When insulting and seditious propositions of this nature are publicly avowed, permit me to ask, with what propriety can any man, who has not ejected out of his bosom every principle of integrity, honour, and loyalty, give his vote for a man who has announced that *he* only is incorrupt, and that you are slaves. If sir Francis Burdett's philanthropy be as great as his folly, he may exercise both in France, where public freedom has been extinguished by the combined operations of corruption, fraud, and usurpation, by the knavery of rulers acting upon the vices of a profligate and degenerated people. His address is suited to the meridian of Paris, where venal senates and servile legislatures are subsequious to the dictates of imperial power; and where, an inflammatory demagogue might render some service to an enslaved people, provided he could secure his head upon his shoulders for a single day. But, in this land of regulated liberty, in this last hope and refuge of civilization, where the blessings and comforts of social life are more equally and generally dispensed than in any other state of the world, to recommend an indifference to public affairs, upon the comprehensive but false principle, that the whole British legislature are in conspiracy against the rights, liberties, and independence of the people, is neither more nor less than a designing, perfidious, and traitorous provocative to open rebellion. It is really a melancholy consideration that the good sense of the community should be so long insulted with impunity; for surely, no man, however depraved in principle, however harnessed in the yoke of treason, not even sir Francis Burdett himself, can complain of the rigour of our laws or the want of liberty in this country, when such licentious maxims as those which he inculcates are tamely borne with by the government, and listened to by the people, who have ever entertained so high a veneration for their form of government, as to submit to it with an acquiescence, equal to the ardour, which they have shewn in its defence. But when a specious zeal for the public good raises a clamour amongst the populace, the calm voice of reason finds no attention; and persons of less understanding, incited by example, add greatly to the weight of that clamour, which, for a time, has ever been too strong for argument. Nor in these last is it to be wondered at, since enlarged views are requisite on matters of general concern, which few are enabled to form either by nature or education, and from which more are called off by the nearer prospect of a narrow and imaginary self-interest. As the worst evils of society flow from short-sighted or perverted judgments, the constitution, with a policy peculiar to itself, encourages every method of popular instruction. Freedom of debate in parliament tends to clear and lay open the grounds of public proceedings; and the liberty of the press is as naturally fitted to the support of a good government, as to the ruin of a bad one. Measures, which carry with them a fallacious appearance of lenity,

are exposed by this mean; and those which carry with them the form of severity are set in their just light, for the approbation of the people. In the last case, such instruction is a matter of necessity; because, whatever has the air of severity, is *seemingly* repugnant to the genius of a free government, and ungrateful to generous minds; above all, to Britons, trained in the principles, and celebrated for the exercise of liberty. Besides, in an age fond of liberty, but impatient of those salutary restraints of law, which alone make liberty either lasting or valuable, it is natural to suppose, that some would be for throwing down the fences which may controul irregular attempts; and, therefore, no wonder, if such as mean to repair and keep them in order should become the objects of their censure. That censure, ill understood, and not properly refuted, may make an impression, and overcome the national affection for our civil and religious establishments; especially, if receiving strength from the concurrent sense of those persons who proclaim themselves to be the patrons of liberty.

Upon these considerations, gentlemen, I have been led to address you, in order to point out, by descending into particulars, the cause of your being called upon to exercise your elective franchises, after you had so recently discharged this duty to your country; and, if the representation which I am about to submit to your understandings should prove satisfactory, you can have no hesitation in determining upon which of the respective candidates your choice should fall.

The history then of the transaction is simply this — the late administration, guided by that revolutionary spirit, which invariably marked their government, proposed a bill in parliament, which went to grant to all classes of his majesty's subjects without any regard whatever to their religious or sectarian principles, an unlimited *right by law* to fill any situation, however high in rank, trust, and power, either in the army or the navy. So that, by the latitude which that bill afforded for the introduction of dissenters of every denomination from the national religion, *as by law established*, we, whose forefathers fought and bled for the establishment and consolidation of this national religion, should have been exposed to the informal and unsightly compulsion of beholding Roman catholic generals and admirals, Socinian and Unitarian generals and admirals, and generals and admirals without any religion at all, commanding our armies and fleets, and leading those heroes to battle who had originally embarked in the service of their country, upon the obvious principle of defending its domestic policy, both in church and state. It is evident therefore, that though the bill in question did not literally and formally repeal the Test laws, those wholesome fences of our constitution, by which it hath been enabled to flourish with augmented power and beauty for two centuries; yet, its principles would, in fact, have soon led to that fatal end. For, when men of different and opposing persuasions had become invested with the power of the sword, they would, in truth, have become invested with the power of the state; and what chance our national establishment would have had of surviving for any length of time, the conflicting shocks of all these discordant elements, you may readily imagine; and, if you should find any difficulty in perceiving this inevitable result, I refer you to the example of France, which, by the indiscriminate admission of men of any principle, and of no principle, into offices of high trust, soon brought about the overthrow of the national religion, and, with it, the downfall of the antient monarchy, and the consequent misery of her people. From that fatal moment there ensued a scene of woe, the like to which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. The people embrued their hands in the blood of their mild and patriotic monarch; the clergy next became the object of their unbridled fury; and, finally, after the altars of the LIVING GOD had been demolished, and Human Reason deified and worshipped in those temples which had for ages been consecrated to the adoration of the Supreme Being; human nature exceeding in cruelty the most ferocious and savage animals which range in any of the wild forest, compounded all the materials of fury, havock, and desolation, into one black and dismal system, which burst upon the devoted country and spread far and wide an universe of death and mourning. A storm of universal fire blasted the fields, consumed the houses, destroyed the temples. The miserable inhabitants, who had been deluded by their demagogues, and encouraged to perpetrate these atrocious excesses, followed next in the train of the demon of anarchy

and became the victims of the disruption of social order. A part of them were slaughtered in heaps by the unsparing sword, and multitudes, who had evaded the bleeding sabre, fell in promiscuous groupes upon the scaffold, without regard to sex, to age, or to condition, by judicial sentences which made as great a mockery of the dispensations of even-handed justice, as the impious deification of the Reason of Man had made of the Almighty. Others fled into exile; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, sought an asylum in distant and foreign lands. It was impossible that human society could hold together, under the continuance of this destructive system. Accordingly, what followed betrayed at once the folly of these innovations, and exposed to all mankind the dangers of removing those guards, by the aid of which civil order can alone be upholden. An usurper came, brooding mischief and imperial sway, who respited the people from death indeed, but trampled upon every vestige of liberty, and made it even penal to appeal to it as the source of national felicity. He gave then the shadow of the antient glory of their national religion, and in accepting this boon, projected by himself, for the purpose of securing his own usurpation, they had the opportunity of recurring to the consolations of piety, but they lost for ever the opportunity of enjoying public freedom. This, gentlemen, is a recent case, within the knowledge of every man, and from which you may reap an harvest of instruction. Let it then be impressed upon your minds, that the destruction of the established church led to the murder of the monarch, the peasant, and the artizan—that these engendered anarchy, which, after many convulsive throes, produced an usurpation, which has grown up and matured itself into the most gloomy, odious, and tyrannical monster that ever terrified and scourged the earth.

The next instance to which I request to draw your attention was also sufficiently comprehensive in mischief and ruin; but, for the honour of our national spirit, not accompanied with such horrid pollutions of the human character, as those which I have witnessed, and recorded above: I mean that æra in the history of our own country, when sectarians of every class were admitted into situations of power and trust, during the latter part of the reign of Charles the first, a reign which, to use the expressions of judge Blackstone, "at last went down in blood, and left the whole kingdom in darkness." It is true, the Roman catholics had no share in the scenes of desolation which followed that event; for the opinions and the resentments of the age were particularly levelled against them. But, a number of sects of protestants, of different persuasions, who had all joined to claim liberty of conscience, carried on a most persecuting and proscriptive warfare against each other, from the moment that liberty was conceded to them. In the course of their contentions for power, the national church was the first of our institutions which fell; presently after, the throne was prostrated to the ground; the life-blood of the sovereign was next poured out; and every one of our social establishments, which had cost the work of ages to construct, came tumbling in ruins after. The ranks of the army had been filled by men of different persuasions; these soon began to quarrel with each other, and, amidst the struggles of religious fanaticism and political imposture, a general scene of anarchy prevailed; some of the most magnificent structures, which the piety and munificence of our forefathers had erected, were either sacked or thrown down; the people were rendered universally miserable; and, to this hour, the ravages of the theologico-political incendiaries of that age remain as perpetual monuments of warning to the present generation. Anarchy soon made way for an usurper, even in Britain; and the only circumstance that forms a discrepancy in the contrast between this country and France is, the recurrence of our forefathers to their native good sense. Wearied with the compound tyranny of theological and political sects, they recalled the exiled inheritor of the throne of their murdered sovereign, and returned again into the paths of their ancestors. Thenceforward, the church and the state revived, flourished, and became *inseparably allied*. But, to avert for ever the return of the calamities which had overwhelmed the nation, during the strife of conflicting sects, the corporation and test laws were enacted, as an everlasting palladium for the protection of the national church, and thereby of the monarchy. These laws, which passed in the 13th of Charles the second, and the 25th of the same prince, are justly considered by Blackstone, as

" two bulwarks, erected in order the better to secure the established church *against perils* from non-conformists of all denominations, infidels, turks, jews, heretics, *papists*, and sectaries;" and after enumerating the various acts enacted during the reign of Charles the second, he says, " they will be sufficient to demonstrate this truth, *that the constitution of England had arrived to its full vigour, and the true balance between liberty and prerogative was happily established by law, in the reign of king Charles the second.*"

If, gentlemen, the constitution had arrived at its full growth at that period; lord Grenville has ratified this declaration of judge Blackstone, on more than one occasion in the speeches which he has delivered in the house of lords, permit me to ask, upon what justifiable motives that nobleman could co-operate in the introduction of a measure, which went completely to defeat the objects for which these protective laws of Charles the second were enacted? But I go farther. Since these laws were enacted, they have been explained at various times, and subjected to perennial evasions, by the act of indemnity which is regularly passed every session of parliament; besides which, no disposition whatever has been shewn to revive them in their full literal sense and extent, though the established church has been continually menaced of late years by the frequent attempts of the roman catholic junto of nobles and capitalists, to obtain what they are pleased to term—catholic emancipation. The law of this country protects the established religion of it, at the same time that it establishes the greatest toleration: the test or qualification for admission into the offices of state is intended merely as a security in favour of our ecclesiastical establishment, that no one entrusted with office shall undertake an act derogatory from that security. The reason of the test is obvious: men in office have naturally greater power, if they possess the inclination, to injure that establishment than any other description of persons, on which account the test is administered as the pledge of their good conduct; for, as they cannot violate their oath without subjecting themselves to be accused of perjury, it follows that so long as a penalty is annexed to any breach of their oath, the church can have nothing to apprehend from any *open* attempt which they may feel disposed to make against it. As the object of this test is to ensure the safety of the church, the existence of which I have before shewn to be coeval with and inseparable from the existence of the monarchy; as the necessity of such a test was deemed indispensable at the time it was enacted, and has been ever since considered as the fundamental compact upon which the house of Brunswick sway the sceptre of these realms; it results that any attempt to weaken or to invalidate that law, either in whole or in part, cannot be considered in any other light than as an attempt to remove the pillars of the constitution, both in church and state, and consequently to revive all those evils which distracted our country during the unhappy reign of Charles the first, and which it was the avowed object of this law to avert. This being the state of the case, I maintain that the late ministers of the king acted in a most unconstitutional manner, when they submitted to the legislature a bill of the description already mentioned, especially as they knew that the claims of the catholics had been rejected the year before by an immense majority in both houses of parliament, and that the personal feelings of his majesty were wholly repugnant to the concessions which were required by that body. It is observable also, that no class of protestant non-conformists had made a single application to the legislature or the government in favour of the measure; and therefore it must be considered as the exclusive work of the late ministry, in order to obtain for themselves the countenance and influence of the powerful leaders amongst the catholics of Ireland. It is not pretended that the lower orders of the Irish catholics gave themselves the least concern relative to the success of the measure; indeed, it has since appeared that the higher orders have passed resolutions declaratory of their opinion, that the bill in question was not adequate to their views—a circumstance which of itself demonstrates the necessity of a vigilant observance of the test laws. What was the course which the firmness, constitutional fidelity, and virtues of the sovereign pointed out to him?—That very course, gentlemen, which *he has pursued*. His majesty enjoined his ministers to agitate no longer a question which his conscience prevented him from assenting to; and after various expostulations, and they had discovered that even in his ob-

age he was neither to be duped nor induced to swerve from a matter which he regarded as identified with the permanent rule of his illustrious house over these kingdoms, they consented to withdraw their bill; but this consent was accompanied by such an haughty imperious and indecorous deportment towards their sovereign, in reserving to themselves the privilege of reviving or supporting, at any future time, the obnoxious measure, that in satisfaction of his peace of mind, and with a view that his conscientious feelings should not be exposed to a fresh assault, when age, infirmities, and diminished vigour might render him less equal to the task of controuling such fiery spirits, and when a change of ministers, at any subsequent period, might throw the kingdom into great confusion; his majesty, with that paternal solicitude for his people, which has distinguished his patriotic reign, required of those ministers a pledge that they would not renew their project. This he had a right to exact from his servants, according to the true principles of the constitution; which right acquired additional consistency, from the circumstance of their having signed a resolution declaratory of their intention to revive the subject whenever they thought proper. Upon their refusal to comply with this reasonable request, his majesty displayed his wonted energy of mind, and soon convinced them that they were unworthy to be any longer his confidential servants. As they evinced a determination not to resign their places (which delicacy might have prompted them to do, and which if they had done, would have removed a considerable share of the unpopularity which now attaches to them), it became necessary to dismiss them. Accordingly, his majesty recalled to his councils his former servants, who had ever served him with fidelity, and who will pay the greatest respect to his feelings, without neglecting the duties which they owe to every class of his subjects.

In the violence and exasperation of their resentment, the ex-ministers presumed to arraign the personal conduct of their sovereign in both houses of parliament, though it was evident, even from their own declarations, that no disposition on his part was shewn to dispossess them of their situations, had they complied with the single request that he had made to them, upon a point which *they well knew* would ever be distressing to his mind. Here, however, their turbulent ambition was foiled. They expected to have derived great popularity from forcing their sovereign to drive them from the helm; and, when that failed, from bringing his personal conduct under a public investigation. The latter conduct was sufficient alone to have justified an appeal to the people, even if the late parliament had been assembled for no longer a period than twenty-four hours. But the grand question, which authorized this appeal, resolves itself into this plain proposition, namely, 'Whether the conduct of the sovereign, in resisting an attempt upon his conscience, by the introduction of a bill into parliament which he considered as hostile to the establishments of this country, and to the sacred pledge given to his people when he ascended the throne, be agreeable to the best interests of the nation, or not?'—And, then, as a subordinate consideration, arising out of the former, 'Whether, if it be agreeable to the interests of the nation, the king was not justified in requiring a pledge from his ministers, that those interests should not again be subject to invasion?' These, gentlemen, are the grounds of this appeal from your king to his people, upon which, your loyalty and dispassionate patriotism must decide.

If it were necessary to advert to other circumstances in the conduct of the late ministers, it would not be difficult for me to prefer a lamentable catalogue against them of misdeeds, which would convince you of their utter incapacity to manage public affairs. I might refer you to their scandalous surrender of our navigation-laws, which had been the efficient sources of our maritime power and commercial opulence;—to their oppressive persecution of lord Melville, whom, after the manner of the Egyptians, they killed first, and then scrutinised his conduct;—to their refusal to listen to the complaints of our ship-owners, who offered to lay evidence before them that would have demonstrated the impolicy of the American intercourse bill;—to their unpardonable neglect of our colonies;—to the repeated captures of our commercial shipping, for want of adequate convoys;—to their barbarous treatment of the conquerors of the Cape of Good Hope;—to their persecution of the conqueror of Buenos Ayres, and their tardiness in sending out reinforcements to secure the conquest;—to their infamous, humiliating, and protracted negotiation with

France, in the course of which they acquiesced in the dereliction of the most
able rights of Britons, and to their total indifference to the struggles of Europe f
deliverance, pending that negotiation;—to their protection of Alexander Da
whom, though detected of peculation by wholesale, they retained in office until
were themselves expelled from their situations;—to their pretences of adopt
rigid system of economy, while they were creating a multitude of unnecessary pl
which they lavished upon their own adherents;—to the exertion of their co
and undue influence at the last election, particularly in Hampshire and Nor
and their rejection of a petition from the former county, offering to substantiat
fact by evidence;—to their insulting usage of the volunteer corps, and their rep
attempts to decry and bring into contempt that truly patriotic institution;—to
visionary, impracticable, and inefficient military innovations, by which the p
money was profusely expended, in order to procure recruits to fill up the void i
absurd system;—to their appointment of our foreign ministers, in which a syste
nepotism was pursued, instead of consulting the public good by dispatching m
approved talents to watch over our external relations;—to their imbecility, i
retaliating upon France her general order of blockade;—to their encouragem
the importation of French brandies in neutral bottoms, by which our shipping
rest was depressed, and the West India planters deprived of a vent for their
immense quantities of which were laying in storehouses without the prospect of a
by which their distresses might have been alleviated. These are but a part o
grave and weighty charges which are suspended over the heads of the late ad
stration, and which would have afforded just grounds for their removal from o
But, all these are lost in the magnitude of their last endeavour to remove the ba
of the constitution, and to call in question the exercise of the legitimate prerog
of the sovereign. It is this conduct, and this alone, which provoked the appe
the voice of the people; and it is now become your province to vindicate the pr
ples of the constitution, and to justify the character of our aged monarch in the
of all mankind.

Having thus fully explained the nature of the duty which you have to fulfil,
mit me, in the next place, to advert to the characters of the candidates who ar
liciting your suffrages.

Of Mr. Sheridan, little need be said, as he is already returned for the *immac*
borough of Ilchester, and consequently he can have no claims upon the electo
Westminster; besides, the small number of votes which he has obtained is a suffi
argument of your disapprobation of his conduct. His perseverance in the ce
may serve to entertain the populace at the front of the hustings, on account o
daily display of his wit, but there is nothing to apprehend from the exertions e
of himself or his friends, unless he should form a junction with the adherents
Francis Burdett; an event that nothing but desperation can occasion, and whic
realized, must certainly render him obnoxious to his own party, who publicl
nounced all connexion with the baronet, on account of his inflammatory beha
at the last election.*

With respect of Mr. Paull, he is absolutely placed *hors de combat*. You ap
by the paucity of his votes, to have at length come to a proper understandi
the nature of his claims, and to have recovered from the delusion practised
you during the last election. I am not conscious of any service which he has
dered to the country, unless it be the habit of babbling about rights which he
dently does not comprehend. His conduct towards lord Wellesley, who, by vi
and well-concerted enterprises, preserved our Indian dominions from foreign i
sion; and, by unexampled vigilance and ability, defeated the secret machinatio
the native princes, who had confederated for the purpose of dispossessing us of e
foot of territory which we hold there; places Mr. Paull in a most execrable l
and ought, at the last election, to have provoked your disgust and indignation.

* Some appearance, however, of such a coalition was manifested at the din
Mr. Sheridan's friends on Tuesday last. It is not improbable, therefore, tha
partizans of Burdett will give him a secret support, which, with his usual ma
ment, he will contrive to conceal from the public.

late quarrel, so dexterously brought about by Horne Tooke, between Paull and sir Francis Burdett, has intercepted all his expectations, and replunged him into that obscurity from which he ought never to have emerged.

Mr Elliot, Lord Cochrane, and sir Francis Burdett, are therefore the only remaining candidates, who, from the number of their votes may be said to aspire, with any prospect of success, to become your representatives. I shall not detain you one moment in recommending lord Cochrane to your favour, because he is so fully competent to recommend himself by the ingenuousness and loyalty of his professions, that I can add nothing to them. It may be necessary, however, to remark, that he voted for his sovereign, and for the maintenance of the church and the state, during the late serious attacks upon both. From the present state of the poll, it may be inferred that he will be one of the successful candidates. Your suffrages, therefore, will be divided between Mr. Elliot and sir Francis Burdett: and every lover of his king and country, looks to you, with eager anxiety, for making a proper election between an avowed friend to both, and an ignorant incendiary, whose sole merit consists, in an indiscriminate and pertinacious abuse of all our religious and civil establishments. Is there a single institution in our country which Burdett has not calumniated? Has he not, systematically, reviled the king, the parliament, and the magistracy? Has he not been the intimate of convicted traitors? Has he not afforded scope for the most shameful transgressions of morality, and the most profligate perjuries, during the Middlesex elections, to the great corruption of the principles, and ruin of the poor, whose advocate he pretends to be? If any one doubt these facts, let him read attentively the admirable pamphlet of Mr. Bowles on the Middlesex election, in which that gentleman has unravelled, with his accustomed vigour, eloquence, and force of reasoning, the mysteries of that scene of vice and iniquity. But upon what other grounds does Burdett lay claim to your confidence? Is it on account of his meritorious services, when he was a member of parliament? The fact is, that while he sat in the house of commons, he gave no proof whatever of a capacity above that of the lowest among the rabble of his followers. He was never heard to address that house upon any other topic than the stale prattle which he had practised upon the hustings, concerning the rights of the people, and the liberties of the people. Of their *duties*, he has no conception; and I firmly believe, that he is perfectly indifferent concerning their rights, provided he can enjoy the liberty of making himself notorious. His patrimonial estate has been diminished by this empty folly; and, if the people could anatomize his heart, they would discover that while his lips are perpetually vociferating the word *liberty*, the rankest *despotism* is seated there. It is the nature of these zealots for liberty. They have run into the wildest disorders; and adventurers, like himself, under the pretence of promoting it, have made their way to the most violent and pernicious usurpations. To this are to be ascribed the numerous seditions of antient Greece, the tribunitian disorders at Rome, and the usurpations of Cæsar, Cromwell, and Buonaparte. A false idol has been so often substituted for this fair object of rational devotion, and has led to such fatal extremes, that we are no less concerned to reprobate the idol with horror, than we are to reverence with fond devotion the genuine object of worship. But we cannot appreciate the one, nor reject the other, unless we form a correct notion of both. Abstract reasoning is not the most useful, either in the formation of theories, or in the conduct of life; it is in the common course of things we must look for the rule to direct us in either. It is also in the most common or vulgar errors that we have to dread the greatest danger to the peace and welfare of mankind. Though persons of reflection may think it idle to waste time in correcting such errors, we must attend to the common notions of men, respecting a matter wherein the plurality of voices may often prevail over reason and good sense. Upon this account, I must observe, that liberty is not, as the origin of the name may seem to imply, an exemption from all restraint, but rather the most effectual application of every just restraint to all the members of a free state, whether they be magistrates or subjects. If any one were unrestrained, and might do what he pleased, to the same extent also every one else must be exposed to suffer whatever the freeman of this description should feel inclined to inflict; and the very usurpation of the most outrageous tyrant is no more

than a freedom thus assumed to himself. Under this mistake, the vulgar conc
a zeal for liberty to consist in opposition to government; take part with every
factory subject; and think that whatever impairs the power of the magistr
must enlarge the freedom of the people. It is under the influence of this fall
ous principle, that Burdett has been enabled to acquire that ascendancy over
minds of the rabble, which has qualified him for disturbing the peace of the c
munity wherever he has presented himself to popular notice. But, surely, the
nest and independent electors of Westminster will not permit their city to be
presented by so pernicious a guide. In his fraudulent address to the freehol
of Middlesex, he renounces, with expressions of contempt, every idea of sittin
parliament, until a revolution shall be effected in our frame of government;
yet, you vote for him as if he were a friend to the constitution. In the same
dress he declares that the maintenance of our religious establishment is a bug
by which a system of rapine is covered; and yet you have given to him nearly
thousand votes. With equal presumption, he avows that he can do no good b
fering himself as a candidate for any place; and yet you connive at the frau
the conspiracy framed by the aged hypocrite of Wimbledon, to procure his re
for Westminster in the very face of this declaration. Hitherto, the fraud has
but too successful, to the disgrace of your city. But, if the loyal and the patr
will shake off their lethargic slumber, his apparent triumph will be but sh
lived. It is the interest and the duty of every honest elector to come forwa
the support of Mr. Elliot, in order to rescue the independence of Westminster
falling under the fangs of this tyrannical and unprincipled demagogue. It is a
which you owe to the constitution by which you are protected: and to that virt
sovereign, by whose firmness, through a long and laborious life devoted to
prosperity, you have been preserved from all the horrors attendant on public
fusion and popular violence. Amidst all the vicissitudes of a reign chequere
good and adverse fortune; your constitution has been maintained by him
manly fortitude, and inflexible courage; the most extensive toleration has
conceded to all classes of men, and a greater degree of happiness has been
pensed than ever had been experienced before. It would be a mortifying re
tion, to find that the supineness of the honest and more numerous part of
abandoned the representation of the city to the choice of a banditti of reso
and desperate incendiaries. In this way, other free states have been beaten do
for the apathy and indifference of honest men have emboldened the enterpriz
the factious, and transferred power from the hands of the virtuous, and the i
ligent, to the direction of ambitious rogues, and ignorant vagabonds.

Mr. Elliot has avowed his principles, and so has Burdett; and they are as
mote from each other as light from darkness, as heaven from hell. You ca
therefore hesitate, consistently with your duty to God, to your king, to your c
try, and to your posterity. In Mr. Elliot, you will have an honourable an
spectable representative, zealous for your interests, liberties, and independenc
In the other, you will have an ignorant tyrant, the tool of Horne Tooke, and
slave of his own ignoble passions, who will convert your city into a sink of vice,
ruption, and sedition. Now choose: and, according to your choice, you
either be respected with sentiments of gratitude, by the honest portion of
countrymen, or, your character, as men and citizens will be branded with indel
marks of infamy and disloyalty. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with tr
sincerity, and good wishes, your respectful servant and fellow-citizen,

Thursday night, May 14, 1807. HENRY REDHEAD YORK

GENERAL ELECTIONS.

HAMPSHIRE. It is with unfeigned joy that I have it in my power to congr
late my readers on the triumph of the good cause in this recently-insulted cou
Mr. Chute, who had so long been the honourable and independent representativ
Hants, but whom the cabal of the broad-bottom ministry forced from his seat,
the most unwarrantable exertion of the government influence, has been retur
together with his worthy colleague, sir Henry Mildmay. Mr. Herbert surrend

at discretion the moment he perceived what was the *real* sense of the county, when left to its free-will, respecting his obtrusion upon it at the last election. Knowing that he did not possess a foot of land in Hampshire, that he was now deprived of the benefit of the royal carriages and horses to canvass in his behalf, and that his late return could only be considered as a forcible usurpation over the rights and freedom of election, he wisely decamped, after the first day's poll, carrying away with him the just resentment and detestation of all the independent freeholders. Mr. Thistlethwayte, who is a gentleman of considerable land property in the county, had previously, and with great prudence, as well as deference to public opinion, declined a contest—a propriety of conduct which the county will remember at a future occasion.

SURREY. Not less victorious have the friends of the constitution been in this county. Mr. Sumner, the avowed advocate of the church and state, has beaten lord William Russell from the field, and compelled him to take shelter in the snug family borough of Tavistock. Mr. Thornton also, a zealous friend to the good cause, has been returned with Mr. Sumner; so that the house of Russell has been compelled, upon the great constitutional question, which caused the appeal to the people, to make way for new and popular candidates.

THE CITY OF LONDON has maintained its reputation by returning three loyal members out of its four representatives, namely, sir C. Price, sir W. Curtis, and alderman Shaw; there is no doubt that it would have completed its loyal return, if the premature death of Mr. alderman Hankey had not put an end to any further contest.

BEDFORDSHIRE is warmly contested by *the illustrious house* of Bedford, in behalf of Mr. Pym and general Fitzpatrick, the former of whom, in his address to the freeholders, boasts, at this time of day, of his descent from the old anarch Pym, who was one of the leaders of that crafty and seditious band, whose baleful politics produced those agitations which terminated in civil slaughter, and the murder of his sovereign, Charles the first. These candidates are opposed by Mr. Osborne, who has already represented the county in four successive parliaments, and whose stedfast attachment to the constitution, both in church and state, will doubtless secure his election at this momentous conjuncture, in defiance of the influence and exertions of *the illustrious house*.

MIDDLESEX has now a fine opportunity for rescuing itself from the fangs of the Whig Club. Sir Christopher Baynes has offered himself for the county; and if the freeholders will exert themselves to complete the holy work they so nobly undertook when they chased out the tool of Horne Tooke, and prevented him from giving them any further annoyance, Mr. Byng will be compelled to take up his quarters at Barnet, and to pass the rest of his life in contrition and repentance. But the independent electors should strain every nerve in the support of sir Christopher Baynes, as Mr. Byng has been indefatigable in his canvass, and commenced it at a very early period.

YORKSHIRE. On Wednesday next the election for this populous county will begin. The candidates nominated last Wednesday are, Mr. Wilberforce, who is sufficiently known to the public; Mr. Lascelles, the second son of lord Harewood, than whom there exists not a more determined supporter of the king, the church, and the state, and lord Milton, the only son of earl Fitzwilliam. Mr. Lascelles represented the county in the last parliament but one, and he would certainly have been returned at the last election, if lord Fitzwilliam, who was president of the privy council at the time when the dissolution of the parliament was in contemplation, had not given the earliest notice of it to Mr. Fawkes. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Fawkes succeeded in taking the county by surprize; and his friends, by a secret and active canvass, aided, as is generally reported and believed, by letters written by lord Fitzwilliam, though lord lieutenant of the county, to all the justices of the peace, requesting them to give their votes and interest to that gentleman, enabled him to get the start of Mr. Wilberforce, who was at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and of Mr. Lascelles, who was waiting his return from motives of delicacy. By this dexterous manœuvre, Mr. Fawkes gained so many votes and promises from the *lower order* of freeholders, (especially the clothiers about Leeds, who had burnt Mr. Lascelles in effigy for refusing to oppose a bill before parliament for the repeal

of some old and obsolete laws relative to the limitation of the number of loo apprenticeships for seven years, and certain machines used at present for fini ing cloth,) that not being sufficiently confident of the number of favourable vot and having been deceived by the misrepresentations of Mr. Fawkes's frien being also unwilling to disturb the peace of the county, Mr. Lascelles declined contest, though it is most certain that he would have triumphed eventually. T circumstance, however, of Mr. Lascelles declining produced the most honourab testimonies of his parliamentary conduct, in a multitude of addresses from nea *all* the respectable merchants and inhabitants of the great trading towns of Lee Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, and even Sheffield, notwithstanding its proxim to Wentworth-house, the seat of lord Fitzwilliam, and the supposed influence his lordship over that town. All these places now stand forward in the support Mr. Lascelles and Mr. Wilberforce upon the present contest, and are opposed lord Fitzwilliam and the high aristocracy of the county, as well as by the whig cl who are determined to obtrude upon Yorkshire, lord Milton, a raw, inexperien youth, who, though he sat during the late parliament as member for Malton, *not of legal age before the 4th of the present month.* By reverting to the 6th numb of this volume, page 98, my readers will perceive that I did not suffer this circu stance to pass unnoticed, or without censure. But though this Review is read many members of parliament, and though I stated facts strong enough to prov inquiry, no one ventured to question the legal right of lord Milton to sit in house of commons. This young man, who has passed *the threshold of infancy* wit the last twelve days *only*, is set up as the competitor of such men as Mr. Lascel and Mr. Wilberforce, for the representation of the largest and most populous cou of the empire, and to protect the interests of the greatest branch of commerce wh this kingdom possesses!!!

Lord Milton is to be supported by the votes of all the discontented clothiers a shearmen, who form a numerous body, and, upon the strength of this support, has solemnly pledged himself to stand a poll. Thus, party spirit running so hi a dreadful contest is likely to ensue, as the population of the West-Riding of Yo shire may be now estimated at one million of souls, and the votes of the wh fairly calculated, at 15,000, it being 100 miles in diameter.* How far lord Mil is entitled to a preference to gentlemen of such tried and practical experience Mr. Lascelles or Mr. Wilberforce, and what talents he possesses to qualify him a to represent the commercial county of York may be soon ascertained from the *ma* speech which he delivered in the yard of the cloth-hall, at Leeds, on the 5th inst *the day after he attained to years of maturity.* I here give it as it has been transmit to me, with all its italics and other accompanying circumstances.

" Gentlemen!—Little could we have expected last October that you would h been so soon called upon again to elect your representatives in parliament.

" I lament, gentlemen, the dissolution of the last parliament, not because I am enemy to frequent meetings of the people, for, on the contrary, did not ot weighty reasons preponderate in my mind, I should be much for shortening the ration of parliaments; but, gentlemen, I lament the dissolution of the last par ment, because it was a virtuous parliament—a parliament elected by the free unbiassed voice of the people—a parliament which in its short duration has ga more credit, and passed as many acts beneficial to the country, as any parliam that ever sat in these kingdoms. Not to mention the many occasions on which t have proved their patriotism and disinterestedness; there is one measure whic must recal to your recollection, a measure the benefit of which will penetrate i the extreme corners of the globe: you will perceive, gentlemen, that I allude to ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE; and here I cannot refrain from paying tribute of applause to one of my competitors, who for so many years has been bouring to obtain this most desirable object, and who has, at length, with the operation of the last parliament, achieved it.—*Plaudits.*

But, gentlemen, we must attend not only to the *fact* of the dissolution, we m also look to the *manner* of dissolving parliament, which is unprecedented since

* When the census of the population of the West-Riding was taken in 1801 amounted to 886,090 souls.

revolution, and we shall then have great reason to suspect that *the most corrupt motives* have led to this *profligate* act. At the moment that the usher of the black rod summoned the lower house to the bar of the house of peers; at that very moment, gentlemen, an honourable friend of mine, a member of the committee of finance, was ready to present to the house a report, in which a right hon. gentleman, who had been formerly entrusted with the administration of part of the public money, was not only charged, but, as I understand, convicted of having appropriated the sum of £ 19,000 to his own use. This monstrous truth will strike every body. Nor, gentlemen, will our suspicions be awakened, when we consider *who* has lately been reached to his majesty's councils, *who* is in the *back ground* of the present administration, *who* is lurking behind the curtain.

"*The noble lord to whom I allude is not* indeed at the head of affairs, *not the prow* of the vessel which first presents itself to one's sight, *but the rudder which directs its motions.—Thunders of applause.*

"Gentlemen, I can assure you with great truth that I am not actuated by any animosity to either of the other candidates, I stand upon my own grounds, and upon them will I stand or fall. I offer myself to you as a perfectly independent man; I am bound by no pledge, by no engagements to any man, or set of men upon earth—the party with whom I act, I will abandon as soon as they abandon the interests of their country.—*Loud applause.*

"I must now, gentlemen, clear myself from the imputation cast upon me, and from the scandalous libels which have been so industriously circulated against my character.—I am charged with a wish to overturn the constitution; gentlemen, the accusation is unfounded. I may be of opinion, that benefit would be derived to the country by relaxing some of the laws against dissenters of all descriptions, both protestants and catholics; but, gentlemen, I pledge you my honour, that I am firmly attached to the established church. But such is the malice and the imbecility of my enemies, that they roundly assert, that I maintain in my house a popish priest.—I see, gentlemen, with what indignation and contempt you treat so false and scandalous a libel.—*Reiterated plaudits.*

"The next accusation, is, I acknowledge, true; it is an accusation which I cannot meet; it is a crime which I cannot palliate. *I am accused*, gentlemen, *as the great earl of Chatham was* accused before, *of being a young man:* there is, however, in this the advantage of not being confirmed in error, or grown old in prejudice. It is said, I am too young to attend to business; but I appeal to my friends whether I have not been early accustomed to habits of industry, and whether my application to business is not steady—*(Here his lordship turned round to some of his intimate friends, who replied, yes! yes!)*—besides, gentlemen, *it must surely be proper that the representative for the county of York should serve a regular apprenticeship*—*(Plaudits.)*

"Should I be returned as your deputy to Parliament, you will find in me the true characteristics of a member of the house of commons; you will find me the enemy of peculation and plunder, a zealous and active inquirer into abuses, and a trusty guardian of the public purse.—*you will find that, were it in my power, I would root out the very seeds of corruption.—(Plaudits.)*

I shall, above all, gentlemen, pay the greatest attention to your *trade; I will endeavour to make myself master of it in all its branches.*—I will observe the strictest justice, and most perfect impartiality between the merchant and the manufacturer. I am deeply interested in the prosperity of your trade, because upon it depends the prosperity of the British empire. *You, gentlemen, are the most industrious, the most useful* of his majesty's subjects.—*(Loud and continued plaudits.)*

And here, gentlemen, I must take notice of a reproach cast upon my friend, your favourite, Mr. Fawkes; he is insultingly termed the "*orator of the cloth-hall.*" I suppose, after having thus delivered my sentiments to you, I shall be stigmatized with the same appellation—*I glory in it,* I boast that I have had permission *(a permission not granted to every one who has asked for it)* to address a great body of manufacturers of the West Riding of Yorkshire, to address in the centre of their market, those to whose industry half the world is indebted for raiment.

One word more, gentlemen, and to conclude—I have to state, for your information, that I have received such assurances of support from a very great majority of

fore, this ebullition of vanity had better have been dispensed with; for he might, with equal justice, have compared himself with Demosthenes or Cicero.

"*Besides, it must surely be proper that the representative for the county of York should serve a regular apprenticeship.*" *Rem.* According to this mode of reasoning, the house of commons would be converted into a public school for the instruction of boys, and the work of legislation be periodically suspended for seven years, while our juvenile legislators were qualifying to make themselves acquainted with the laws, the commercial, manufacturing, and maritime interests of their country. It would, in my opinion, be a wise and politic law, if every one were excluded from sitting in *the house of commons* before he had attained thirty years of age; for we should, in that case, not be annoyed with so many long speeches, and there would be a greater degree of temperance, sober judgment, and intelligence carried into the national councils. But the idea of a boy of twenty-one being returned to parliament as the representative of more than a million of people, for the express purpose of serving a regular apprenticeship in it, when a thousand important considerations relative to the commercial and manufacturing interests of his constituents are likely to be agitated and discussed, is so insulting to the feelings, reputation, and dignity of an opulent, and extensive trading county, to whose industry, to use his lordship's words, half the world is indebted for raiment, that I wonder at the assurance of his friends in advising him to stand as a candidate for Yorkshire, when an hundred gentlemen of great property, talents, and knowledge, are to be found in that county duly qualified to represent it. He ought to be contented with the quiescent borough of Malton, and to remember the fate of presumptuous Phaeton.

"*I will endeavour to make myself master of your trade in all its branches.*" *Rem.* A plain and honest confession of his present incapacity to discharge the trust he solicits.

"*I glory in being termed "the orator of the cloth-hall."*" *Rem.* That glory will be conferred willingly by the whole nation, and it will remain most likely as long as his lordship lives.

It is impossible to be serious when we compare this Tyro, this apprentice in politics, with those steady old workmen, and expert manufacturers of laws, Messrs. Lascelles and Wilberforce. Surely the sterling good sense, and keen penetration of the renowned Yorkshiremen, so justly celebrated for their calculating minds, will not bend their necks to this aristocratic yoke, and suffer so great an indignity to be put upon them as to have an inexperienced boy for their representative after he has publicly avowed that he is totally ignorant of every thing that concerns their immediate interests. Lord Milton may be blessed with every good quality, besides possessing all the elements for the formation of a great and useful statesman (and I must avow that I know nothing to the contrary); but his youth and inexperience are insuperable bars to his election as a representative for Yorkshire. Should he, however, prove victorious over his veteran competitors, I declare it as my solemn opinion, that it will be the most mortal stab that ever was inflicted on the principles of a free and unbiassed election, and a burlesque on the representative system itself.

The Rockingham, or rather the Foxite, interest is now endeavouring to subdue the county of York: that interest had been kept under for twenty-three years, during the whole of Mr. Pitt's administration; and if this hydra be once suffered to rear its head, and to obtain a victory, there will be an end of the independence of the county. This party now avails itself of the merits of the late sir George Saville, who, if he had not been connected with the marquis of Rockingham, would, indeed, have been a real patriot, and a great man. But, to the spirit of party, he was obliged to sacrifice his virtues, his talents, and his independence.

Mr. Lascelles, during the *ten* years which he served in parliament, ever studied and supported the true interests of the county, as well as those of the clothiers in particular, whose *real* interests he pursued; for if the absurd and obsolete laws, passed in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, for the regulation of the cloth trade were to continue under such restraints and with such shackles, this great branch of commerce, the greatest the kingdom possesses, would necessarily be transferred to foreigners, and even to our enemies, to whom we should be obliged to sell our wool, while we ourselves should be constrained to return once more to the shepherd state. For, in consequence of the high price of wages, if we could not avail our-

selves of machinery to facilitate labour, we could no longer produce our manufactures so as to contend with others in the foreign as well as the American markets.

HORSHAM ELECTION, AND THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Sir,—Happening to have occasion to change horses at Horsham, in my way to town, on the day of the election, my curiosity led me into the court-house. From the conduct of a learned barrister whom I saw there, and who I understood attended on behalf of the candidates supported by the duke of Norfolk, I could not help imagining that his grace had established a new school at Horsham, on the system of that of Pythagoras, of which this learned gentleman was head professor; for he strictly enjoined all his disciples to observe a most profound and religious silence. Mum was the order of the day! Several of them, who produced deeds of lands and tenements, in right of which they tendered their votes, I should have imagined to have been common day labourers; for their appearance, so far from distinguishing them as men of landed property, rather denoted them as men who had never been masters of more money at a time than the sum they might have received on a Saturday night for the wages of the week. On putting in their deeds, they were interrogated by another barrister, as to the amount of the consideration they had paid, the length of time the conveyances had been in their possession, and a variety of other circumstances. Most of them were well-tutored scholars, and in spite of the interrogatories put to them by this learned gentleman, remained inflexibly mute: but two or three of them, forgetting the precepts of their master, were either surprised or provoked into answers, and did blurt out some very unlucky truths. These, I suppose, were young disciples who had not been long under tuition; and, I dare say, will be more perfect in their lessons before the next election.

While I was pondering on the utility of establishing a school of Grecian philosophy among Sussex ploughmen, a new subject of reflection presented itself to my mind; for, after the unfortunate discoveries to which I have alluded had been so inadvertently made, the learned professor declared that all the rest of his voters were both deaf and dumb; and that, therefore, it would be entirely useless, on the part of the opposite counsel, to ask them any questions whatever. Really, Sir, I was struck with horror, at hearing that so many of the worthy burgesses of Horsham were afflicted with this dreadful malady: but my distress was soon relieved, by observing that their infirmities ceased, in a most miraculous manner, as soon as they had given their votes; and that they then chatted with their neighbours as glibly as if nothing had ever ailed them. That the exercise of the faculties may be suspended on some great occasions, I have before heard; that the giving a vote at an election was one of those occasions, I should not have believed; but can now vouch for the fact, from ocular demonstration.

I understood that none of the candidates had addressed the electors on the opening of the poll; who felt much disappointed at not having been favoured with a specimen of the eloquence of sir Samuel Romilly. Perhaps he had been apprised that most of the worthy and independent burgesses, by whom he would be supported, were deaf and dumb, and therefore thought that to waste his eloquence upon them, would be "Love's Labour lost": or, having been fully informed of their merits and qualifications, he might feel it too hard a task, even for his acknowledged talents and ingenuity, to compliment them in language at once gratifying and appropriate.

Going down stairs I saw the duke of Norfolk, the lord paramount of the borough. As no peer can constitutionally interfere on these occasions, I thought it would have been more decorous in this noble duke to have staid away, than to have come there the evening preceding the election, and to have remained there during the whole day it was going on: for some respect is due to appearances.

As I went on the next stage, I felt a little indignant at what I had witnessed; and settled it in my own mind, that, had I been one of the candidates in the opposite interest, I would have made a speech for the sake of attacking the duke of Norfolk; and, after the usual exordium, would have introduced his grace thus:—

" A certain noble peer, the lord paramount of this borough, is supposed to have many friends in it; he seems, too, to pay particular attention to these friends, on the eve of a general election. I am persuaded that the real friends of that noble peer, who have a due regard for his honour and character, will feel the necessity, on an occasion like the present, of wiping off those blots which stain his grace's escutcheon. They will recollect, that the first duke of Norfolk acquired his title by being the great champion of that cruel usurper and tyrant, Richard the Third: that another duke of Norfolk placed bloody Mary on the throne; and, in so doing, may figuratively be said to have lighted the fires which consumed the protestant martyrs in Smithfield. They will recollect, that the present duke was once deprived of the lord lieutenancy of his county, and the regiment which he commanded, for having, as chairman of the whig club, given that revolutionary toast, 'the sovereignty of the people;' which insult his lawful sovereign afterwards pardoned, and restored him to his forfeited honours. They will recollect, that so far was this clemency from producing the proper effect, that his grace, very lately, again gave the same toast, in the same assembly. Here let me observe, that lord Grenville was a member of that cabinet which advised his majesty so to punish his first offence. The same lord Grenville, I should not have said the same, for alas! how fallen, how changed!—but, lord Grenville was a member of the cabinet when the last offence was committed. Had he been the same lord Grenville, the same punishment would have been advised, but this insult was passed over unnoticed. What notice his majesty's present ministers may advise him to take of it, I shall not pretend to conjecture. Perhaps they may be governed by the line of conduct which his grace and his friends may now pursue. Those friends should recollect, too, that his grace was born and bred a papist, but renounced the errors of the Romish church, and now professes himself a protestant: if, therefore, they think his conversion sincere, they will support the cause of that religion which he has embraced: if they consider his conversion as insincere; that he made religion a stepping-stone to his ambition, and conformed merely to remove those disabilities, which, as a catholic, obstructed his way to power and preferment; if they believe him in their hearts to be an hypocritical apostate; then they will vote for those who support the cause of that religion which he has abjured. But I trust you will consider, not only what you owe to him, but what you owe to yourselves: that, called upon, as you now are, to decide between our happy constitution in church and state, as by law established, and those innovations which threaten to subvert them both, you will rally round the altar and the throne; will prove yourselves good protestants and loyal subjects."

I flatter myself that this post chaise philippic of mine, on the noble duke, is not without point; and that my introduction of lord Grenville, is no unhappy imitation of the mode adopted by the late Mr. Pitt, of giving his opponents a wipe, by way of parenthesis. As the noble duke is not likely to be an inactive spectator of other elections, which are about to take place; and, as every candidate is not in the habit of making speeches for himself, or may not have leisure so to do during the hurry and bustle of a canvass, it may be an accommodation to some of them to find a speech ready made. I, therefore, give this pro bono publico; and if my style of haranguing should be approved of, I hereby offer my services to any gentlemen who may wish to have *all the talents* pourtrayed, either in a groupe or as single figures, with the pencil of truth. I can give either a rapid sketch, or a finished picture of the whole of their measures, from their first entrance into office till that memorable period, when, emulating the tyrant who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might cut it off at one blow, they struck at the whole of our civil and religious liberties, and attempted at once to subvert our happy constitution, both in church and state, as by law established. This attempt, however, was frustrated by the wisdom and firmness of his majesty; and infinite reason have we to congratulate both ourselves and him on his having thrown off the yoke of an imperious aristocracy, who aspired to dictate to their king, and set the voice of the people at defiance.

May 14, 1807. VIATOR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Saturday, May 9, 1807.

Downing-Street, May 9.

Dispatch, of which the inclosed is a Copy, has been received this day at the office of *count Castlereagh, from Major-General Frazer, dated Alexandria, 25th March,* *addressed to the Right Hon. W. Wyndham:—*

Alexandria, March 25, 1807.—Sir,—It is with much satisfaction I have the h to inform you, that, in the afternoon of the 20th current, the town and fortr Alexandria, with two Turkish frigates and a corvette, surrendered to his maj arms, by capitulation; and that they were taken possession of on the memo morning of the 21st, by the troops under my command. You are already app of my having been detached on this service, with a body of troops from Messi his excellency general Fox, under convoy of his majesty's ships Tigre and Ap and the Wizard sloop was sent forward by captain Hallowell, to get intelligence major Misset, whom I had been, by my instructions, directed to consult, as t best plan of operations for effecting the purposes of the expedition. I have n acquaint you, that, in the night of the 7th inst. (the day after we sailed) the A frigate, with 19 transports out of 33 which conveyed the troops, parted com and that the other 14, with the Tigre, came to an anchor to the westward of andria, on the 16th. On our getting near the land we saw the Wizard; and tain Palmer immediately brought me the intelligence he had received from Misset, together with a letter from him, stating that he had not come off hi thinking his presence in Alexandria absolutely necessary to counteract the int of the French consul, who was endeavouring to prevail upon the governor to a body of Albanians from Rosetta, to assist in the defence of the place. He estly recommended me to land the troops immediately, as the inhabitants were affected towards us, and that he had sanguine hopes we should be able to get session of it without firing a shot.

Before I determined, however, upon this measure, I deemed it prudent to acq major Misset, with the very diminished state of my force, and I therefore sent aid-de-camp, capt. A'Court, of the 31st regiment, with a flag of truce to him, a detailed account of it, and at the same time a manifesto to the governor and bitants (a copy of which I enclose) which had not the desired effect, but, on the trary, was treated by the governor with contempt. The major, however, in strongly urged my immediate landing; still repeating that we should not meet any resistance, and that my doing so would be the only means of preventin garrison being reinforced by the Albanians, who had actually been sent fo might be expected in the course of twenty-four hours. These considerations l to follow his advice, and accordingly I landed that evening (the 17th) as troops as our small number of boats could convey, a few miles to the eastw Marabout, without opposition, though I could only take up a position for the as, before the next landing could be effected, such a surf had arisen on the bea totally to prevent the second division from approaching the shore. The next ing, however, with infinite difficulty and risk they were landed; but finding my ation now, from the increased height of the surf and appearance of the weather, very precarious, both with respect to getting provisions or stores on shore, or h any communication with the transports, I determined at all hazards to force m to the western side, where I could receive supplies from Aboukir Bay, at the time resolving to attempt (in passing) to get into the town even with the small I had, and push my way, if possible, into the forts that commanded it, a ma had reason to believe from major Misset and others would, not be very diffic accomplish.

(To be continued.)

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and publish H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°21. Saturday, May 23, 1807. Price 10*d*.

GENERAL ELECTION.

WESTMINSTER.—Since the publication of my last number, two of the candidates, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Paull, have withdrawn from the contest, and sir Francis Burdett is at the head of the poll. We have no reason to complain of this preference from *such* a body of electors. If they had thought proper to have fixed their choice upon the devil, I know of no existing law by which that worthy gentleman could have been excluded from enjoying a seat in parliament, as the distinguished representative of the city of Westminster. The electors of Westminster, in choosing sir Francis Burdett against his own consent, and in defiance of his manifesto to the county of Middlesex, have shewn themselves worthy to be represented by *such a man*. However some persons may feel inclined to censure this choice, there is no one who can pretend to impeach the right of the electors to choose whomsoever they please; and notwithstanding all the observations contained in my address to the electors last week, I must now declare, that I shall not tremble at sir Francis Burdett's return for Westminster. It is in the power of any man to do greater mischief out of parliament than in it; especially a man of the endowments and principles of sir Francis Burdett. The country will now have a full opportunity of seeing the baronet's talents and virtues brought to the test, and of acknowledging its obligations to the electors of Westmister for the *good sense*, *loyalty*, *patriotism*, and *discretion*, which they have displayed at this election. For my own part, I think that Burdett will be entirely lost in parliament. His talents being of the meanest order, the best method of bringing him into contempt is, to introduce him into St. Stephen's Chapel. We shall have an occasional howl or two about the Rights of Man, Liberty, and Corruption, but not a word beyond them: nature has interposed a barrier which the baronet's popularity cannot overleap. In vain will his exulting constituents look for emanations of legislative wisdom from his mind. The representative will prove himself to be, in every respect, worthy of his constituents, and as long as the patience of the house of commons will endure to listen to the ravings of folly, and the declamations of a confirmed tyrant in the disguise of a friend to liberty, sir Francis Burdett may hope to continue the subject of conversation. But there is a term even to the wanderings of the imagination; and, notwithstanding that he will have Horne Tooke for his prompter, I will venture to predict, he will dwindle into a political dwarf, as was the case with that person when he had the honour of sitting in parliament as the representative of the pure and populous borough of Old Sarum. Sir Francis has been in parliament before; and while there, we never heard a syllable escape his lips upon any other subject than the old hacknied phraseology of Pensioners, Placemen, Corruption, Liberty, and Prisons. Several years have passed over his head since that period; the public will therefore see what improvement he has derived from experience, and the instruction of the old man of Wimbledon. It will appear that he has been placed on a conspicuous eminence, only to accelerate his fall; for, I am confident, that he is perfectly incompetent to deliver a sober judgment in the senate, upon any topic involving the interest of our navigation. commerce, manufactures, or laws. But, though we have nothing to apprehend from sir Francis Burdett *in* parliament, we have much cause to deplore the triumph of his party *out* of it. I fear that his election will serve to rally around him all the turbulent and inflammatory spirits who still infest this metropolis. They will now have an accredited leader, and their malignant pretensions will be revived. Considered in this light, the victory of sir Francis Burdett inflicts a severe blow upon the constitution. It is a sickening thought, that four thousand voters in Westminster should have polled for a man, who, in the most arduous conjuncture of our affairs, assures us

that corruption is the only mean whereby the country can be saved; and, that til this corruption shall have exhausted itself, no one can do any good in parliam It is painful to reflect, that the electors should have chosen a person, who broa in his general address to the freeholders of Middlesex, a flagrant libel upon all legitimate authorities of the state; and who has been heard to declare, that country is not worth saving. However, as mischief is more easily generated i ties and populous towns, than in the country, it behoves all the loyal par the community to strengthen the cause of the constitution by their vigilance, zeal, patriotism. If I be not egregiously mistaken, the 7,000 electors who have no polled, will have reason to repent of their neutrality and indifference. Men are heedless of the exercise of their rights, must not expect to be long perm to enjoy those rights. The principles avowed by sir Francis menace the extin of liberty; they lead to despotism and misrule. It was in the power of the ci Westminster to have given a noble example to the rest of the kingdom, by retu such members only as were known for their attachment to the church and the s and the country had a right to expect this, upon a great question that deeply rested the security of both. But, throughout the whole election, this point s to have been lost sight of by the electors, and any appeal to their understan has been prevented by the deafening clamour of the rabble. I will not pretc conceal the mortification which I feel, upon public grounds, at sir Francis Bur success; nor can I refrain from pitying the humiliated condition of Mr. Sheri who has been reduced to the necessity of complimenting the baronet, at the exp of his own consistency and that of his party. To hear Mr. Sheridan assert the Hustings, that if Mr. Fox were alive, he would vote for Burdett, is truly nishing, after the severe correction which the baronet received five months ago Mr. Whitbread, in the name of the Whigs. I am of opinion, notwithstanding, Mr. Sheridan was strictly correct. Mr. Fox would have voted for Burdett, opinions being quite congenial, and their politics the same. There was a g greater affinity in political sentiments between Mr. Fox and sir Francis, than is between the latter and Mr. Sheridan. But, perhaps, Mr. Sheridan may not sufficiently weighed the nature of his recent connection with the baronet, and, a drowning man, catches at every straw.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNITED EMPIRE.

LETTER II.

In my last letter I placed before your view the relative characters of Mr. Pitt Mr. Fox, as the leaders of two parties, which, from the turbulence of the ti were sunk into the more general appellation of the friends of the British Cons tion, and the advocates of the French Revolution. It was necessary to revie general principles by which their public conduct was guided, before we entered on the more immediate object of our inquiry. The inference which every re able man must draw from a sober review of the politics of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fo that the former evinced, on all occasions, an inflexible adherence to the establi government, and a steady pursuit of the best interests of the state. As, upon a cussion of this nature, I must be allowed to possess advantages, derived fro experience which few have had an equal opportunity of possessing, I flatter m that the reflections which are here submitted to your judgment, will be found t not undeserving of your serious attention.

The voice of faction has repeatedly charged Mr. Pitt with having been the au of an unjust aggression upon the French republic; with having wasted the pe money in subsidizing foreign powers to take up arms against France; the resu which has been the extinction of several of those powers, and the consequent grandizement of France;—and, lastly, he was accused of having abridged the li ties of the people, and of having made most violent inroads into the princip the British constitution. If these charges could be substantiated, they would tainly go to the length of creating a very commendable degree of jealousy rel to the politics of the present ministers, all of whom were the co-adjutors or portion of that great statesman's administration. In justice, therefore, to the

racter of the persons to whom his majesty has now entrusted the management of our affairs, and for the sake of the public, I now deliver my opinions upon the abstract question of those politics which I formerly supported, and which I will now prove to be false. These are my sentiments: they were printed many years ago, but never published, and I think it my duty to lay before my readers the opinions which I then entertained, in order to shew the principles by which I have been actuated; and though I have been accused of being a pensioner and a placeman, I trust the public will see that I have in no respect deviated from my duty as a friend to the people; and that when I changed my opinions, I changed them from principle. *

To those who have been attentive spectators of the violent revolutions which have broken the confederacy of Europe, and defaced its public code, it may appear strange, that no attempt has ever been made, in this age and country of liberal inquiry, to delineate, by the most antient and approved mode of communicating knowledge, the relative power, and domestic polity of those nations in whose security and independence the interests of Great Britain are necessarily interwoven.—We have been reproached, perhaps justly, with entertaining too contemptuous an opinion of the jurisprudence and political arrangements of other countries. Renowned for justice, humanity and valour, and animated by a sense of those advantages, which, when wisely administered, our own free government cannot fail to dispense, we are willing to ascribe to a superior destiny what has originated only in political wisdom, operating on a happy combination of circumstances. But, though an honest prepossession in favour of our own national institutions, is at all times commendable, yet, we should not be unmindful that under forms of polity, materially different from our own, the several communities of Europe have enjoyed a degree of relative happiness, proportioned to their education, their habits, and their moral condition. Nor is it a just inference, that because, under the harmonious frame of the British constitution, the subject is sheltered from the aggressions of power, and the perversion of justice, the people who live under governments less popular and prudently balanced, must, therefore be the wretched victims of capricious despotism, or the sport of insolent and licentious democracies. The common object of every European government, and indeed of all government, is the Public Good; but the comprehensive views which are exerted in its attainment, and the *mode* in which it is to be exercised when attained, depend on a variety of circumstances, totally distinct from any notions of metaphysical perfection. Religion, climate, and geographical position, must influence, in a greater or lesser degree, all positive institutions, and, consequently, must present the picture of society under very peculiar and distinct aspects. The Public Good, therefore, may be promoted by various means, and these varieties in legislation may be considered as so many specific differences of which it is the genus, all moving in the same direction, and constituting the aggregate or abstract idea of good government.

But, without recurring to any logical analogies in order to demonstrate a positive fact, we may conclude, that from this unavoidable dissimilarity in the circumstances of mankind, we are to account for all the different modifications of political government; and that to wish the extension of the influence of any constitution, or to apply the laws of any people however admirable, to states in a less advanced stage of civilization, and supported by the habitual prejudices of fear or religious constraint; would not only be highly impolitic, but by unsettling their opinions, would expose their happiness to the sport of chance, and perhaps retard those advances, which they might otherwise make, if left to the tranquil operations of time, experience, and social instruction.

From these principles, which are capable of a more detailed illustration, it cannot be denied, that it is time to discard a prejudice which is national without being charitable, and injurious to other countries without being profitable to our own. Far be the supposition, that such reasoning will weaken the partiality we bear, and the preference we justly give to our own, over the polity of every other

* View of a Course of Lectures.

nation of the habitable globe. No! the love of our country is a lesson of reason, confirmed by habit, and sanctioned by the enjoyment of privileges through a long succession of ages. It is, therefore, with a mixture of pride and grateful exultation, that every subject may exclaim, in the impressive language of the mildest of kings, and best of men, "I glory in the name of Briton." No unfavourable imputation, therefore, should be cast on those, who desire the removal of an unfriendly prejudice, the extinction of which, can in no degree affect those patriotic emotions, to which we are all impelled by so many motives of education, interest, and obligation. In the course of my writings, I shall often have occasion to bear ample testimony to the lustre of our constitution, and to display in a conspicuous light, its comparative superiority over the brightest models of ancient polity. But in reviewing the political systems of other countries, let us never be forgetful, that they also have their peculiar advantages, which, though we may disregard them, are essentially connected with their existence and felicity; let us remember, that we are indebted to some of them for many happy discoveries in science, and for many useful improvements in the discipline of war, and the milder arts of peace. To their public lawyers and historians, to their able statesmen and civilians, to their theologians and philosophers, we are obliged for the investigation of matters most important to the interests of mankind. It was in Germany, that the power of reason effectually broke the fetters in which the sordid and jealous ambition of superstitious knaves, had rivetted for centuries, the human intellect.

It was in Germany, amidst the contentions and struggles incidental to so great a revolution, that the generous doctrines of public freedom flowed from the pen of Althusius; and that toleration, supported by prowess, wrenched from the hand of bigotry, the ensanguined dagger of persecution. Lastly, it was in the woods of Germany, that the most recondite antiquaries of Britain have penetrated, in order to explore the origin of that beautiful system of government, which their posterity now enjoy.*

But, it may be objected, if public good be the object of all government, how are we to reconcile to it those undisguised violations of justice, and those wanton acts of cruelty which are often perpetrated on the continent of Europe?—To this I answer, that the mal-administration of governors is no more evidence against the general rule, than the abuse of a principle can be inferred as an argument against the principle itself. Public good is the *cause*, though not always the *effect* of government; and when it becomes avowedly and systematically abused, the delinquents have commonly experienced, in the vengeance of an exasperated people, the punishment due to their crimes. Such a mode of obtaining redress or averting further mischief is for ever to be deplored, and rarely occurs in a state whose fundamental laws have guarded the subject against such heinous exertions of power. It is the possession or want of such security which marks the difference between free government and despotism; and although every state under our present consideration, enjoys some kind of provision against injustice, whether arising from the influence of religion, an intermediate body of men, or laws become sacred by their antiquity, yet, in proportion to the strength of this security, the people must undoubtedly be denominated, more or less free. It may, however, be assumed as a political aphorism, that wherever a government has existed for ages, and men have enjoyed tranquillity under it, it is a proof that its principles are not essentially at variance with each other. The exercise of power may be strengthened or relaxed according to the moral condition of the people; and what might in Britain be termed an act of tyranny, may be requisite in Russia, to preserve unbroken the common links of society. We, therefore, who live in a land of the highest liberty to which we are fitted, are not warranted in pronouncing an indiscriminate censure on every exertion of power that we cannot easily reconcile to our own habits and

* Si l'on veut lire l'admirable ouvrage de Tacite, sur les mœurs des Germains on verra que c'est d'eux que les Anglois ont tiré l'idée de leur gouvernement politique. Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois. — Montesquieu.

institutions. The beast of prey and the docile animal are differently treated; the one, we are compelled to close within iron bars, the other, we permit to range at liberty. In the same manner, the citizen who is habituated by education and example to a sense of justice, we can commit to the guidance of his own discretion; but the fierce and unruly barbarian must have all his motions watched, lest he spread around him the evils which spring from violent and uncontrouled passions. In short, we are not discussing which is the best abstract form of government, but that which is best adapted, in its practical application, to the people governed. In this sense, the reply of Solon must be considered as the expression of political wisdom.

If I have succeeded in removing a prejudice, which has been the cause of our voluntary ignorance of the institutions of other states; it follows, that some inquiry into their constitutions and laws, will be productive, at this time, of numberless advantages. For, this age is pregnant with events of such extraordinary magnitude and interest, that without some previous knowledge of this kind, we shall be neither fortified nor prepared against the consequences which are likely to arise from them.

Since the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, every century has been fertile in great and unexampled changes. To that event is ascribed the revival of letters among the Western nations. The next century beheld the rapid change in the religion, and the political system of a considerable part of Europe. The new dogmas of the reformers, supported on one side, and opposed on the other, with all the zeal which the interests of religion, well or ill understood, are apt to inspire, impelled alike their partizans and adversaries to extend their intellectual pursuits. Quickened by this great motive, emulation enlarged the sphere of human knowledge; and its light, long concealed beneath the clouds of error and confusion, blazed forth even on subjects which seemed most foreign from those disputes. In the seventeenth century, a new system of philosophy was founded, which, though persecuted at first with great acrimony, was afterwards embraced with superstitious avidity, and at length reduced to those principles only which were just and true. Lastly, the eighteenth century has witnessed revolutions in government, laws, manners, religion and states, of which there is no example in the annals of the human race.

Every age which thinks in a different mode from the age that went before it, invests itself immediately with the title of philosophical; much in the same manner as antiquity dignified with the name of sages, those who had no other pretension to it than the merit of contradicting their cotemporaries. In modern times, we attach the character of philosophers to many, who are merely distinguished for their talent of furbishing up old systems in a more polished phraseology; or who, for the empty gratification of a transient popularity, have caught the public by surprise, and diverted them from the beaten track of sober experience, and cautious induction. Indeed, the habit of generalisation, though generally productive of scientific research, yet, when applied to the purposes of political inquiry, if extended too far, is as liable to pervert the understanding, as the habit of generalizing from one or a few particulars in the history of man. These systems have been received with such extacy, and are circulated with such pertinacious zeal, that it is much to be feared, society will not easily recover from the shock which it has experienced. Helvetius himself, the most acute and original genius of this sect, is now become an antient, compared with some of his disciples. As these builders of aerial castles are fond of propagating their doctrines, perhaps without foreseeing their practical influence on society, it has been questioned by cautious and well meaning persons, whether the advantages which genuine philosophy expected to derive from the discovery of the art of printing, may not be ultimately defeated by the chartered libertinism of the press? Doubtless, if we compare without prejudice, the present state of human knowledge, with that which has passed away, we shall perceive a considerable progress in various branches of moral and natural philosophy. But the generations which are yet to follow, will discover in many points which may seem too minute and familiar for philosophy to dwell upon, the sources of many errors

of the understanding, and of many corruptions of the heart. We nevertheless allege that we have discussed and analyzed all subjects from prophane mythology to the foundations of revealed religion, from metaphysics to matters of taste, from music to morality, from the scholastic disputes of theologians to objects of commerce, from the rights of princes to the rights of subjects, from questions of the utmost importance to questions of no importance at all. On some of these subjects new light has been shed, upon others fresh obscurities have arisen: the consequences of this general ebullition of the mind, have been compared to the ebbing and flowing of the ocean, which cast some goods on the shore, and remove others to a greater distance.*

What may be the ultimate effects of all these events on the beings who are to fill the cycle of the nineteenth century, is a matter of momentous, but doubtful speculation. If, however, we meditate on what is now acting on the theatre of Europe; if we examine critically the literary productions and general topics of conversation; if we survey the manners, and remark the extent of the conceptions and hopes of the men of this age; we shall observe, that in many of the most important concerns of life, a very surprising change has taken place in the ideas of mankind. But there is not a feature more prominently disgusting in the history of modern Europe, than that mockery of all public law, which by one stroke of the pen, transfers whole nations, without their consent, to foreign masters; partitions the fairest portion of civilized society among a few ambitious dynasties, dissolves the reciprocal bond of protection and allegiance, by which a government and people are held together, scatters widely the seeds of contention and unceasing revolt, and establishes the plea of military government, which being rendered permanent, genius droops and withers, the best forms of social order moulder to decay, and peace, justice, and freedom, are banished from the face of the earth.

This consideration is of itself sufficiently powerful to justify our inquiries. To develope the causes, to ascertain the object of this revolution, the benefits or calamities of which our posterity will appreciate better than ourselves, is a task worthy of human nature. Nor can it fail to be an highly amusing as well as instructive lesson, to review from an eminence the lot of these nations before they are extinguished from the page of independence; and to contemplate those laws, governments, and manners, which once raised them to a proud equality in the scale of European communities, and which have since proved too feeble to resist the inroads of corruption, the shocks of adversity, and the violence of usurpation.

Having thus briefly unfolded the nature of the objects on which I have presumed to fix the public attention, it remains that I explain the manner in which I shall proceed, and the extent to which I shall carry the following investigation; premising, however, that they are not intended, exclusively, for my fellow students, but are designed for men of the world, and for general reception. They are composed for the use of every person who has leisure and inclination to devote his mind to such pursuits; and for this reason, I shall give to my narrative all the clearness, and to my demonstrations, all the precision which the subjects will admit.

Before I enter into a minute and circumstantial examination of the relative power, fundamental laws, and domestic policy of the principal states of Europe, I shall present to my readers, a general outline of the progress of society and government, from the earliest ages to the period which falls more immediately under our consideration. In this mode only, can government and manners be studied to advantage. Such a recapitulation will often be found to explain the causes of many existing institutions. In illustrating the progress of jurisprudence, we shall have frequent occasions of admiring and observing how legislation refined, and kept pace with the improvement of the intellectual powers and the moral advancement of nations. To delineate in this manner the spirit of nations, we must recur to authentic documents, credible and impartial historians; and to determine their relative hap-

* Essai sur les Principes des Connoissance Humaines par M. D'Alembert, Tom. 4.

piaess, we must compare the accounts of their moral state, delivered by different writers, living in different ages, yet representing mankind under similar situations. Thus Homer and Ossian may be adduced to illustrate the primitive histories of the Bible, and Charlevoix and Lafitau to corroborate the descriptions of Homer and Ossian. In this light, the beautiful art of poetry, which falls principally within the province of imagination, may be rendered subservient to the investigations of reason. By the aid of this comparative history, we may collate materials from Hindu laws to elucidate the institutions which the human mind has invented in similar stages of society. The success of our discoveries on this head, must depend on the care with which we select and arrange our materials. Modern compilations afford but little assistance, and the voluminous chronicles of nations, record frequently nothing but insipid genealogies and unprofitable fables.

Unfortunately, this exposition of the order of social life and civil policy, cannot be circumstantially extracted from the general relations of history. Inquiries of this sort are seldom attended to by historians. They prefer what is brilliant to what is useful, and dwell with raptures on the conduct of generals, the valour of armies, and the consequences of victory and defeat. And while they describe and embellish the politics of princes and the fortunes of nations, the splendid qualities of eminent men, and the lustre of heroic actions, they neglect all disquisitions into laws and manners, as unworthy of remark, or incapable of ornament. Antiquaries have displayed much critical and laborious investigation, but the spirit of customs and of laws has also escaped *their* penetration. They often throw together their materials without arrangement, they are often unable to reason from them, and forgetting that the human mind advances progressively, they ascribe to rude ages the ideas and sentiments of their own times. These are all impediments in the way of political examination, and they have besides the fatal tendency of obliterating for a time our sense of moral duty and the true interests of nations. Neither are these descriptions the most entertaining portions of historical narration. Scenes of carnage though dressed in the pomp of words, may dazzle the eyes for a while, but they cannot ultimately fix the attention of mankind. Doth not the ingenious scholar, who has enlarged and enlightened the faculties of the human mind; the inventive artist, who has increased the comforts and conveniences of human life; the adventurous merchant or mariner, who has discovered unknown countries, and opened new sources of trade and wealth, deserve a place in the annals of his country, and in the grateful remembrance of posterity, equally with the good prince, the wise politician, or the victorious general? Can we form just ideas of the characters and circumstances of our ancestors, by viewing them only in the flames of civil and religious discord, or in the fields of blood and slaughter, without ever attending to their conduct and condition in the more permanent and peaceful scenes of social life? Have we no curiosity to know, at what time, by what degrees, and by whose means, mankind have been enriched with the treasures of learning, political wisdom, arts, and commerce? It is impossible. Such curiosity is natural, laudable, and useful; and it is hoped, that this attempt to gratify it, will be received by the public with some degree of favour.*

Had the generality of historians attended to these important considerations, the labours of moral inquiry would have been abridged, light would have been diffused over the most interesting portions of human science, and I should have been enabled to trace the progress of society from the uncultivated forest to the polished capital, with the utmost exactitude, and without being once compelled to hazard a conjecture. But as these things have not been performed, the subject is exposed to discussion and to difference of opinion; it will therefore be my duty to investigate it in such a manner as to convince the minds of my hearers, that laws, government, and manners, have not only a necessary connection with history, but with each other. This fact has been unanswerably demonstrated by Dr. Gilbert Stuart

---

* See Dr. Henry's General Preface to his History of England. This indefatigable and excellent historian, is a marked exception to the preceding observations.

in his masterly "View of Society in Europe"—a work that must immortalize his reputation as one of the most acute and philosophical inquirers into the dark annals of unlettered ages. Laws and manners, says he, are commonly understood to be nothing more than collections of ordinances, and matters of fact; and government is too often a foundation for mere speculation and metaphysical refinements. Yet law is only a science, when observed in its spirit and history; government cannot be comprehended but by attending to the minute steps of its rise and progression; and the systems of manners which characterize man in all the periods of society which pass from rudeness to civility, cannot be displayed without the discrimination of these different situations. It is in the records of history, in the scene of real life, not in the conceits and the abstractions of fancy and philosophy, that human nature is to be studied. But, while it is in the historical manner that laws, customs, and government, are to be inquired into, it is obvious, that their dependence and connection are close and intimate. They all tend to the same point, and to the illustration of one another. It is from the consideration of them all, and in their union, that we are to explain the complicated forms of civil society, and the wisdom and accident which mingle in human affairs.

In the course of our exposition, we shall discover that the same elementary truths, variously modified by his errors and institutions, occur in every page of the history of man; and that all the forms of despotism originate in their perversion. The distinctions between individuals, families or tribes, will be found to arise from causes subsequent to birth; from education, example, forms of government; from the order of internal laws, from the maxims and genius of religion, from the lights of science and philosophy, and from the operations of external elements. When we contemplate the amazing diversity in the manners of different countries, and even of the same country at different periods; when we survey the distinctions of national characters, and the singular customs that have prevailed; we are led to discover the various dispositions and sentiments with which man is endowed, the various powers and faculties which he is capable of exerting. The manners, the crimes of illiterate savages, appear to us in their full dimension and deformity; but the violations of natural law, among civilized nations, have a solemn varnish of policy, which disguises the enormity of guilt. The greatness too of a community dazzles the eye, confers an imaginary value on its members, and eclipses the milder lustre of more humble tribes. These appearances in civil life are often delusive. From the situation of people in different ages and countries, they are presented with particular views of expediency, they form peculiar maxims, and are induced to cultivate and acquire a variety of talents and habits. Thus man is every where essentially the same; and we must necessarily conclude, that the untutored Indian and the civilized European would have acted upon the same principle. Hence, it follows, that laws, and governments, can never be thoroughly understood, unless they are traced historically, from their lowest to their highest points of improvement. Hitherto, they have been taught like geography, in which the memory is employed, and rarely the judgment. Such neglect of the history of law, says an eminent legal historian,* is the more strange, that in place of a dry, intricate, and crabbed science, law treated historically becomes an entertaining study; entertaining not only to those whose profession it is, but to every person who hath any thirst for knowledge. With the generality of men, the history of law makes not so great a figure, as the history of wars and conquests. But readers of solid judgment find more entertainment, in studying the constitution of a state, its government, its laws, the manners of its people; where reason is exercised in discovering causes and tracing effects through a long train of dependencies. —I have often amused myself with a fanciful resemblance of law to the river Nile. When we enter upon the municipal law of any country in its present state, we resemble a traveller, who, crossing the Delta, loses his way among the numberless branches of the Egyptian river. But when we begin at the source and follow the

* Lord Kames' Law Tracts.

current of law, it is in that course no less easy than agreeable; and all its relations and dependencies are traced with no greater difficulty, than are the many streams into which that magnificent river is divided before it is lost in the sea.

To those who wish for any further reasoning to strengthen the remarks which have been already made, I shall subjoin the animated and vigorous expressions of lord Bolingbroke. "I might instance," says he,* "in other professions, the obligation men lie under of applying themselves to certain parts of history, and I can hardly forbear doing it in that of the law; in its nature the noblest and most beneficial to mankind, in its abuse and debasement the most sordid and the most pernicious. A lawyer now is nothing more, I speak of ninety-nine in an hundred at least, to use some of Tully's words, *nisi leguleius quidam, cautus et acutus, præco actionum, cantor formularum, auceps syllabarum*. But there have been lawyers that were orators, philosophers, historians: there have been BACONS and CLARENDONS. There will be none such any more, till in some better age, true ambition, or the love of fame, prevails over avarice: and till men find leisure and encouragement to prepare themselves for the exercise of this profession, by climbing up to the *vantage ground*, so my lord Bacon calls it, of science; instead of groveling all their lives below, in a mean but gainful application to all the little arts of chicane. Till this happen, the profession of the law will scarce deserve to be ranked among the learned professions: and whenever it happens, one of the vantage grounds, to which men must climb, is metaphysical, and the other historical knowledge. They must pry into the secret recesses of the human heart, and become well acquainted with the whole moral world, that they may discover the abstract reason of all laws: and they must trace the laws of particular states, especially of their own, from the first rough sketches to the more perfect draughts; from the first causes or occasions that produced them, through all the effects, good and bad, that they produced."

It is thus by real experiments, not by abstracted theories, that human nature is unfolded, the general laws of our constitution developed, and history rendered subservient to moral philosophy and jurisprudence. But although the manners and customs of a people are the most authentic records of their opinions, yet, the greatest caution is necessary in their perusal. We must carefully attend to the circumstances in which they were framed, and to the character of those who represent them, in order to ascertain the evidence which they afford, or to discern the conclusions that may be drawn from them. As the regulations of every country may have their peculiar advantages, so they are commonly tinctured with all the prejudices and erroneous judgments of the inhabitants. It is, therefore, by a comparison only of the ideas and the practice of different nations, that we can arrive at the knowledge of those rules of conduct, which, independent of all positive institutions, are consistent with propriety, and agreeable to the sense of justice. Nor on this head is the detail of the meanest tribes unimportant. If human nature is liable to degenerate, it is also capable of proportionable improvement from the collected wisdom of ages.

When these inquiries are properly conducted, they have likewise a tendency to restrain that wanton spirit of innovation which men are too apt to indulge in their political reasonings. To know the laws already established, to discern the causes from which they have arisen, and the means by which they were introduced, is essentially requisite, in order to determine upon what occasions they ought to be altered or abolished. The institutions of a country, how imperfect soever and defective they may seem, are commonly suited to the state of the people by whom they have been embraced; and therefore, in most cases, they are only susceptible of those gentle improvements which proceed from a gradual reformation of the manners, and are accompanied with a correspondent change in the condition of society. In every system of law or government, the different parts have an intimate connexion with each other. As it is dangerous to tamper with the machine, unless

* Letters on the Study of History—vol. i. p. 185.

we are previously acquainted with the several wheels and springs of which it is composed; so there is reason to fear, that the violent alteration of any single part may destroy the regularity of its movements, and produce the utmost disorder and confusion.

Having animadverted, as largely as the nature of this cursory view will admit, on many important topics, and which I shall dilate more circumstantially hereafter, it will be proper to resume my narrative.

After having sketched historically the progress of man, from merely animal to civilized situations, and reviewed the relative power, national institutions, and character of those nations, which, in times prior to those that are the immediate objects of our inquiry, figured upon the theatre of the world (in which I shall say no more than is necessary to preserve unbroken the chain of historical events), I shall proceed to describe the genius of modern policy, to mark its progressions, and to contrast it with the spirit of those nations which exist only in the page of history. This portion of our pursuits is, on many accounts, more useful and instructive than ruminating over the splendid records of antiquity. For it embraces the description of manners that are familiar to us, events of which we see and feel the consequences, political establishments on which our property and security depend, and places and persons in which experience or tradition hath already given us a concern. But, we must not waste our time in frivolous dissertations on the origin of modern societies. We must, on the contrary, confine our observations to what is within the reach of useful inquiry, and to what is calculated to impart instruction. The gross ignorance, says an eloquent historian,* which anciently covered all the north of Europe, the continental migration of its inhabitants, and the frequent and destructive revolutions which these occasioned, render it impossible to give any authentic account of the origin of the different kingdoms now established there. Every thing beyond that period to which well attested annals reach, is obscure; an immense space is left for invention to occupy; each nation, with a variety inseparable from human nature, hath filled that void with events calculated to display its own antiquity and lustre. History, which ought to record truth, and to teach wisdom, often sets out with retailing fictions and absurdities.

The topics which are to be canvassed in this division of my subject, constitute the most arduous, the most important, and by far the most anxious part of my undertaking. The range of literature necessary to delineate the constitutions of the states of antiquity is by no means extensive, nor involved in tedious obscurity. It possesses besides the signal merit of polishing the taste, while it improves the understanding. We dwell with extasy on the employments of youth, when they furnish opportunity of exercising the judgment of our riper years. They recal a thousand pleasing emotions, and rekindle the fire of imagination, while they are occupying the highest provinces of intellectual exertion. But, amidst the dull, the spiritless, and voluminous collections of the middle ages, the mind often sinks under the fatigue of legendary tales, and monkish biography. He who would catch the rays of light that faintly glimmer in times of darkness and barbarity, must unite to a very inquisitive temper, an active and indefatigable resolution, a patient assiduity and ungovernable perseverance. He must prepare himself to grope in the dark without an intelligent guide, and to dig for materials out of the rubbish of ages and the imperfection of time. Out of a tasteless erudition, he must dispose and fashion his collections, so as to render them palatable to a moderate taste. This is, however, a duty incumbent on every one who professes to depict the polity of modern times. Nor is it possible to comprehend the social institutions of those countries which will fall under our review, or even the fundamental policy of our own nation, without some attention to this preliminary study. In confirmation of this truth, I shall add the authoritative and expressive opinion of that great lawyer,† whom I

---

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland.

† Lord Kames.

have cited in a former part of this number. "The feudal customs," says he, "ought to be the study of every man who proposes to reap instruction from the history of modern European nations; public transactions, no less than private property, were, some centuries ago, regulated by the feudal system. Sovereigns formerly were many of them connected by the relation of superiour and vassal. The king of England, for example, held of the French king many fair provinces. The king of Scotland, in the same manner, held many lands of the English king. The controversies among these princes were generally feudal; and, without a thorough knowledge of the feudal system, one must be ever at a loss in forming any accurate notion of such controversies, or in applying to them the standard of right and wrong."

It will, therefore, be indispensably necessary, during our examination of the subject, to explain at large the nature of the feudal policy, to what extent it still constitutes a part of the municipal law of the nations on the continent, in what manner it is expounded by the ordinary tribunals of justice, of whose decisions, together with Roman civil law, it forms a constituent appendage.

In the course of investigations so various, detached, and unequal, it has been found necessary to recur to a multitude of writers both ancient and modern, the catalogue of whose names might appear ostentatious, without being promotive in this treatise, of any utility. As I proceed on my subject, I shall not fail to make known my authorities, and to suggest the preference which should be given to the most worthy of them. Let it suffice to observe, that I have endeavoured to arrange and class my materials in conformity to the inimitable model which has been placed before me, in the writings of Dr. Gilbert Stuart. And in respect to modern times, I have struggled to select and discriminate, and to appeal less to the compilations of foreigners, than to those who have pourtrayed in their vernacular language, the institutions moral and political of their several countries. May I presume to flatter myself that this part of my course from its novelty and manifold advantages will present much useful and entertaining representations to my auditors.

Lastly, in my method of analyzing the properties and practical effects of laws and governments, I shall abstain from any indulgence of speculative topics, and abstract reasoning. Considering *man as he is*, I shall purposely avoid all those disquisitions which are more fitted to the innocent reveries of the closet, than to practical admission in the world—disquisitions which have led to more erroneous systems, and to more dangerous consequences, than their partizans are willing to admit. Indeed there is no subject, as I have had occasion to illustrate in a former work, on which we are so liable to err as in political speculations; because, while we think ourselves perfect masters of every part of the subject, difficulties suddenly arise, by which the subject itself eludes our keenest researches. Sometimes our views of it are too confined, and sometimes too extended; and often we fail in our judgments from not giving sufficient attention to the influence of various concomitant circumstances, which render general rules of no use. Men of talents reason consequentially on every subject, but when enquiries are connected with the complicated interests of society, the vivacity of their genius prevents them from noticing the variety of circumstances which render every consequence, almost, which they can draw uncertain. This is the origin of the French *Systémes*, which are only a chain of contingent consequences, drawn from a few fundamental maxims, adopted, perhaps, rashly. Such systems are mere conceits; they mislead the understanding, and efface the path of truth. An induction is formed, from whence a conclusion called a principle is drawn; but this is no sooner done, than the author extends its influence far beyond the limits of the ideas present to his understanding when he made the deduction. The imperfection of language frequently engages us in disputes merely verbal. Every true proposition, when understood, must be assented to universally. This is the case always when simple ideas are affirmed or denied of each other. No one ever doubted that sound is the object of hearing, or colour that of sight, or that black is not white. But whenever a dispute arises concerning a proposition, wherein complex ideas are compared, we may often rest assured that the parties do not understand each other. Luxury, in the opinion of

some, is incompatible with the prosperity of a state; according to others, it is the fountain of the welfare and happiness of a nation. In reality, there may be no difference in the sentiments of these persons. The first may consider it as prejudicial to foreign trade, and as corrupting the morals of the people. The other may consider it as the means of providing employment for such as must live by their industry, and of promoting an equal circulation of wealth and subsistence through all the classes of inhabitants. If they had mutually attended to the combination of each other's complex idea of luxury, with all its consequences, they would have rendered their propositions less general. The difference, therefore, of opinion between men is frequently more apparent than real. When we compare our own ideas, we constantly see their relations with perspicuity; but when we come to communicate those relations to other people, it is often impossible to put them into words sufficiently expressive of the precise combination we have made in our own minds. Since, therefore, all matters of controversy regard the comparison of our ideas, if the terms we use to express them were sufficiently understood by those parties, most political disputes would be soon at an end. Here it may be objected, that we frequently adopt an opinion without being able to give a sufficient reason for it, and yet we cannot persuade ourselves to renounce it, though we find it combated by the strongest arguments. To this it may be answered, that in such cases we do not adhere to our own opinions, but to those of others received upon trust. It is our regard for the authority, and not for the opinion which makes us tenacious; for if the opinion were truly our own, we could not fail seeing, or, at least, we should not long be at a loss in recollecting the ground on which it is built. But when we assent implicitly to any political doctrine, there is no room for reason: we then satisfy ourselves with the persuasion, that those whom we trust have sufficient reasons for what they advance. While our assent, therefore, is implicit, we yet fall short of conviction; not because we do not perceive the force of the arguments brought to support it: and as nobody will sell what belongs to him without being previously informed of its value, so no one will give up an implicit opinion without knowing all that can be said for it. It is better, therefore, in political questions, for us to judge from experience and reason than from authority; to explain our terms, than to dispute about words; and to analyze our combinations, rather than to follow conceits, however dignified with the name of systems.

Man we find acting uniformly in all ages, in all countries, and in all climates, from the principles of self-interest, expediency, duty, or passion. In this he is consistent, in nothing else. These motives of human actions produce such a variety of combinations, that if we consider the several species of animals in the creation, we shall find the individuals in no class so unlike one another, as man to man. No wonder then if people differ in every thing which relates to man. As he is a social creature, both from necessity and inclination, we also find, in all ages, climates, and countries, a certain modification of government and degree of subordination established among them. Here again we are presented with as great variety as there are different societies; all, however, agree in this, that the end of a voluntary submission to authority is with a view to promote the general good. Constant and uninterrupted experience has proved, that virtue and justice in those who govern, are sufficient to render the society happy under any form of government. Virtue and justice, when applied to government, mean no more than a tender affection for the whole society, and an exact and impartial regard for the interest of every class. All actions, and, indeed, all things are good or bad only by relation. Nothing is so complex as such relations when considered with regard to a society, and nothing is so difficult as to discover truth when involved and blended with these relations. We must not conclude from this, that every operation of government becomes problematical and uncertain as to its consequences: some are evidently good, others are notoriously bad; the middle terms are always the least essential, and the more complex they appear to a discerning eye, the more trivial they are found to be in their immediate consequences. A government must be continually in action, and one principal object of its attention must be the consequences and effects of new institutions. Experience alone will shew

what human prudence could not foresee; and mistakes must be corrected as often as expediency requires. All governments have what they call their fundamental laws; but fundamental, or invariable laws can never subsist among men, the most variable of the creatures we know: the only fundamental law, *salus populi*, must ever be relative, like every other position; and this is rather a maxim than a law. It is, however, expedient, nay, absolutely necessary, that in every state, certain laws be supposed fundamental and invariable, both to serve as a curb to the ambition of individuals, and to point out to the statesman the outlines of that plan of government which experience has proved to be the best adapted to the spirit of the people. Such laws may even be considered as actually invariable, while a state subsists without convulsions or revolutions; because then the alterations are so gradual, that they become imperceptible to all but the most discerning, who compare the customs and manners of the same people in different periods of time, and under different combinations of circumstances.

It being assumed as a fundamental maxim, that every operation of government should be calculated for the good of the people, we may, with equal certainty, decide, that in order to make a people happy, they must be governed *according to their predominant character.* The genius of a people is formed upon a set of received opinions respecting three objects, morals, government, and manners. These once generally adopted by any society, confirmed by long and constant habit, and never called in question, form the basis of all laws, regulate the form of every government, and determine, what is commonly called, the customs of a country. To know a people, we must examine them under these general heads. We acquire the knowledge of their morals with ease, by consulting the tenets of their religion, and from what is taught among them by authority, and under direction. The second, or government, is more disguised, as it is constantly changing, from circumstances, partly resulting from domestic, and partly from foreign considerations. A thorough knowledge of their history, and an intercourse with their statesmen, may give a person, who has access to these helps, a very competent knowledge of this branch. The last, or the knowledge of the manners of a people, is by far the most difficult to acquire, and yet is the most open to every person's observation. Certain circumstances, with regard to manners, are supposed by every one in the country, to be so well known, so generally followed and observed, that it seldom occurs to any body to inform a stranger concerning them.

Having now recounted the nature and extent of this undertaking, and the mode in which it is to be conducted, both of which are submitted with the utmost deference to the public; nothing remains but to state the personal motives in which they originated. Thirteen years have now elapsed, since I became a student of the Inner Temple: my education, course of reading, and habits of reflection, were during the greater part of this long period, directed to the attainment of such qualifications as might be auxiliary, or immediately necessary to the favourite profession I had chosen. It never appeared to me, that the learning of an advocate should be confined within the narrowed routine of practice; but that an enlightened conception of the sources and progress of the jurisprudence of his own, compared with that of other countries, was an attribute of his character, without which he might be a gainful retailer of precedents, but could have no pretensions to the name of a liberal practitioner.* Satisfied with the justice of this proposition, I endeavoured to facilitate my inquiries, and to procure such lights as might one day or other prove advantageous to me in my forensic pursuits. Having also been placed in situations abroad, where I could obtain without much difficulty, some insight into the machi-

* That this is the rational mode studying the principles of Law and Goverment, has been fully demonstrated by the best masters of Jurisprudence. Vid. Blackstone's Introd. to the Study of the Law: Sir W. Jones's Law of Bailments, p. 123; Mr. Hargrave's Pref. to the 13th edit. of Coke upon Littleton, Domat Traité des Lois, fo. 19; Gravina orig. Jur. Civ. ad Cupid. Leg. Juvent. and Gianoni Istoria di Napoli.

nery of government, I was enabled to acquire an experience, which I apprehend is not easily gained from the perusal of books. That these advantages, about fourteen years ago, took a wrong direction, I am willing to admit: they, however, induced more extensive researches, than I might otherwise have prescribed for myself in the line of my profession. Since which, several years of absolute seclusion from the world have gone by, in which these subjects were examined with more temper and sobriety, and a recent opportunity of re-visiting the continent, afforded fresh materials for reflection. These circumstances, superadded to the considerations which have been alleged above, will sufficiently explain the *causes* of my having paid so much attention to the subject.

On the return of public tranquillity, when the speculative opinions of individuals no longer menace the state with civil convulsions, I have a right to hope, that the old good nature of the country (to use a beautiful expression of lord Clarendon) will return with it; that instead of mutual irritation, all orders of men will see the folly of keeping alive the embers of past dissentions, and conspire together to promote the common welfare of our country. It cannot, therefore, be an unprofitable undertaking, to delineate the causes of those erroneous judgments which have produced such terrible effects on mankind. We shall thereby derive most instructive lessons of civil wisdom and moral subordination; we shall be taught to venerate and cherish whatever institutions are conducive to the ordinary purposes of society; and we shall reject with disdain that pernicious philosophy, which, for the sake of doubtful theories, would inflict practical evils on mankind, and transform the fairest parts of the creation into a wild and cheerless desolation. All sound legislation is the fruit of experience; and no reformations can be wholesome or lasting, which are not accompanied by a correspondent progress of society and civilization.

In any situation of life, these studies will always prove delightful; but if they be not accompanied with some practical advantages, they can only be regarded as a very refined species of mental luxury. Those who may read these sheets, or who may attend the introductory lecture, will be capable of estimating the principles and tendency of such a course. Indeed, it is now impossible for an observer to understand a common paragraph in a newspaper, relative to foreign events, without some acquaintance with the polity and local customs of the several countries of Europe. Some explanation, therefore, of these objects, are essentially necessary to every denomination of persons, especially when accompanied by proper comparisons with the existing law of this country. If my readers appreciate, as I do, the genius and practical influence of our excellent law, as delivered by one of the ablest of our crown-lawyers, they cannot wonder at my predilection for the study, and my ambition to diffuse a regard of it among all orders of the community. "*It is,*" says he,* "*so agreeable to reason, that even those who suffer by it, cannot charge it with injustice; so adapted to the common good, as to suffer no folly to go unpunished, which that requires to be restrained; and yet so tender of the infirmities of human nature, as never to refuse an indulgence, where the safety of the public will bear it: it gives the prince no power, but of doing good, and restrains the people from no liberty, but of doing evil.*"—With the most cordial assent to the truth of this comprehensive and just eulogy on our law, I conclude my observations.

THE KING'S APPEAL TO HIS PEOPLE.

When our beloved Sovereign was about to dissolve the last parliament, he was graciously pleased to declare, that he had determined to make an appeal to his people. Having, in violation of the fundamental principle of the constitution — that the king can do no wrong — been accused by his late ministers; having been charged, arraigned, and put upon his trial, before both houses of parliament, which actually divided upon his guilt or innocence; he resolved to take the sense of the country upon such unconstitutional proceedings. — To this appeal, the return of the new house of commons will be the reply. And it is now for the

* Serjeant Hawkins—Pleas of the Crown.

electors of the United Kingdom to say, whether they will declare for the king, or for his accusers. The case is most extraordinary — it never occurred before, and, it is to be hoped, it will never occur again. At all former elections, the contest lay between one political party and another; — it now lies, shocking to say, between the sovereign on the throne and the servants whom he has honoured with his confidence. Every elector, therefore, according to the principles and connections of the candidate for whom he votes, must take part, either with his King, or with the accusers of his King. In Middlesex, two candidates are immediately opposed to each other, — Mr. Byng and sir Christopher Baynes. — The former voted for the late ministers upon the charge which they brought against their sovereign; — the latter, who has always been distinguished for his loyalty, declares that, to the last drop of his blood, he will stand by his King. Whoever, at such a time, votes for Mr. Byng, — nay, whoever does not vote against him — deserts his sovereign in time of need — virtually declares his approbation of the conduct of the ex-ministers, in putting their royal master upon his trial,—and authorizes, nay, encourages, as far as his vote can go, an imitation of so dangerous a precedent. Whoever votes for sir Christopher Baynes, comes forward in support of that beloved monarch, who, during a reign of almost half a century, has been enthroned in the hearts and affections of his subjects, and who, by his late firm, manly, and conscientious defence of the antient bulwarks of the constitution, (though it has subjected him to accusation) has acquired fresh claims to the admiration and gratitude of his people.

There is still another reason, of scarcely inferior interest and importance, to induce the Freeholders of Middlesex, at this time, to reject Mr. Byng. If the party to which that gentleman is attached, should be strong enough in the house of commons to obstruct, by their opposition, the business of the country, the king will probably be obliged again to throw himself into the arms of the late ministers— his accusers. In that case, it is evident, that he would be altogether in their power; he would lie at their mercy. Deserted by his people, his prerogative—his independence —would be gone. The men, whom he lately dismissed from his councils, would, in effect, be the sovereigns of the country: and, instead of being governed by a mild, a benevolent, and a truly conscientious monarch, we should be ruled over by an insolent and a despotic oligarchy. There were, indeed, strong symptoms of a systematic endeavour to bring about such a state of things, while the late ministers were in power. They attempted to wrest from the regal hand the reins of government. They sought to dictate to their royal master. They brought in the Roman catholic bill, with its additional clauses, *against* his consent. They endeavoured to make him violate his conscience, and his coronation oath. He, however, manfully resisted such attempts; and, by a most noble display of firmness, vigour, and constancy, he acted up to the dictates of his understand—he asserted the rights of his conscience—he rescued himself from the domination of his servants—and, with the view to the *permanent* security and independence of his crown, he called upon his subjects for their support. Such conduct endears him more than ever to his people, who will never endure to see their sovereign reduced to a cypher, or to be governed by a phantom of royalty— by a king of shreds and patches. If, however, they would preserve themselves from such disgrace, let them be careful how they desert him at the present most critical moment. If they refuse him that support, which he has called for at their hands— if they neglect to come forward, on such an occasion as this, in his behalf— he will be unable to maintain that constitutional ground on which he has hitherto so firmly stood; and an aristocratical faction will triumph over the British monarchy.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

AS the two late contests for the representation of this great county, the glorious result of which was announced in my last Number, will form a memorable feature in election history, and is of infinite importance not only to the freeholders of Hampshire, but to those of the whole kingdom, I need not apologize to my rea-

ders for pursuing the plan I adopted after the last contest, by placing upon record in this Work a succinct account of that which has just terminated; that, should the freedom of election be again invaded, the future freeholders may, by a recurrence to the steps which have been now taken, be equally prompt and fortunate in rescuing their native country from ignominy and disgrace.

On the dissolution of the late parliament, the four gentlemen who had been candidates at the last election, thus addressed the freeholders:

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Independent Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

In addressing you upon the dissolution of parliament, I cannot resist expressing the heart-felt gratitude I feel for the high honour you have conferred upon me by electing me one of your representatives in parliament; and although I trust that in your opinion my conduct has been independent, and, I much hope, not undeserving of your approbation, yet, finding by an advertisement from sir Henry Mildmay, that I cannot be re-elected without involving the county again in all the disagreeable consequences of a contested election, I beg leave to decline, at this moment, any further pretensions (if any I have to your favour,) assuring you that, at all times, I shall ever be zealously ready to assert and support those independent principles with which I first entered upon a public situation.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most devoted, faithful, and obliged servant, THOMAS THISTLETHWAYTE.

George-street, Hanover-square, April 27, 1807.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen—Encouraged by the extensive and disinterested countenance which we received at your hands on a late occasion, and by the numerous assurances of support which have been voluntarily offered us since the dissolution of parliament, we humbly presume once more to make you a tender of our best services. The public principles which have already recommended us to your notice remain unaltered; and we beg to assure you, that should your partiality confirm the confident expectation of success which we venture to indulge, no exertions on our part shall be wanting to discharge, with zeal, fidelity, and diligence, the important and serious duties of that honourable situation to which we have presumed to aspire.

We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and faithful humble servants,

H. P. ST. JOHN MILDMAY.
WILLIAM CHUTE.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen—The important trust which you reposed in me, devolves once more into your hands; and, impressed with the deepest respect and gratitude, I feel myself encouraged by the wishes and approbation of my friends, again to offer myself to your notice, as a candidate for that honour of which so lately you deemed me worthy.

By you I was deputed to promote the interests of this county, and of the empire at large; to watch over the public expenditure, and arrest the progress of peculation; to guard the rights of the subject against open or indirect violation; to maintain religious and civil liberty; and above all things to uphold the religion and constitution of my country, to which I am unalterably attached; that religion by which the family of my beloved sovereign was seated on the throne; that constitution which is the prop of the established church, and the firmest security of the royal prerogative. To these objects I have adhered; to their support whatever energy I possess, in every situation and circumstance of life, shall be directed.

If I have held it unconstitutional for any minister to give a direct pledge, or an indirect and tacit assent, to exclude the prayers of the people from the ear of the sovereign, and withhold from him whatever advice in their own opinion circumstances may render essential; if I have spurned at an open attempt to controul by threats the freedom of my vote in parliament in support of the constitutional rights

of the people; if I have deemed it the suggestion of an intolerant and persecuting spirit, to propose the adoption of martial law in Ireland, when the trial by jury has proved sufficient for the preservation of public tranquillity, and (while we are threatened by the exterminating force of an impious enemy) to awaken religious animosities and deaden those mutual charities which ought to subsist between men of every faith and description; if I am of opinion, that those who have deserved ill of their country, who advised his majesty to prorogue that parliament, by which a committee was delegated to examine into the public expenditure, on the very day and at the hour when a report was to be presented against offenders:—I trust I shall not on that account have forfeited your esteem. With gratitude for the confidence which you placed in me, and with the satisfaction at least of having studied to discharge my duty to my country, to my king, and to my constituents, whose real interests can never be disunited, I venture once more to solicit humbly the favour of your support. Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect and sincerest devotion,

Your faithful and obliged humble servant,

Winchester, April 30, 1807. WILLIAM HERBERT.

Two meetings of the freeholders in the interest of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay were held, one at Winchester and the other in London, at which the following resolutions were passed:

White Hart, Winchester, May 6, 1807.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the friends of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay, and of the independence of the county, held this day, pursuant to public advertisement,—Sir John Pollen, bart. in the Chair;

The minutes of the meeting of the friends of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay, held at the White Hart, on Saturday the 2d of May, having been read,

Resolved unanimously,—That we do most cordially agree with that meeting, in expressing our approbation of the conduct of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay, during the late arduous contest, and in considering their exertions to support the independence of the county, as highly deserving our warmest thanks.

That, considering Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay as fit and proper persons to represent this county in parliament, we do strenuously recommend them to the countenance and support of the freeholders, and will use our utmost endeavours to procure their election, and to convince them that we feel fully sensible of the exertions they have manifested in support of that essential bulwark of the British constitution, *a free and independent exercise of our elective franchise*.

That, from the flattering returns received this day, from every part of the county, there appears no doubt of the ultimate success of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay; but, should the expectations of their opponent induce him unnecessarily to protract the contest, we shall cheerfully come forward to meet the expenses inevitably attendant upon such an occasion.

That, for this purpose, a subscription be opened, and that sir John Pollen, bart. the Rev. Dr. Sturges, the Rev. Harry Lee, and Lovelace Bigg Wither, esq. be a committee for receiving the amount subscribed; it being well understood, that no part of this subscription shall be called for, unless the circumstances of the case, consistent with the foregoing resolution, should justify the application.

That we approve of the names of those gentlemen, who, at the meeting held on Saturday last, were appointed as general and select committees, for conducting the affairs of the election.

That we are fully sensible of the very important services rendered by the respective local committees during the last contest, for which we offer them our sincere thanks, and venture to solicit a continuance of the same zealous exertions, that they have already manifested, upon the present occasion.

JOHN POLLEN, Chairman.

The chairman having left the chair, *Resolved unanimously*,—That the thanks of the meeting be given to him, for his able and impartial conduct therein.

By order of the meeting. GEORGE HOLLIS, Secretary.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the freeholders of Hants, resident in and near London, held this 8th day of May, 1807, at the London Tavern, in pursuance of public notice, for the purpose of adopting the most effectual means for securing the election of Mr. Chute and sir Henry P. St. John Mildmay, bart.—George Ward, esq. in the chair;

Resolved unanimously,—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that after the unconstitutional means by which the late election for this county was carried, and the conduct pursued by its late members in parliament, the freeholders of Hampshire are more peculiarly called upon by the well-timed appeal, which his majesty has made to his people at this important crisis, to support the election of Mr. Chute and sir Henry P. St. John Mildmay, bart.

Resolved unanimously,—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is indispensably requisite that county members should possess considerable landed property within the counties they represent, otherwise they cannot have that interest in common with their constituents, which is so essential to the welfare and prosperity of the one, and the influence and respectability of the other.

Resolved unanimously,—That William Chute, esq. and sir H. P. St. John Mildmay, bart. being descended from families long resident in Hampshire, possessing considerable landed property therein, and, from their known loyalty and attachment to the constitution in church and state, are fit and proper persons to represent that great and opulent county in parliament.

Resolved unanimously,—That William Chute, esq. by his faithful and disinterested services for 16 years, as our representative in parliament, and sir H. P. St. J. Mildmay, bart. by his late manly defence of our invaded rights, and both of them by their conduct at the late election, possess the strongest additional claims to our support at the ensuing election.

Resolved unanimously,—That, actuated by these motives, the freeholders present at this meeting will individually and collectively use their utmost exertions to secure the election of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay; and they earnestly call upon all the loyal and independent freeholders of the county to unite in an early and vigorous support of those gentlemen, and to exert their utmost endeavours to procure a numerous attendance of the freeholders at Winchester, on Monday the 11th instant, being the day of nomination and election.

Resolved unanimously,—That these resolutions be inserted in the newspapers, and transmitted to all the towns and villages in the county.

Resolved,—That the gentlemen present form a committee, and sit every day from two to three o'clock, at the Grecian Coffee-house, in the Temple, London, in order to receive communications, which are requested to be addressed to Edward Vernon Utterson, esq. chairman of that committee.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman.

(Signed) GEO. WARD, Chairman.

On the 8th of May, a meeting was called of the friends of Mr. Herbert, which was attended by only eight persons, independent of the agents. At this meeting it was resolved, that, "with a view to preserve the peace of the county", an offer of a compromise should be made to the friends of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay, who were informed that if one of them would withdraw to make way for Mr. Herbert, the other should not be opposed. Of this offer of a compromise, it is only necessary to remark, that it was not made till after the whole county had been canvassed, and the promised votes found to be above 5 to 1 in favour of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay; that it was made by *one* candidate to two; and that it was made after the only one of the late members, who had the smallest pretensions to represent the county, had formally withdrawn. To this proposal, the following answer was returned:

HANTS ELECTION.

Winchester, May 8, 1807.—At a meeting of the committee for conducting the

election of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay, held this day, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposition made by the committee for conducting the election of the hon. W. Herbert; John Blackburn, esq. in the chair.

Resolved,—That the following letter be addressed to Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, esq. as chairman of the hon. W. Herbert's committee:

"Sir,—The committee for conducting the election of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay, do not think themselves at liberty to accede to the overture made by the friends of Mr. Herbert.

It was the anxious wish of those who supported the cause of the first-mentioned gentlemen on a late occasion (manifested at a public meeting), to preserve the peace of the county *by a compromise*, which was rendered impracticable by a peremptory declaration of the opposing candidates, that they would persevere in the *joint offer* of their services to the county; and, as the strength of the county is now known to be decidedly in favour of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay, by an actual canvass; carefully made, the committee think it extremely improbable that the gentlemen of the county, in their interest, will accede to a suggestion for withdrawing either of them.

The committee, for themselves, can only say, they think they should ill discharge the duty they owe to the county at large, if they were to recommend it.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. JOHN BLACKBURN, Chairman."

On Monday the 11th inst. the election came on at the Castle at Winchester. After the sheriff had opened the meeting, Mr. Jervoise very briefly recommended the Hon. Wm. Herbert to the choice of the freeholders, and was seconded by sir Thomas Miller, bart. in a short and temperate speech. Sir John Pollen nominated sir Henry Mildmay, bart. pointing out what were the qualifications of a member for a county, and which he thought sir Henry possessed. This was seconded by Mr. Asheton Smith. Mr. Chute was nominated by sir Edward Hulse, who passed deserved encomiums on Mr. Chute's conduct during sixteen that he had sat in parliament, and was seconded by Mr. Bigg Wither, who fully concurred in all that had been said by sir Edward Hulse, and added, that he thought Mr. Chute was particularly deserving the support of the freeholders on the present occasion, from his having been so unjustly opposed at the late contest. The candidates were then severally proposed by the sheriff, to as large and respectable a body of freeholders as were ever witnessed on such an occasion. The sheriff having declared the majority of hands to be in favour of sir H. Mildmay and Mr. Chute, Mr. Herbert demanded a poll. In addressing the freeholders, he passed great eulogiums on the talents and integrity of the late administration, and considered the present as miserably deficient in all the requisites that constitute great and enlightened statesmen. The new administration he repeatedly stigmatized as a set of greedy irresponsible adventurers, and declared, that his own election was opposed by a cry which was only worthy of the most blood-thirsty democrats, and he attacked with some warmth the conduct of the sheriff, in having appointed so early a day for the election.

Sir Henry Mildmay, after briefly recurring to the issue of the late contest, said, that in coming forward again to offer himself to the choice of the county, he had only redeemed the pledge he then gave to the freeholders, that on any future occasion he should "be found at his post." He declared his principles to be founded in the most sincere attachment to his king and the constitution, in church and state, as now established, which he would endeavour, by the utmost exertion of his abilities, to preserve and maintain inviolate.

Mr. Chute briefly stated, that his hopes of success resulted from his having already faithfully represented the county in three parliaments, declaring, that he should continue to act in parliament with the same independence as heretofore.

Mr. Rose, in reply to Mr. Herbert, vindicated the principles of the present administration. Mr. Portal spoke in favour of their predecessors, and of Mr. Herbert's claims to represent the county of Hants. He was replied to by Mr. Sturges Bourne.

The poll then commenced, and at the close, at five o'clock, the numbers were as follow:—

For sir H. Mildmay and Mr. Chute - - - 547
For Mr. Herbert - - - - - - - - - - 152

At nine o'clock in the evening Mr. Herbert sent notice to the other candidates that he did not intend to continue the contest; and at twelve o'clock the next morning the Sheriff declared sir H. Mildmay and Mr. Chute duly elected, which was received with repeated shouts of applause, by a large and respectable assemblage of the freeholders.

The members were then chaired through every street in the city and suburbs, amidst the loud acclamations of the populace. An ordinary was provided at St. John's House, to which 95 of the most respecable freeholders sat down. Mr. Blackburn took the chair, and mirth and good humour prevailed to a late hour.

Before the county meeting broke up, the following proceeding took place:—

County Hall, Winchester, May 12, 1807. *Hants Election.*

Mr. Herbert having, in his speech yesterday, insinuated that the sheriff had shewn partiality in fixing the earliest day allowed by law for holding the election; the sheriff immediately after having declared sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Chute duly elected, addressed the freeholders as follows:—

"Gentlemen.—The unsuccessful candidate having thought proper, in his address to you yesterday, to insinuate, that, in fixing the earliest period for the election, I was influenced by motives of partiality to the other candidates, and acting in concert with them;—although I must attribute this rather to spleen and the irritation of disappointment, than any serious intention of censuring my conduct, yet, in justice to myself, I think it right most solemnly to declare, that this charge is completely unfounded; and that, in fixing the day of Election, I had no communication with any of the candidates or their agents, and had no other motive than a desire to relieve the county, as soon as possible, from a state of ferment and confusion. And the same motive seems to have induced the sheriffs in general, throughout the kingdom, to bring on the county elections at the earliest period permitted by the law."

The freeholders feeling it incumbent upon them to corroborate this assertion, and to manifest their approbation of the conduct of the sheriff, in every thing that related to the election, as soon as the court was adjourned, called Sir John Pollen, Bart. to the chair, when the following resolution was moved by Mr. Bigg Wither, and seconded by Mr. Rawlinson:—

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the high sheriff, for the impartial execution of the duties of his office.

Signed, on behalf of the meeting,
JOHN POLLEN, Chairman.

Since the election the following addresses have been published by the candidates:——

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen,—Impressed with feelings of the warmest gratitude, we beg leave to offer you our humble but most sincere acknowledgments for the high honour which you have been pleased to confer upon us.

The manly and disinterested zeal and perseverance which, through two successive contests, you have manifested in the cause in which we embarked, has proved, at length, triumphant; and you have secured the independence of the county.—As humble instruments in your hands for that purpose, we presumed, for the second time, to make you a tender of our best services; and it is not so much from the high and distinguished honour conferred upon us, gratifying and enviable as it is, that we rejoice in the issue of the contest, as, that you have attained an object so justly valuable to yourselves, so important to the county, and so inestimable to your latest posterity.

We beg to assure you, that our conduct in parliament shall not disgrace the pro-

fessions which recommended us to your countenance and support; that it will, on all occasions, be guided by an unalterable regard to the general interest of the empire, and a rigid undeviating adherence to those principles, both in church and state, which placed, and which, we trust, may long continue to maintain, the family of our beloved sovereign on the throne of these kingdoms. We have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most grateful and devoted servants,

H. P. St. JOHN MILDMAY.
W. CHUTE.

Winchester, May 12, 1807.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Gentlemen,—If I were disposed upon any occasion to follow the example of my opponents, I might, perhaps, have been induced to prolong the contest to the last extremity of a poll; for, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the circumstances, myself a candidate without a colleague—the strong hand of government exerted against me—Admiralty orders issued for leave to the dockmen—a premature canvass on the part of my opponents, preceded by the most unjust and illiberal dissemination of a report that I had withdrawn—and, above all, the foul calumny by which a cry has been raised against myself and my connections—notwithstanding all such disadvantages, I could have brought to the hustings a force equal, if not superior, to that with which my opponents lately prolonged a fruitless and unprofitable opposition. It might have been, perhaps, desirable to shew by a poll the falsehood of those assertions, which I know not how my opponents could have been so misled as to believe and utter, concerning the comparative strength of numbers: but the public has been so accustomed to appreciate their misrepresentations and vaunting language, that it rather calls for a smile than open contradiction. I must, however, express my astonishment, that the candidates should have advertised, that they received "almost unanimous assurances of support" in Portsmouth and Portsea; when it is certain I was honoured by the promise of single votes from a *greater majority* of the independent freeholders of those towns, than supported my colleagues and myself at the former election; when it is known to the country, that a spirit did exist amongst the freeholders connected with the Dock-yard, which excited them to spurn at the caresses of those who had lately insulted them, to feel and vindicate their own importance, and by a united determination to maintain the unquestioned right and privilege of British freeholders, in opposition even to the present ministers, to the advocates of martial law and religious persecution. From that spirit, which has manifested itself amongst them, I draw the happy omen of better days, for this country and future independence. In the course of my canvass I have met with much zealous friendship, much gratifying approbation; and, although the abrupt dissolution of parliament, and the early day of the election (so chosen, as I believe, because the ferment, which had been excited, was rapidly subsiding) prevented me from making personal applications to half my late constituents, I have experienced much voluntary and unsolicited support. To those who wished for my success, I return the most heartfelt and grateful acknowledgments; and I hope that no omissions in a hasty and unfinished canvass will be attributed to negligence or disrespect.

Of those who preferred private interest to public consistency; of those who made the shadow of unmeaning fears a pretext for political apostacy; of those who have been deluded by the calumny of men whose professions should have led them to promote union and harmony, it would ill become me, and still less am I disposed, to express myself with any degree of asperity. I lament, not my own failure, but the failure of their real interests. I lament, that they have devoted themselves to interested ministers, who have shewn that they prefer their individual advancement to every consideration of public happiness and prosperity; to greedy and irresponsible adventurers, who have advised his majesty to do that which is prejudicial to the country, who have publicly declared that the blame (if any) must attach on him alone; that if the people are discontented, the sovereign, and not the guilty adviser, must be arraigned for judgment. To that doctrine, which has been advanced for

the purpose of turning the shafts of just indignation, from those to whom they should prove fatal, against a quarter where they must be blunted by the sacred shield of majesty, I never will subscribe. Those who have advanced it, in my opinion, deserve punishment from their countrymen, and execration from posterity.

Under the existing circumstances, having ascertained by the canvass and returns, that although the poll might have been prolonged for many days with an equality of force, the independent interest could not have proved ultimately successful, with the advice of numerous and zealous friends, I determined to yield for the present, without attempting any resistance, and reserve our exertions for a future opportunity, when I trust the cloud which appears to have enveloped the soundest understandings, will have yielded to reason and reflection. When that time arrives, I shall again make an humble tender of my service; and I hope with confidence, that the independent spirit of the county will prevail over artifice and calumny.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be, with the truest devotion and respect,
Your grateful and obedient humble servant,

Higüclere, May 18, 1807. WILLIAM HERBERT.

One may generally judge of the weakness of a cause, by the length of defence which it requires; and never was this truth more completely exemplified than in the addresses which, on this occasion, have issued from "All the Talents" and their adherents. I need only mention, in addition to this of Mr. Herbert, those of lord Howick, Mr. Whitbread, lord William Russel, Mr. Roscoe, sir Thomas Lyddell, and sir Gilbert Heathcote.

On this advertisement of Mr. Herbert I have much more to say than I have at present leisure or room for. No man ever gave more complete disgust than this gentleman has done, by his advertisements and his speeches at the hustings. The one, my readers have now before them: of the latter, I have only been able to furnish them with an imperfect sketch. Pursuing the plan I adopted with lord Milton's speech in a former number, I will next week dissect Mr. Herbert's advertisement; and though I despair of being able to pay him in his own coin, I have no doubt but I shall be able to shew that there never were more fallacies (I use a mild term) heaped together in so small a compass, than are to be found in this intemperate production. In the mean time, I beg my readers to compare the language of this address with that of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay, and to judge by this, as one criterion, which of the parties are likely to carry with them to parliament the best principles, abilities, and disposition.

TO H. R. YORKE, Esq.

Sir.—While the present grand struggle is depending, between the friends and the enemies of their country, no good man should be silent who is able to make himself heard. As I am not tinctured with that fraudulent *liberality* so violently called out to cover the crimes of jacobins, I am free to avow that I have long looked upon Buonaparte, the Pope, and the whig-club, as our three most dangerous enemies, even long before the latter had forced itself into power, and thereby justified every thing that I had foretold. The poor old fool at Rome, as I think you somewhere call him, may perhaps be more of a tool than an ill-meaning man, but, instead of being profoundly subtle, like his predecessors, he must be very weak and silly, if we may judge from his *allocution*, as he calls it, to his cardinals, June 24th, 1805. Could he not have communicated to them his shameful journey, "whose true object" he says "was to decorate *our most dear son in Christ* Napoleon, with the ensigns of imperial dignity" without imitating Homer, and Virgil, by conjuring up "the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul" as being his chief assistants in that journey? Good heaven's! St. Peter, and St. Paul the chief assistants in crowning and consecrating a blood-stained mahometan monster!!! And when we consider the base adulation with which his *holiness* afterwards extols to the skies this same impious monster, one is really at a loss to conceive it possible that you, my lord Fingal, or any man of common understanding, can possibly any longer look upon such a person to be the vicar of ——— a name too sacred to be even mentioned in such a place, that is, that you

can possibly be any longer papists! It may indeed be said that the ambition of the popes of Rome has always been cemented with blood, as much as the ambition of Buonaparte; and the former must, I fear, be by far the least excusable. Buonaparte does not, I believe, *directly* pretend to be a christian, any more than to be a Mahometan, nor indeed quite so much. He may however rest secure of paradise, if either his chosen prophet Mahomet, or his trembling vassal the Pope can introduce him thither.—But we, my lord Fingal, ought not always to remain like children, or like idiots. Ah, my lord Fingal, would to God that you and your brethren could be induced to believe, that, though I am a zealous christian, whom papists would murder if they could, even in the present times, (see sir Richard Musgrave's fully-authenticated memoirs of the Irish rebellion in 1798.) yet I am much more your friend than your enemy, when I address you in this style.—When I warn you to take care lest all the righteous blood that has been shed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Kilwarden, should be required of your bloody and adulterous church!. I may possibly address your lordship again, either under this or some other signature. I ought indeed to despair of your paying any attention to a *heretic*, but should you ever honour me so far, I have no doubt that there must come a time, when you will own me to have been infinitely more your friend, than the lords Grenville and Howick, and all those *pretended heretics*, who have made you and your party the ladder to their ambition.

I have called the whig club our third great enemy, and not without reason; not only from their unremitted opposition to the pilot that weathered the storm, but from all the acts of their short tyranny which you, sir, in your excellent review, have sufficiently proved to be hostile to their country. The poor pope has long been a mere tool to Buonaparte; he is now, it seems, to be a tool to the whig club also. Pretended protestants have chosen, some how or other, to fall in love with the whore of Babylon, and the act like the gentleman who said, under certain circumstances,

I'll go, and I'll wed the night mare,
And kiss her and kiss her again.

This wedding would be as bloody as that of the dapithæ; for an intelligent gentleman, perfectly acquainted with the Irish, assured me, "if this measure be carried, in three months there will not be thirty protestants alive in Ireland," yet the cry of the party is, that there is *no danger* in such an union. The reason given for this would make the pope stare, and smile too if he had the smallest particle of humour about him: it is that "the age is enlightened!" the popes of Rome kept the world in darkness as long as possible, as being alone favourable to themselves, but now, it seems they are to be introduced through an increase of light!! But then this *new light* is not the light of truth or of science, but the mere cant of jacobinism; it is that light which was brought in to *put down* popery, as well as all religion; and lord Grenville should have recollected, that it went to put down all privileged orders also; and yet noblemen are now adopting this accursed light, as a reason, though I can't tell how, for lugging in popery along with it. But why was so desparate a change attempted? The motive is plain. "If we could support a despotic power," said they, "by merely our own influence, amid the curses of the country, during the year 1806, we may well hope that the accession of the weight of all the papists would render our power immovable."

Now they say, that *we* have raised a cry, that "the church is in danger." The fact is, that *they* have raised a cry that "the church is *not* in danger." That the church would be *more than in danger*, whenever tests are removed, is a truism that common sense never can give up; and yet the duke of Grafton, lords Fitzwilliam, &c. without giving the smallest reason, have signed a protest, that "the assertion that the establishment and the constitution are in danger appears to them entirely groundless." Which party should be believed? We see then that the meaning is, that the church must never be defended, even in its utmost peril; because that, forsooth, would be "raising a cry that the church is in danger."

But the above lords go on to say, that "the circulation of such a *false alarm* (as that the church would be hurt by all its fences being removed) must inevitably tend to excite religious animosities and dissensions." To defend the church is to cause dissensions! whereas, to leave it to itself, they say "would cordially unite *all h* is

majesty's subjects (the friends of the establishment therefore cannot be his subjects); and was too "for a steady, vigorous, and persevering resistance to the efforts of the common enemy." The same story *of the common enemy* lord Howick also urged, *until permission, no doubt*, as a reason for *arming* papists and dissenters, after trying to *disarm* the loyal volunteers; and yet he could not say to himself, "have I not a lie in my right hand?" Surely this method of *uniting* all the kingdom, by breaking down its constitution, and putting arms into the hands of its enemies, must be the most agreeable that can be to him, whom, upon this occasion and no other, they entitle *the common enemy*.

If it be insinuated that the papists will be now quite harmless lambs, (of colonel Kirk's creed, I am afraid) *because* the age is (jacobinically) enlightened, we may ask whether it was not thus enlightened in 1798, when sir R. Musgrave says, they took the following tremendous oath, "I, A. B. do solemnly swear, by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the blessed Virgin Mary, that I will burn, destroy, and murder all heretics, *up to my knees in blood*, so help me God!!!" (appendix p. 136.) Did colonel St. George, Mr. Uniacke, and many others, find them to be *lambs* during that rebellion? I wish not, sir, to produce *irritation*, if the papists will enjoy in quiet the vast favours they have received, but if not, their true principles and conduct, in all ages, *must and shall* be made known in every corner of the kingdom. The proportion of roman catholic that now serve in our fleets and armies are both safe and useful, and they meet with no hardships, except the attendance upon a pure religious worship, instead of the mummery of their own mass; but, as to the project of arming 100,000 of such men as may perhaps have taken the above oath, and who fancy that Bonaparte *holds out to them the fairest prospects, and would break their shackles*, &c. (see p. 259.) we should surely pause, and I heartily wish that all who approve of this measure would read the acts of the 100,000 *pilgrims*, as they were called, to whom paradise in heaven was promised 600 years ago, by pope Innocent III. (mighty *innocent* indeed!) for murdering the Albigenses who were just as criminal as ourselves.

As *liberality* should not quite swallow up truth, I merely intended to point out from what a dangerous situation our beloved sovereign has rescued us. "But he had secret advisers"—blessed advisers they would indeed have been, had there been any such! but does not the constitution give every peer a right of demanding an audience, in order, that, in alarming times, like the present, he may give such advice? who then, but enemies of their country could have turned this into a matter of dark suspicion? But, O shame! eternal shame upon my country! that his majesty had not thousands upon thousands of *public* advisers in so momentous a case as this! It redounds indeed to the additional glory of the monarch, else one could never have pardoned the stupidity and torpor of the public, in not pouring forth as many petitions *then*, as it does addresses *now*. Nor are the present addresses quite so forcible as they should be, for I know an address to the king, in which were originally these words "we suppose and presume, sire, that the more any age is really enlightened, the more apparent must be the errors and dangers of that bloody and antichristian faith, which was invented through the ambition of the popes of Rome." This a person in office expunged, "because, one would not wish," he said, "to *give offence* to any one." O liberality! then enemy to truth, and friend to falsehood, how long art thou to reign. "But the king required a pledge"—and this pledge was in fact the greatest kindness to those who now insult him for it? "I will not turn you out," he graciously said, "if you will only give me a pledge, not to touch on one certain subject, which is unavoidable ruin both to me and to my people." Could he have foreseen their base ingratitude, in accusing him of requiring *general pledges*, it would have been far more easy to have dismissed them without a syllable.

It is really surprising, after the danger of such a ministry has subsided, to see them struggling after votes of thanks to themselves, for actions and attempts that have covered them with infamy—to hear a party that have for so many years, moved heaven, earth, and hell, to gratify their own ambition, charging ambition upon their successor, who really had too little of it; and accusing them of conscious inability for entering on the death of Mr. Pitt, as if modesty were disgraceful, and arrogance and presumption the truest tests of merit. What the *talents* of the political brugars re-

ally were I will not say, but I will boldly say that the greater talents any man of such a party possesses, the more dangerous it must be to his country.

I began these letters to investigate the *merits* which placed Mr. Fox in Westminster Abbey!! but the conduct of his party (worthy pupils of such a tutor!) have made me almost forget him. What is most necessary to say now is that I earnestly beg that no *independent* man will give his vote to a Foxite. And I warn my countrymen always to judge of the future speeches of those who shall again be returned, by their known and acknowledged principles.

As to you and your friends, my lord Fingal, I beseech you be grateful and be happy, and never nevermore be the dupes of a party who are traitors to *their own* religion, and cannot be very true to *yours*. We are christians, and *you know* we can be generous, though we do not forget the statute de hæreticis comburendis. But what madman's dream was that which suggested that fire and water could unite, or that religious dissentions, of their own raising, would be quieted by the admission of your party into power!!! Indeed, if you were once in, it would be extremely difficult to turn you out; as a member formerly said in the house,

I hear a lion in the lobby roar—
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door,
And keep him out?—or fairly let him in,
To try if we can turn him out again?

but it would be easy to prove that the nation never could rest till they had turned you out again—rather than not do it, they would fight, as your people call it, *up to the knees in blood*. But be satisfied. Providence is bringing about a reconciliation perhaps much sooner than we think of. Pardon me if I hint, that the pope's behaviour to the kings of France, of Naples, &c. may *accelerate his fall*. But independently of this, you should avoid the example of the bloody queen Mary, who told bishop Ridley, that "she never had read, nor ever would read a heretic book," and therefore she murdered the man that would have saved her soul. Thus, my lord, it is surely the duty of all you, who are brought up catholics, to pay, nevertheless, a candid attention to the writings of our incomparable divines; and if you did so many of you would soon be as sincerely protestants as

AJAX FLAGELLIFER.

TO THE SERIOUS AND IMPARTIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

Gentlemen,—Being almost a perfect stranger in your county, I cannot suppose that my real signature would add any weight to the few remarks which I shall take the liberty of making in this address, much less can I imagine, that as an anonymous writer, I shall gain any other attention than that to which I am entitled by the justice of my arguments:—Trusting, therefore, to your candour, and to that patient investigation of truth for which my countrymen are so eminently distinguished, I shall proceed, without further preface, to the consideration of the subject on which I propose troubling you.

In these times of anarchy and infidelity, it has pleased the almighty to spare us equally from the invasion of the French in person, and from the admission of their diabolical anti-religious tenets; we may, I think, without presumption, conclude that our valour has, (under Providence) preserved us from the incursions of the fiends themselves, while the sober good sense of the people of these realms, aided by the excellence of our constitution, has saved us from the introduction of their destructive principles. To all those, however, who are *sincere* well-wishers to the church, it has long been evident, that the numerous religious to which the sects, of toleration have been extended, have greatly contributed to lessen the influence of the church, as by law established; and I fear it is equally evident, that although, by the well-timed interference of our most gracious sovereign, the *plot* for the introduction of *papists* into *commanding situations*, has been happily counteracted, yet the zeal displayed by the *other* secretaries, is as great as that of the Roman catholics, and, in my opinion, is likely to prove infinitely more destructive, both because they are *less open* in their conduct, and because, being *divided* into so *great a variety*

of clamor, the like danger is not *apprehended* from their efforts, as from the exertions of the more *compact body* of Romanists. It is, however, worthy of remark, and of serious consideration, that the dissenters, of various descriptions, known under the general denomination of methodists, however they may disagree among themselves on religious topics, are observed to make use of every opportunity for expressing their antipathy to the church, from which they have most unaccountably separated. To those among you, therefore, who are *avowed*, or *secret enemies*, (for I consider all those as enemies, who, not professing a dislike to our articles, yet think fit to promote *schism*, by absenting themselves from church, under pretence of attending their *more godly tabernacle-teachers*) &c. I do not address myself with the slightest hope of success: but to such as really wish well to the church establishment, who think with me, that our ecclesiastical and political governments are so interwoven, that one cannot subsist without the other, and consequently that, if the venerable church-fabric should be undermined, our political existence would not be of long continuance; to such as think that unless strenuous exertions are made to preserve us, the efforts of these subtle enemies must succeed in effecting their detested purpose, I submit calmly, (earnestly beseeching them to weigh so important a subject with the attention it deserves,) whether they imagine that the interests of the church will be served by the election of Mr. Wilberforce, as one of their representatives in parliament? I know, that if this letter is read, the above appeal will excite surprise in many, and even indignation in the minds of some individuals who agree in opinion with the writer on the DECAYING INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: but if they would be candid, they must consider further, that although I MAY be mistaken in supposing Mr. Wilberforce to be a methodist, yet it is pretty clear that those people themselves consider him in that light, by the frequent mention they make of, and the high encomiums they bestow on him, in their sermons:—and though it is difficult for *us* to ascertain exactly whether a man is entitled to this *honourable appellation* (so numerous are the tricks and artifices employed to conceal their *real* opinions,) yet, from a close attention to their *ways*, I am convinced that they are as well known to each other as the free-masons; they have meetings large and small, *public* and *private*, throughout the country: they have discourses for *mixed congregations*, for those that are *more select*, and, again, a third and more interesting kind for their *godly meetings in private houses*: in short, it would require the pen of an Abbé Barruel, to unravel their intricacies. To avoid farther digression; it signifies little, as far as argument is concerned, whether Mr. Wilberforce is a methodist or not, for if it is evident, as I think it assuredly is, that he is considered by all sects inimical to the establishment, as their supporter and rallying point; if it is likewise evident that he misses no occasion of promoting their interest, in order to secure to himself so *enviable* a distinction, I think it must be acknowledged, that by electing Mr. Wilberforce, you raise the influence of the methodist party, and, in so doing, there is no doubt that in an equal degree you diminish the influence of the establishment. Having long entertained these sentiments, it was with the deepest regret that I observed, in the account of the *last* general election, that the gentleman above-mentioned walked over your course without a competitor. This afforded but too melancholy a proof of the influence of the party in general, and of *its head* in your extensive county. Among the great number which so large a province must doubtless furnish, of men qualified by talents, by *good principles*, by *connections and fortune*, to represent you in parliament, was there not one willing to come forward in support of the church? I protest that if I possessed 600*l.* a year in the county, I would shew myself at the election, and, avowing my sincere attachment to the constitution in church and state, (for no one can *support* the one at the expense of the other,) I would declare my intention to oppose Mr. Wilberforce, because, whatever may be *his* real principles, I conceived him to be the chief supporter of those most inimical to that constitution.

I am glad to hear, however, that there will be now an opposition in your county, and though he is, I fear, too well confirmed in his seat, to be apprehensive of an overthrow *at present*, yet, I trust, the day will come when it shall not be in the power of *the king of the methodists* to style himself triumphantly the KING OF YORKSHIRE!!!

I see that the little gentleman has been at his *old tricks* again, in publishing a pamphlet on the *popular side* of a *popular subject*, just before the dissolution of parliament. But I must repeat my hope, that the day is not far distant, when *his* character will be properly understood; as well as the *extreme danger* of supporting and countenancing men who are in fact our greatest enemies.

With every good wish for the *true* honour of the county,

I remain, gentlemen, &c. &c.

A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

May 5, 1807.

ANGLESEA ADDRESS

The following glorious and loyal address, I have inserted, on account of its patriotism, and the high respect I entertain for my friends in that quarter.

Moved and carried *unanimously*, at a most numerous and respectable county meeting.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the gentlemen, clergy, and free-holders of the county of Anglesea, beg leave, most humbly, to approach your throne, with sentiments of heartfelt gratitude, for your majesty's paternal care, so recently displayed, in your gracious protection of our protestant establishments in church and state. Contemplating, with just reverence and admiration, the excellence of those establishments, as founded at the reformation, and confirmed to us, by that happy revolution which placed your majesty's royal ancestors on the throne; we feel ourselves unalterably attached to our present glorious constitution, and deprecate innovation. Actuated by no party, and influenced by no prejudices; but deeply impressed with a grateful sense of the many blessings which we and our forefathers have enjoyed, under the protection of your majesty, and your royal house, we rely, with perfect confidence, on the wisdom and firmness of your majesty, for the preservation of a constitution, so justly dear to Britons.

Animated and encouraged by an example so illustrious, we declare our determination to second, with our best endeavours, your majesty's most gracious care, for the future security of the established church; and we pledge ourselves to support with our lives and fortunes, the exercise of your majesty's most just prerogative.

(Signed) BY P. PENTON, Esq.—High Sheriff.

In the name of the meeting.

Continuation of the LONDON GAZETTE, *of Saturday, May* 9, 1807.

I therefore moved forward about eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, and in our way forced a pallisaded intrenchment, with a deep ditch in front of it, (that had been thrown up by the Turks, as a defence against the Mamelukes and Arabs on the western side) stretching from Fort des Bains to lake Mareotis, strengthened by three batteries mounting 8 guns, exclusive of Fort des Bains on its right flank, mounting 13 guns.—This we effected with very little loss, though under a very heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and proceeded within a few yards of Pompey's gate, where we found the garrison prepared to receive us, the gate barricaded, and the walls lined with troops and armed inhabitants: this added to the smallness of my force, (not exceeding one thousand men of all descriptions,) led me to think the risk too great, and I determined to proceed to the westward, as I had originally intended, where I arrived in the morning of the 19th, and took up my position on the ground the British troops occupied in the action of the 21st. immediately sending detachments to take possession of Aboukir Castle, and the cut between the Lakes Mandie and Mareotis, by which communication the reinforcement of Albanians was expected in Alexandria: in both these attempts we succeeded.

The next day, the 20th, I sent in (by a friendly Arab that had stolen out of town and joined us) a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, warning them of the danger of implicating friends and foes, in the event of taking the place by assault, and in-

ing them to force the governor to capitulate. This had the desired effect: a flag of truce was sent out, and a capitulation (of which I herewith inclose a copy) was agreed to and signed.—Although this service has fortunately not been of long duration, yet, from the scantiness of our numbers, and the scarcity of all sorts of supplies, as well military stores as provisions (which the boisterous state of the weather completely prevented our receiving), our situation was, for some time, rather critical; and I am happy to have it in my power to bear testimony to the patience and cheerfulness with which the troops bore every privation, and the ardour and spirit they shewed in the attack of the enemy's works, as well as the inclination and wish they displayed to have stormed the place, had I deemed that step advisable.—To major-general Wauchope, brig. gen. Stuart, and colonel Oswald, who landed with and accompanied me, I feel myself under great obligations for their exertions and assistance in carrying on the service; and I am much indebted to lieut. col. Airey, acting as deputy adjutant general, and capt. Green, acting as deputy quarter-master general, for the great attention and zeal shewn by them in forwarding and executing the duties of their respective departments; and I think it but justice to capt. Pym, and to the officers and men of the detachment of the Royal Artillery that was with me, to mention the very great zeal and alacrity which they displayed on every occasion, which I am confident would have been equally conspicuous on the part of capt. Burgoyne and the officers of the Engineers, had circumstances permitted them to have acted.

To capt. Hallowell, and the officers and seamen of his majesty's ship Tigre, I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgements for the assistance they afforded me, and for the readiness with which they stood forward on all occasions. Capt. Hallowell landed and marched with me to the attack of the enemy's entrenchments, and to the very gates of the city, and remained on shore until the place surrendered; from his advice and local knowledge, I derived much useful information. Capt. Withers of the Royal Navy, agent of transports, is also entitled to praise, for his activity in landing the troops, and for the exertions he afterwards made for supplying them with provisions.—I send you herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, together with returns of prisoners made, and of the public stores of different descriptions, found in the several batteries and magazines. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) A. M. FRASER, Maj. Gen.

P. S. The Apollo, with 19 transports, came to anchor in Aboukir Bay, on the morning of the 20th, and Sir J. Duckworth's squadron arrived here on the 22d.

It is but due to lieut. Hunter, and a small detachment of the 20th Light Dragoons, who were landed without their horses or arms, to mention the zeal and spirit with which they volunteered their services, and carried the scaling ladders on the night of the 13th.

Articles of the Capitulation for the Surrender of the City of Alexandria.—Seid Mahomed Naim Effendi being commissioned by his Excellency Emen Bey, the Governor, and Hagg Mahomet Katep and Seig Ibrahim, Chieftain of the People, accompanied by Signor Antonio Goddard, propose to place the City and Forts in the Possession of the Commanders in Chief of the Land and Naval Forces of his Britannic Majesty, his Excellency Major-Gen. Fraser, and Captain Hallowell, upon the following Conditions:

1. All private property of individuals, whether on land, or embarked shall be respected. The religion of the inhabitants, their mosques, and their laws shall be respected, as well as their houses and families. 2. The commandant, his excellency Emen Bey, as well as the commandant of the marine, Satak Aga, and Mahamed Naim Effendi, with all the official retinue of the government, the troops and the crews of the vessels belonging to government, shall be sent to a port of Turkey, with the arms and baggage of individuals, but they are to consider themselves as prisoners of war, and shall not be engaged to take up arms against the British forces, or their allies, until exchanged. 3. The vessels belonging to government, and all public property, shall be given up to the British forces, and commissaries shall be appointed on both sides to make an inventory. 4. All Ottoman vessels belonging to individuals, and all property belonging to private subjects of the Sublime Porte,

which shall be found within Alexandria, shall be respected. Such persons as wish to remain in the country shall have the liberty to do so, if their conduct and character shall make it safe; and those who wish to depart may carry with them their properties, and shall be furnished with passports for landing in any port of Turkey, which shall not be blockaded. 5. There shall be a general amnesty for all the inhabitants, nor shall any notice be taken of the conduct they may have held during the defence of the place. 6. There shall be no seizure of the property of individuals, if they shall not become enemies of Great Britain. 7. The gate of Rosetta shall be placed in the hands of the forces of his Britannic majesty, as well as Fort Cretin and Fort Caffarellie.

From the camp without the city of Alexandria, the 20th March, 1807, or the 10th of the month Maharen, of the year 1222.

(Signed) SEED MAHAMED NAIM EFFENDI.
HAGG MAHAMET KATEP.
SIEG IBRAHIM BASA.

(Signed) ALEX. M. FRASER, Maj. Gen. commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.
BEN. HALLOWELL, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre.

Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Army, in the Attack of the 18th of March, 1807, under the Command of Major-Gen. Fraser.

1st. bat. 35th reg. 2 rank and file, killed, 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Reg. De Rolle, 1 assistant surgeon, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—Sicilian Volunteers, 2 rank and file, killed.—Royal Artillery, 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, wounded.——Total, 1 officer, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Assistant-surgeon, Cattanaeo, killed; lieut. Cameron, wounded.

Return of the Garrison of Alexandria previous to its Surrender, the 21st of March, 1807.

Soldiers of the line, 215; gunners, 44; sailors and marines, 208.—Total, 467.

Escaped of the above number while the capitulation was pending, 240.—Total prisoners remaining, 227.

GEORGE AIREY, Acting Dep. Adj. General.

[The list of ordnance will appear in the next Gazette.]

Copy of a Letter to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood.

Tigre, off Alexandria, March 24, 1807.—Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that in obedience to your orders, addressed to the senior officer at Sicily, I sailed from Messina on the 6th instant, with the troops under the command of major-general Fraser, destined to take possession of Alexandria.

On the 15th we reached the Arabs Tower, with fourteen sail of the convoy, nineteen having parted, on the night of the 7th, in a heavy squall and thick weather.—With so small a proportion of the army, the general did not think it prudent to shew the transports, until he had received some information of the enemy's force. I therefore stood in with the Tigre on the 16th, having Major-General Fraser on board, (leaving the convoy in the offing) hoping to ascertain from Major Misset, the British resident, and Mr. Briggs, the vice consul (whom we expected to find in the Wizard brig, which had been previously detached to receive them on board) the strength and disposition of the garrison and inhabitants of the place. On the evening of the same day, having received most satisfactory accounts from Major Misset and Mr. Briggs, of the friendly disposition of the inhabitants towards us, and the little prospect there was of meeting any opposition on our landing, the transports were called in, and we all anchored off the Western Harbour. A summons was immediately sent, demanding possession of the fortresses, promising protection to the persons and private property of every individual; but, contrary to our expectations, the officers who had been sent with the summons, returned the morning after, with a declaration from the governor that he would defend the place to the last extremity.

As our intentions were now known to the enemy, every delay on our part would have afforded them an opportunity of strengthening their position. The general, therefore, determined on landing immediately with the force he had with him, and on the evening of the 17th, between six and seven hundred troops, with five field pieces, and fifty-six seamen, under lieut. Boxer, were put on shore near the Ravine, from Lake Mariotis to the sea, without opposition; but from the heavy surf which got up during the night, it was late in the afternoon of the following day, before the remainder could be got on shore. As soon as the whole were collected and formed, they moved forward and attacked the enemy's advanced works, which were carried with little loss. And as we had been informed that a number of Albanians were expected from Rosetta and Cairo, to reinforce the garrison, the army took up a position to the eastward of Alexandria, occupying the cut on the canal, by which all communication was cut off between Alexandria and Rosetta.

On the 19th the Apollo and remainder of the convoy appeared in the offing, and having joined, she proceeded with all the transports to Aboukir Bay, where they began on the 20th to land their troops, (the castle of Aboukir having been previously occupied by us previous to their anchoring.) The appearance of such a reinforcement induced the governor to offer terms of capitulation, similar to those which we at first proposed; which were accepted on the 20th in the afternoon, and possession taken of the heights of Cafarelle and Creun, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st.

As the general did me the honour to express a wish that I should remain on shore from the time of our first disembarkation, I left the Tigre in charge of Mr. Fowell, first lieutenant; and to him, and captain Withers (principal agent for the transports) and all the officers and men of the Tigre and transports, I feel much indebted for their exertions, which was a most arduous service, from the great distance they had to row, and the heavy surf they had to encounter on the beach.

As the general directed all the movements of the army in person, it does not become me to enter into any farther details; I shall only observe, that the utmost harmony prevailed during the whole of our operations.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the articles of capitulation,* which has put us into possession of the fortresses and harbour: and beg to offer my congratulations on its being accomplished with so little loss.

In the Old or Western Port we have taken two Turkish frigates and a corvette, all mounting brass guns; one carrying twenty-eight 18-pounders on her main deck; six 18-pound carronades, and four long 9-pounders, on her quarter-deck; and two 9-pounders on the forecastle: the other, twenty-six 12 pounders on the main-deck; and eight 6-pounders on the quarter-deck. The corvette fourteen 6-pounders and two 18-pounders, long guns. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) BEN. HALLOWELL.

[A letter from captain Raitt, of the Scout, to Lord Collingwood, states, that he drove on shore, on the coast of Spain, where she was destroyed, one of the largest of the enemy's privateers which infest the streights of Gibraltar. She was called the Admiral of Tarissa, and had 10 guns, with 100 men.

Paris, May 5.—The emperor having received the *Senatus Consultum* at Finckenstein, relative to the anticipated levy of 80,000 men for the conscription of 1809, together with the address of the senate in answer to the message containing the proposal for that purpose, his majesty has ordered both documents to be printed. The following is the address:—

Sire,—The message which your imperial and royal majesty has addressed from the imperial camp of Osterode, and the senatus consultum which we have adopted, are fresh proofs of the sublime foresight of your majesty, which leaves nothing to chance, when the dearest interests of France and the destiny of Europe are concerned. The country is going to put arms into the hands of 80,000 of its children who, in 1809, would have assembled round your majesty's eagles. The desire of

* See major-general Fraser's dispatch.

putting a speedy end to a just and glorious war by a permanent peace, and not to leave any appearance of inquietude upon the public mind, has determined your majesty to assemble the young conscripts around your standards six months sooner than they would have been called out under circumstances less important.

During the time that must transpire before the epoch when their military career will be opened to them, they, being retained in France, and as we may say about their own homes, will acquire the habits of a military life in a manner more easy, more salutary, and more useful to the state than otherwise. Your imperial and royal majesty is going to give them the honour of defending the coasts and the frontiers of the empire. In the camps in the interior of France, they may supply the places of those corps who have grown old in battles, and who ultimately receive that noble recompense which they claim with so much ardour, viz. the honour of combating again under your majesty's eye. If the Islanders, abandoning the element which protects them, should dare to venture upon a country covered with camps and strong places, this youthful army will convince them that French valour is of every age, and soon make them repent an enterprize, which the consciousness of our strength would rather lead to wish for than avoid.

Victory, faithful to your majesty, has forced back the ravages of war 300 leagues from our frontier. The legions of reserve which will be formed of the new conscripts, will hasten to maintain that tranquillity in the interior of our provinces which they owe to your majesty's triumphs. In this noble employment, and in that of guaranteeing our frontiers, by land and sea, from invasion they may diminish the fatigues and the constant assiduity on the part of those brave and respectable fathers of families, who, under the standards of the national guards, have generously devoted their time, so precious to their children and to the state, to the defence of the empire. Thus your majesty, in the midst of your phalanxes, and beyond the Vistula, never loses sight either of the interest of the manufactures, agriculture, commerce, or the domestic happiness of families; while you never cease to watch over the safety of our country, to interest yourself in its general prosperity, and prepare for the repose of Europe.

Your imperial and royal majesty has been pleased to call to the command of these legions, the members of the senate who had distinguished themselves in the career of glory before they took their seats among us. In the midst, sire, of camps and citadels, the same as within the walls of Paris, France will behold all her senators giving the same examples of absolute devotion to their country and to your majesty. Our colleagues will watch over the conduct of those young men whom your majesty will entrust to them, as fathers attentive to their children, worthy of so lively an interest. They will have no occasion to teach them to love glory, their country, and your majesty; but they will convince them, that good discipline will increase their strength against the enemy; and that, by the habit of military exercises, they will overcome the difficulties of distance, climates, and seasons, without danger. They will acquaint them with the rapid advances with which they may become habituated. They will hold out to them the moment when, restored back to all that is dear to them, they will receive the esteem of their fellow citizens as a new reward of their courage. They will convince them that public gratitude is not manifested in any country equal to France, towards those warriors, whose wounds and honourable infirmities compel them to quit the standards under which they have fought; and they will point out to them that distinction, not less brilliant than glorious, with which your majesty rewards the splendid actions of the soldier equally with those of the general.

Your majesty has said, that your confidence in the senate is unlimited. Sire, the senate, and the whole nation, are penetrated with the most lively, perfect, and respectful confidence in your majesty's genius, in your wisdom, in your virtues, and your love of the French people.

In a few words, sire, the grand army, commanded by the greatest of warriors, has passed the Elbe, upon the borders of which Charlemagne was compelled to put a period to his conquests; and the Oder, astonished at seeing the French ensigns glittering upon its banks; the Vistula, and so many morasses, sands, and deserts which divide it from the Oder. Nine of those places, fortified as strongly by art

as by nature, the taking of any one of which would have illustrated a whole campaign under the most famous generals during the two last ages, have fallen into the hands of your majesty. Six hundred pieces of cannon taken upon the field of battle—4000 pieces of heavy artillery—400 standards, a whole kingdom disarmed, and 200,000 prisoners, all attest the formidable power of your majesty's arms.

The generous polish cohorts, the brave legions of Bavarians, Saxons, Wirtemburgers, Badois, and other Germans, who make a part of the Confederation of the Rhine, display, in the midst of your eagles, those antient banners which their valour has decorated with new laurels.

The ranks of your army now present 130,000 combatants more than your majesty had at the commencement of the fourth coalition. Winter, the only ally of the Russians, will soon cease to defend the Muscovite frontiers by its frost, its snow, and its inundations, and those waters which stagnate in its immense deserts. Disease, every day, spreads its ravages among your enemies.

However, sire, greater precautions have never been concerted. From the Pyrenees to the Pregel, from Holland to Calabria, from Finisterre to the borders of the Cattaro, every thing is connected by an immense system of defence, as well as of attack. The union of these calculations of a prudence which can foresee and prevent every kind of reverse; and those sublime conceptions of genius which appreciates and secures the most astonishing success, have always preceded the great events that have marked the principal epochs of the career of your majesty's glory, which has always been connected with those plans, the execution of which has decided the fate of empires. Possibly, within a short time, your majesty, by one of those grand manœuvres, inspired by the most sublime thoughts, perfected by the results of long experience, meditated in secret, developed with art, and executed with the rapidity of lightning, may place the grand army in a position which nature never discloses but to the skilful eye of a great captain, and where the enemy, surprised, turned, and surrounded, must either receive death or law from the conqueror. Your majesty will only dictate that of peace, necessary to Europe, and that peace which you have never ceased to offer.

With what astonishment, sire, will posterity learn, that in spite of so many prodigies, which it will scarcely credit, and in spite of the prosperous situation of the finances of that state to which your majesty has no need to have recourse for a new contribution, nothing has been able to diminish your majesty's moderation? It is always the same—that moderation equally as admirable upon the borders of the Rhine as in the palace of the Thuilleries, and at Berlin just the same as before the battle of Jena; upon the field of battle strewed with Russians slain at Eylau, the same as in the capital of the Great Frederick. Sire, you say in the message you have addressed to us, "If at this time we ask our people for new sacrifices, and to invest us with new means of power, we do not hesitate to declare, that it is not to abuse them in prolonging the war. Our politics are fixed. We offered peace to England before she brought forward the fourth coalition; this peace we offer her still. The principal minister whom she employed in the negociation, has positively declared, in the public assemblies, that this peace would have been honourable and advantageous to England. He has thus given evidence to the justice of our cause. We are ready to conclude peace with Russia upon the same conditions which its negociator had signed, and which the intrigues and influence of England compelled the emperor Alexander to reject. We are ready to restore tranquillity to the eight millions of people conquered by us, and the capital of Prussia to its sovereign." But, sire, how affecting are the words which you add:—"Frenchmen, we will brave all dangers for the glory and the repose of our children." Sire, every Frenchman will brave all dangers for their country, and its dear father.

(Signed) CAMBACERES,

Paris, April 7. Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President.

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. HODGSON, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°22. Saturday, May 30, 1807. Price 10d.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

WESTMINSTER.—On the final close of the poll, on Saturday last, the numbers were

For Sir Francis Burdett . .	5133
Lord Cochrane . . .	3708
Mr. Sheridan	2645
Mr. Elliot	2137

The seditious demagogue and lord Cochrane were accordingly returned; though it is evident that if the friends of the constitution as by law established had come forwards, that detestable incendiary, Burdett, could not have been returned. For there remained full 9000 more voters, who compose by far the most respectable part of the population of the city of Westminster, but who, with an apathy that they will have reason to deplore, kept themselves aloof from the contest, and avoided altogether their attendance at the hustings to exercise their elective franchises. It has been said, as an apology for such indifference, that they took no interest whatever in the success of any of the candidates, and that if any one were entitled to their preference, lord Cochrane would have been the object of their choice. But, admitting the sincerity of this declaration, I should be glad to know why his lordship stood the second instead of the first upon the poll? and why Mr. Elliot, who was known to be a friend to his king and country, should have been the last upon the list? the fact is, when every loyal man entertains the indolent opinion that his individual vote is of little consequence, and that the exercise of this duty is a business which every other person will do without the necessity of his aid, the patriotic candidate can have but little chance of success; while, on the other hand, incendiaries, abetted by a small but resolute banditti, have it in their power to overcome the exertions of the more honourable part of the community. It is in this manner, we must account for the triumph of Burdett and his adherents; and my readers will perceive, from the following insolent and seditious address of this inflammatory and unconstitutional demagogue to the electors of Westminster, that he has taken the earliest opportunity to avail himself of the favour conferred upon him, in order to libel our sovereign and the whole legislature, as well as to provoke the rabble to acts of turbulence. There is not a line of it, that does not denote the weakness of his talents, and the rancorous malice of his heart.

"Next to the consciousness of endeavouring sincerely to serve my country, nothing can be more pleasing to my mind than the public approbation of my endeavours. Accept my grateful thanks. At the same time forgive me for feeling something like despair of any good to the country, whilst I see the regular expenses of corruption greatly exceed all the expenses necessary for any war, which we can be justified in pursuing—whilst I see attempts to delude the public mind, by comparatively petty and insignificant inquiries into what is termed peculation—whilst those inquirers themselves think it not dishonourable to seize greedily every opportunity of enriching themselves out of the public spoil, by any other means not termed by them peculation. Such wretched notions of public honour and honesty can afford no signal benefit to the public, nor can give us any suitable redress. They appear to me to resemble the notion of chastity entertained by the prostitute, who boldly challenged any one to say that she ever went out of the regiment. According to them, all within the regiment, all within the red book, is honourable and virtuous; and they insult us by declaring, that they have as good a title by the red book, as any of the people can have to the fruits of their industry, or to the inheritance of their ancestors; from which industry, and from which inheritance, be it remembered, and from them alone, the red book itself takes every thing that it has to bestow; so that they pretend as good a right to all which they can contrive to take from us, as we

have to the remainder—till they can take that too. Gentlemen, figure to yourselves a gang of robbers, combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of several surrounding parishes, and agreeing amongst themselves to share the booty, in such different proportions as the leader of the gang shall appoint to each. From time to time it will happen, that some thief or other amongst them will purloin a part of the booty, and clandestinely appropriate to himself more than his appointed share. The purloiner is detected; and the gang, with open mouths, exclaim against the atrocity of cheating the regiment, the only crime of the kind which they acknowledge to be so. Would it not be ridiculous in these plundered parishes to take any part in such a dispute, and to divide themselves into strong parties for the accusers or the accused? as long as the thieves, in common, take all they can seize, what is it to the plundered people who share the booty, how they share it, and in what proportions? Ought they not rather to destroy the gang, and abolish the combination? such is my conception of the different corrupt ministers we have seen, and their corrupt adherents; and unless the public, with an united voice, shall loudly pronounce the abolition of the whole of the present system of corruption, I must still continue to despair of my country. You, gentlemen, by this unparalleled election, have loudly pronounced your sentiments. May your voice be echoed through the land. In the mean time, though an individual is almost as nothing in the scale, I will carry with me your sentiments into the house of commons; and I assure you, that no rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted, to restore to my countrymen the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair fruits of their industry, to tear out the accursed leaves of that scandalous red book, and to bring back men's minds to the almost forgotten notions of the sacredness of private property, which ought no longer to be transferred from the ligitimate possessors, by the corrupt votes of venal and mercenary combinations. I will continue, gentlemen, disinterestedly faithful to the interests of my country, and endeavour to prove myself your zealous representative.

FRANCIS BURDETT."

Upon such principles dressed in a style too vulgar to be misunderstood by the five thousand who gave their votes for him, Burdett expects to be carried in triumph to the house of commons. But he and his adherents are egregiously deceived, if they imagine that there are not other men in the kingdom, besides the neutral and indifferent electors of Westminster, who have the virtue, the loyalty, and the courage to resist their unprincipled maxims. It was in the power of a vast unpolled majority of the electors of Westminster to have silenced for ever the venomous tongue of this man; it was in their power to have crushed the hydra of sedition by a constitutional and manly interference. The disgrace is their own, not ours, for suffering themselves to be overruled by the activity of a turbulent rabble. But I am sorry to observe that this is too much the case in all established governments. The disaffected pursue their objects with zeal, courage, fraud, and cordiality: they supply by vigour and union their deficiency in number and character; and while loyal subjects sit down under the mistaken notion that it is not in the power of a rebellious confederacy to subvert a system which has for ages produced more practical happiness than ever was known before, the citadel may be taken possession of by a comparatively small but desperate band, and the whole fabric of social order fall to the ground. While loyal men sleep, the tares of jacobinism grow up and prosper.

In the manifesto published by Burdett's committee, the electors are told, that they "have had to contend against wealth, influence, and power." Nothing can be more false. Most sincerely do I regret, that wealth, influence, and power were not exerted to suppress the reviving embers of disaffection. But so far is this assertion from being true, that when I proposed, in a committee of the opposite party, that each of us should subscribe to defray the expense of distributing short and considerate appeals amongst the electors, to disabuse their minds, and to explain to them the grounds of the election, the proposal was rejected lest the adoption of the measure might cause the populace to pull down the house of the candidate! Great God! is it possible to believe, after the experience we have all had of internal convulsions for twelve years successively, that virtuous men are now to be intimidated by the menaced violence of the mob! Did not Mr. Pitt and his courageous col-

leagues keep down and overawe their jacobin fury, in defiance of their threats? and were not our king and country saved thereby? The energy, the zeal, the activity of the partizans of Burdett, were indescribable, and they deserve the victory of which they boast: while we, burning with an honest desire of supporting the constitution, leave the constitution nevertheless to support itself. Day after day, the jacobin manufactory issued from the press inflammatory *placards* and hand-bills; while not one address was published by their opponents to dispel illusion, and to excite the activity of the loyal.

As far as the limits of this weekly review allowed, I exerted myself to detect the schemes of the demagogue, and to invoke the honest electors to prevent his return. I stated the motives which caused the appeal to their loyalty and patriotism, and conjured them to recollect the duty which they owed to their king, their constitution, and the rest of their fellow citizens; and I foretold that if they suffered themselves to be overborne by the seditious multitude, the result would be that they would find a rallying point in Burdett, and that the city of Westminster would thenceforward be the hotbed of disaffection. Every syllable of this prediction has been fulfilled: for Burdett had scarcely time to be made acquainted with the circumstances of his election before he published that seditious address to the electors, which, in my opinion, conveys a greater satire upon the unpolled electors than all the reproofs which can come from the friends of the constitution. I have heard years ago very violent and inflammatory harangues; I have read most mischievous incentives to rebellion; but I have never met with any thing equal to this address, in vulgarity, insolence, falsehood, and hardened atrocity. To say that it is a libel upon the whole country, is to speak of it in terms of moderation—IT IS A TREASONABLE MANIFESTO AGAINST THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION; AND AN ACT OF INCIPIENT REBELLION AGAINST THE KING, AND THE REST OF THE LEGISLATURE.

When the virtuous energies of the people are displayed in defence of their constitution; when so happy an agreement prevails between the government and the nation; when amongst all orders of men nothing is to be seen or heard but an uniform devotion to the country, every one being conscious that we have to grapple with miscreants who know not freedom, and despise its liberal cares, a wretched crowd forced from their homes, drunk with carnage, in peace disarmed by jealous tyranny, and in war, the victims of their tyrant;—this is the time which Burdett selects to renew his slanders; this is the moment when this unblushing and mischievous buffoon requests the electors of Westminster "*to forgive him for feeling something like despair of any good to the country.*"

From the enormous criminality of Burdett's doctrines, particularly since his late address, a very general wish prevails, that the house of commons should exercise its high jurisdiction, by refusing his admission into the house as one of its members. Although I approve the loyal and upright motives of the persons who thus express themselves, yet I cannot give my assent to such a proposition. Much as I detest and despise the execrable demagogue, I cannot readily consent to see the elective franchise controuled in the smallest degree by the interference of the house of commons. Burdett having been elected by a majority of the electors, who tendered their votes, he is, to all intents and purposes, the lawful representative of the *virtuous* and *loyal* citizens of Westminster; and if the house of commons were to take upon itself to sit in judgment upon the people's choice, there would soon be an end of the freedom of election; for in such case the house would, *in fact*, be the electors, and not the people. I must except therefore against that doctrine. But, inasmuch as Burdett has declared, *since* his election, that he is in open hostility with every thing that is venerable and holy in our institutions; since he has declared that the parliament is composed only of a gang of thieves, with our good old king as their leader; if the king's attorney general should not intercept his further progress, there are two modes left for us to pursue.

The first would redeem the sullied honour of the city of Westminster, and wipe away the stigma universally affixed to its character, at the same time it would serve to deter future delinquents, by making a memorable example of this inflammatory demagogue. The measure I propose is this—that a petition should be presented to the

house of commons, signed by *a majority of the whole body of electors*, requesting it to eject from its bosom this incorrigible and predestinated malefactor. For this purpose the poll-books would be of great use, and it would be extremely easy to ascertain the real voters, by appointing proper officers, under the authority of the high bailiff, to inspect the eligibility of the voters before they subjoin their signatures. If this were done, it would be one of the proudest documents ever recorded in honour of the British constitution, and in vindication of the electoral character. I am compelled to write always in such haste, as rarely to have an opportunity to refer to books; but, if my recollection does not fail me, I have read in our old books on parliamentary usages, that a representative who had been returned to parliament (for Lynn, I believe,) in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was expelled upon a similar petition from his constituents. Before the publication of my next number I hope to be able to ascertain the fact, and I shall take care to lay the result before my readers.

The other mode is warranted by numberless precedents—this is, for a respectable number of the electors to present the incendiary, at the next meeting of the grand jury, as a libeller and mover of sedition. By adopting this step two material points would be secured: first, it would take the prosecution out of the hands of government, which I conceive would be, in this case, extremely politic, for reasons that thinking men must readily perceive; and secondly, it would shew that the prosecution was instituted on popular grounds by the people, in behalf of their king, their civil establishments, and their laws. Early in the last century, the famous lord Bolingbroke's atheistical philosophy was so prosecuted, and there are various other instances to warrant the measure. At all events, if there cannot be found amongst the electors men who possess loyalty and courage enough to come forward in vindication of the frame of government under which they live and are protected, I am resolved this infamous address of Burdett shall not descend unnoticed to posterity. I shall wait, therefore, for fourteen days, to see what may be done in furtherance of either of the two measures recommended herein; and should it appear that the inhabitants of Westminster are so mean, wicked, and pusillanimous as to brook such unparalelled indignity, I will present him myself, and take the burthen of the expense, the clamour of the populace, and their fury, upon my own shoulders. For, with my experience of the pernicious effects which result from the unmolested propagation of seditious principles at their first promulgation, I should consider myself as the basest, the most cowardly, and the most ungrateful among men, if as a subject I looked on with indifference, while a worthless leader of vagabonds defamed the best prince who ever sat upon the British throne, and calumniated the legislature of the only country of Europe which retains the spirit, and enjoys the practical benefits of enlightened freedom, and of equal laws.

It has been said, by way of palliation by some of the friends of Burdett, who are confounded at the appearance of his address, that it was not his composition, but was written by the old man of Wimbledon, his preceptor or adviser. Admitting this to be the fact, it does not alter the case; it rather aggravates its infamy. If Burdett did not write it himself, he is equally responsible for its publication. The time for discrimination is now really come. This abominable address must be expunged from the memory of Englishmen. We have a constitution to preserve, which the most accomplished legislators of antiquity considered as a system more to be desired than practised; and which the concurrent testimony of modern statesmen of all countries has applauded, as the noblest edifice for the security, peace, and happiness of man. To avert the sentence of final destruction from being executed upon England, we must strengthen the arm of government, by confidence, vigilance, and public spirit. The people must reject the pestiferous maxims of the criminal incendiaries who would tear open the bowels of their native country, and they should take upon themselves to repress the vices which menace their own internal tranquillity. Good men should embody when bad men conspire. At all events, it is better that we should appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober; rather than from Philip drunk to-day, to Philip drunk to-morrow.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE has in a great degree redeemed its character by the rejection of lord Henry Petty, who has been compelled to seek for refuge in the snug borough of Camelford. But, it is really to be regretted, that so

learned a body should not have branded lord Euston with an equal mark of its displeasure, inasmuch as he was an accomplice in the crime of lord Henry Petty. For half an hour before the doors of the senate house were closed, it was generally believed that lord Palmerston, who is a most deserving young nobleman, would have been the successful candidate, and it is certain that he would have been elected, if the party of lord Henry Petty had not played off a stratagem, which defeated the hopes of lord Palmerston's friends. Finding that there was no prospect of the success of our late rigadooning chancellor of the exchequer, "the star that was just beaming above the horizon," according to Mr. Windham, they made over eighteen votes in favour of lord Euston to secure his election and with a view to exclude lord Palmerston. This stroke of dexterity was barely realized, for, upon casting up the numbers, lord Palmerston was only fourteen votes below lord Euston. The numbers stood thus,

For Vicary Gibbs . . .	312
Lord Euston . . .	324
Lord Palmerston . .	310
Lord Henry Petty .	265

The return of lord Euston may, in some measure, be accounted for, from his having long represented our *alma mater*, and from his being the son of the chancellor. But, the dissatisfaction of the university at the conduct of the late administration is sufficiently expressed by the rejection of lord Henry Petty, one of its principal members.

THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX has expressed its contempt of the late ministers by returning Mr. Fuller, its former member, though every effort of the disgraced aristocracy was employed to effect the election of Col. Sergison.

SHREWSBURY. The friends of the discarded ministers brought forwards, a second time, the hon. Henry Grey Bennett, a younger son of the earl of Tankerville, as a candidate against Messrs. Hill and Jones; and it is with extreme pleasure I inform my readers that Mr. Bennett has been defeated. I think it right, however, to animadvert on the scandalous proceedings which took place during the canvass of the whigs. They conducted themselves in the most riotous and indecorous manner, and kept the inhabitants of this ancient borough in a state of alarm for the safety of their lives. On the 30th of April, Mr. Bennett, in company with some hired ruffians, paraded the streets, and assaulted several of the inhabitants; in consequence of which, he was bound over on the 2d inst. to appear at the next assizes to answer for his conduct. The whigs, therefore, through their ferocious zeal, will most probably have the mortification of beholding their favourite a tenant of Shrewsbury gaol, instead of being a member of the house of commons. In that delectable retreat, he will have an opportunity of revising his pamphlet on catholic emancipation.

THE COUNTY OF YORK. Rejoice friends of the constitution! Mr. Lascelles, at the York races, has tipt the young jockey of Wentworth house, the go-by. I was sure that the sound good sense of the Yorkshiremen would not brook the idea of being represented by "*an apprentice*," an unfledged chicken of aristocracy, whose sole and avowed pretensions to the favour of the electors of that great and opulent county is, according to his own declaration, that he will begin to learn his business, at the very time, when he ought to know how to discharge it. No, no! "*the son of the cloth hall*" must serve his apprenticeship in a close borough; and, notwithstanding all the base insinuations contained in the jacobin journals against Mr. Lascelles, because he possesses estates in Barbadoes, I have no doubt that the public spirit, and zeal, of the honest Yorkshiremen, will enable us to sing at the finale of the contest,

Come let us dance and sing
While all Barbadoes bells do ring, &c.

THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX. Mr. Byng shall hear from me next week; my limits will not permit me to go three lines further. But, I will meet [illegible] by him smartly in my next, for his insolent, indecent, and ungentlemanly [illegible] the clergy, and others, who stood forwards in support of sir Christopher Baynes. The whigs have gained not the least triumph, but rather a defeat in Middlesex;

for, if we calculate the number of days employed by Mr. Byng in his canvass with the votes he obtained, and contrast them with the short canvass, and number of votes obtained by sir Christopher Baynes, it will appear, that sir Christopher had a decided majority, and that Mr. Byng is as unpopular as any loyal man can wish a member of the whig club to be.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

Upon re-perusing Mr. Herbert's extraordinary advertisement, I find it would be impossible to enter into such an examination of it, as I promised in my last number, without occupying much more of my own, and my reader's time and patience, than is due to such a subject. Instead, therefore, of refuting it paragraph by paragraph, I shall content myself with merely pointing out a few of its leading fallacies, leaving the rest to refute (as they effectually do) themselves.

Mr. Herbert begins with stating, that "if he were disposed upon any occasion to follow the example of his opponents, he might perhaps have been induced to prolong the contest to the last extremity of a poll." It certainly must ever be a matter of discretion whose example a man shall follow; and it is particularly fortunate for Mr. Chute and Sir H. Mildmay, (and with them for the honour and prosperity of this county) that their opponent's conduct should have been the reverse of their own. But, instead of a vague insinuation of this sort, Mr. Herbert would have done well, had he condescended to point out what parts of his opponents conduct he is so little disposed to follow. Is it their shocking example of having paid, to the utmost farthing, the expenses of the last contest? Is it their having sufficient confidence in each other to embark in a second? Is it that, unlike the late members for the county, they have attended to the public business of the county as much as if they had been its representatives? Or, is it their having been best supported where they were most known? The only instance Mr. Herbert chuses to give, is an erroneous one. His opponents did not prolong the contest to the last extremity of a poll, which would be *fifteen* days. They only kept the poll open *four* days, and by so doing ascertained that there were not more than a majority of 300 freeholders which could be brought against them. Had Mr. Herbert protracted the poll, their majority would have been at least 4000; nor could Mr. Herbert have found 500 votes in the whole county. Mr. Chute and Sir H. Mildmay, by continuing the former poll, shewed their strength, and laid the foundation of their present victory. Mr. Herbert, by following their example, that is, by going to the poll at all, has shewn his weakness, and by that very step has put an end to every prospect of ever standing for the county again. Had Mr. Herbert followed the example of Mr. Thistlethwaite, or had he even retired upon the shew of hands, (mustering as he had then done, his whole voluntary force) he would not have shewn, that after polling all his immediate relations and friends, (not omitting his late colleague and all his agents) he could only scrape together 152 freeholders!

Mr. Herbert then proceeds to enumerate the disadvantages under which he laboured. Omitting, however, the two most material ones, viz. his not having an acre of land in the county, and his conduct in parliament, he thus arranges them; "myself without a colleague—the strong hand of government exerted against me—admiralty orders issued for leave to the dockmen—a premature canvass on the part of my opponents, preceded by the most unjust and illiberal dissemination of a report that I had withdrawn—and, above all, the foul calumny by which a cry has been raised against myself and my connections." All of these I will slightly touch upon.

Myself without a colleague—Aye there's the rub. Where was Mr. Thistlethwaite? He had retired in disgust; not with constituents surely—no, but from having been the dupe of a noble lord, by the curse of whose connection his seat in parliament (a seat which he might to this hour have possessed free of expense) cost him 16000*l*. If Mr. T. could be prevailed upon to reveal "the secrets of the prison house," such as the date and particulars of deeds of indemnity, &c. we might, perhaps, have a clue to this lamentation. But Mr. Herbert was not without hopes, at least of a colleague, for on the first of May appeared the following advertisement:

"The friends of Mr. Herbert are earnestly requested to withhold their second votes from Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay.

"A gentlemen, of the first respectability, is immediately expected to offer himself as a candidate with Mr. Herbert. "April 30, 1807."

This gentleman of the first respectability, however, never made his appearance. But Mr. Herbert, after all, is not quite correct in describing himself as without a colleague; for, when no voluntary one could be found, Mr. Chute was absolutely pressed with his service. Mr. Herbert's agents were instructed to canvass for Mr. Chute; and "Chute and Herbert" became the watchword of the Hampshire whigs. Mr. Chute, however, appears, by the state of the poll, to have profited just as much as he wished by this connection.

The strong hand of government exerted against me.] Had government moved so much as its little finger in this election they would deserve eternal ridicule and disgrace. With at least 5-sixths of the freeholders, eagerly anxious to support their candidates, what pretence could there be for the strong hand of government (of a government too hardly warm in their seats) being exerted on the occasion? It is scarcely necessary to add, that there is not a shadow of foundation for this assertion.

Admiralty orders issued for leave to the dockmen.] The only improper influence which can be exercised over the dockmen must be in compelling them to vote contrary to their inclination; which was the case with a great majority of them at the last election. Mere "leave to the dockmen" does not appear upon the face of it blameable, but is rather a furtherance of the elective franchise. But, I will suppose that Mr. Herbert, whose election was carried by the undue influence of government, is better acquainted with the jargon used upon such occasions than I can pretend to be; and, I will, therefore, take it for granted that this "leave to the dockmen" is something wrong and unconstitutional. If so, let Mr. Herbert put the documents into the hands of his friend, Mr. Freemantle, who, as a freeholder of this county, must be still feelingly alive to its rights and privileges. Let Mr. Freemantle lay these documents before parliament, and call for a committee of privileges to inquire into them, which, I am confident, will be immediately granted him. If this is not done, the public will not fail to appreciate the value of bold assertions, which are hazarded without the means or the inclination of following them up with proofs. For who must have issued these orders? Through what medium must the influence of government in the dock-yard be exerted? Why through that of the commissioner; and who is the commissioner but captain Grey, the brother of lord Howick!!—and, who, I am happy to add, is said to have conducted himself with great honour and propriety relative to this election.

A premature canvass on the part of my opponents.] Both parties began their canvass on the 25th of April—whether they all started at exactly the same hour is uncertain; but in such places as Mr. Herbert could get agents they were as early as those of his opponents. If there were any persons who were dilatory, or who refused to act at all till their bills for the last contest were paid, surely that is not a charge against Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay.

A report that I had withdrawn.] No report of this sort was disseminated. But the sense of the county was known to be so decidedly against Mr. Herbert, that a very general opinion was entertained that he would conceal his weakness by a timely retreat.

As for "the foul calumny by which a cry was raised" against this gentleman and his connections; he of course alludes to the topics which caused the dismissal of the late ministers, and which have been so fully discussed in this work, that it would be useless here to repeat them. Upon that "foul calumny" the British public have stamped the incontestible mark of truth; and to the honour of the freeholders of Hampshire, they have not been backward in rallying round their patriot monarch on this trying occasion. But Mr. Herbert compliments himself too highly, if he imagines that, under any circumstances, he ever would have been re-elected for this country; or that his defeat required any adventitious circumstances to promote it. Had Mr. Herbert's friends been still in power, and had the strong arm of government, as he calls it, been worked to the bone in his favour, though he might have increased his minority, yet still he would have found a seat in this county, which his former election had roused, never, I trust, again to subside. The freeholders of the dock-yard, anxious to shew their attachment to the cause of Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay, and their joy at a deliverance from

thraldom, as soon as they found they would not be able to serve them at the poll, sent a deputation to invite their new representatives to a sumptuous entertainment, on the 29th of May, anxious, as they expressed it, to celebrate the restoration of independence to the country on the anniversary of that of monarchy to the kingdom; and before this paper reaches my readers I have no doubt Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay will have enjoyed a triumph worthy of the cause they have so honourably espoused.

With regard to Mr. Herbert's assertions of the force he could have brought to the poll, I will only repeat that, had Mr. Herbert ransacked the whole kingdom, he could not have found 900 votes.—And when we consider that there are about 5000 freeholders in the county, and that Mr. Chute and sir H. Mildmay were of course opposed by the whigs, the jacobins, and the dissenters, the public will judge whether the sense of the county has not been most freely and unequivocally declared, and what probability there is of its peace being ever again disturbed by the late unsuccessful candidate.

The style and manner of this gentleman's addresses are peculiarly objectionable. Much allowance will naturally be made for feelings of disappointment; but Mr. Herbert is a very young man, and though a young man of considerable literary attainments, has given no proofs of political sagacity which entitle him to dogmatize or assume so high a tone of authority. When he talks of a "cloud which appears to have enveloped the soundest understandings," why does it not occur to him that it is possible the soundest understandings are least likely to be so enveloped;—or is he alone qualified to disperse the mist? Let him learn that majorities seldom err, and that this cloud (which is precisely the same as that which blinded our ancestors in 1688) is daily spreading and thickening, and is not very likely soon to yield to the false lights of modern philosophy. These may do very well for the illuminated readers of the *Edinburgh Review*; but the denser faculties of the freeholders of Hampshire will long I hope continue under this cloud, and be content to share Mr. Herbert's reproof, in common with "the soundest understandings."

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNITED EMPIRE.

LETTER III.

In my last letter I laid before you the abstract part of the question between the friends of the constitution and its enemies. The present letter will embrace the practical part, in which I shall point out the sources of error in the political judgment of our revolutionists; and then I shall proceed to fix upon the Howicks, the Whig Club, and the rest of the Foxite party, the charges which I alleged against them, of having been instrumental in all the mischief which menaced this country during its struggle with France, and of having, by their conduct, afforded such encouragement to the sanguinary tyrants of that country, as contributed materially to the elevation of that infernal power upon the ruins of Europe.

When the French revolution broke out, there were many worthy men who rejoiced in the event, and who, by anticipating too hastily its effects upon the happiness of nations, considered it as an happy era in the moral character of man.* They vainly fancied that they perceived the approaching extinction of that destructive ambition which had governed the French court, and prompted it to engage in unnecessary and ruinous wars. In this view of the French revolution, their approbation was well meant, though experience has since demonstrated that their conclusions were false. Others, however, of a more severe and penetrating cast, attributed the revolutionary movements to a premeditated system, engrafted upon fallacious principles, for the purpose of arming the governed against their rulers, of separating the people from their magistrates, and of exciting them to hostility against ancient forms of authority, in order to establish a scheme of depredation

* I allude to such men as Mr. Arthur Young, Mr. Rous, &c. &c. who wrote in praise of the event, but afterwards most honourably recanted their sentiments, when they perceived the dreadful consequences to which that revolution led.

which should terminate in making France mistress of the power of Europe. The former looked upon France as they wished France *should be*, and they ascribed to her legislators a love of virtue and freedom, which experience has shewn they never possessed, and which therefore justified the predictions of their opponents. That France had a right to correct the abuses in her administration no one pretended to deny, provided the changes resulting from such a reformation did not invade the social happiness of other nations. For there is a vast distinction between the internal reforms of a state, and an avowed design practically enforced, of extending to other states, by dint of arms, those reforms. This was, however, the predicament in which France was found at the commencement of the first revolution war—a predicament which fully justified the administration of Mr. Pitt in the efforts which were then made to repel the progress of so pernicious a revolution; and must be instanced as a powerful ground of condemnation of Mr. Fox, lord Howick, and the rest of the propagandists of peace and *wholesome reforms*. The foolish intoxication of the jacobin party here in favour of the republican tyrants was not in the least checked by the e whigs; on the contrary, their repeated proposals of pacification, accompanied with malevolent imputations against our government, of entertaining the wish to destroy the liberties of mankind, served to foster the unruly temper which then pervaded our country. Hence, whatever the French *said* concerning liberty and equality was received by our revolutionists as *facts* already accomplished; and while the soil of France was wet with the blood of the victims immolated to the genius of democracy, our English *patriots* were engaged both in and out of parliament in palliating these enormities, and in ascribing them, not to the guilty people of that country, but to the innocent ministers of our own, who were struggling to crush them, and to maintain the independence of Europe. It is not possible to account for the stubborn infatuation and revolutionary phrenzy of our primitive jacobins upon any other principle than from the example and doctrines held out to them by the Foxite party. Every week, every mail from the continent falsified the pretensions of France to popular approbation. Is it to be supposed that all the revolutionary societies scattered over this kingdom could possibly have persevered in their views, if the Foxites had once set their faces against them; or, if, acknowledging their sense of the flagitious projects of France, they had declared themselves anxious to support the constitution, and to repress that innovating spirit which threatened our domestic security? I shall presently shew, that if the Foxites had pursued this line of conduct, it would have been *impossible* for those societies to have remained embodied. Let us first examine the force of evidence which our revolutionists derived from the example of France. The French protested, before God and the world, that they had renounced every idea of conquests; that their only victories should be those of humanity; that instead of the corruption and prodigality of courts, they would establish liberty and equality; in the place of a superstition which persecuted, they would enjoy universal toleration; instead of individual, general law; of literary servility, unqualified liberty of opinion; of feodal oppressions, the removal of many physical evils; of ignorance, the institution of a national education, which should redeem the human race from error, and advance the improvement of their intellectual powers and moral sentiments.

Now, admitting that Mr. Fox, Lord Howick, and the rest of the admirers of France, had been duped by these lofty sounds of a people of much promise but of no performance, how shall we account for the pertinacity with which they continued to advise peace and to extol the acts of the republic, when twelve months from the date of these mighty protestations, the conduct of France demonstrated that it never was her intention to abide by them? Within that period they might have discovered, that instead of renouncing their ancient plans of conquest, the French had actually subjugated and scraped to the bone, Savoy, Italy, Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, and the whole territory situated between their ancient frontier and the banks of the Rhine. The victories of their philosophy consisted in the banishment or judicial murder of every man who was distinguished for literary eminence, and who took no part in their sanguinary proceedings; for liberty and equality, they permitted the licentiousness of a few hundred tyrants, the offals of hu-

man nature, and such as the lowest of the people brought into play, according to the downward progression of civil commotion: for universal toleration, they butchered, imprisoned, or drove into exile, every man who had the courage not to renounce the Christian religion: for general law, they established the discipline of the bayonet, sanguinary codes of proscription, and a system of rapacity which rendered every man's property insecure: for the removal of many physical evils, they entailed poverty and distress upon the people; and for national education and the improvement of the human intellect, they discountenanced religion, prescribed its teachers, demolished the seminaries of learning, and drove their professors into banishment. All these facts had occurred and were known to the lowest mechanic of this kingdom, and yet the Foxites continued to bellow for peace with *regenerated* France, and for reform at home.

But, it may be said, and still is said, by Cobbett and others, "how can you impeach the conduct of the Foxites, when, at the very period alluded to, you were a zealot in the cause of France." As it was easy to foresee, when I commenced this work, that I should be assailed upon this head, I took care to provide against the necessity of making frequent replies, by anticipating every objection which might afterwards be urged against me; and, therefore, I refer my readers to the early numbers of the first volume of this Review, for an account of my conduct. I never denied, nor shall I ever deny my own folly; because, if any motive could induce me so to do, no man would be warranted in believing a syllable of my present professions. But I have offered, as an apology, my youth and ignorance of mankind; for it should be observed, I was then no older than lord Milton, and by no means blessed with the supernatural endowments of that Yorkshire prodigy. Youth is the period of indiscretion, and some allowances may be made for errors at that age; and I am sure, there is not a man of honour living, who will not make full allowance, and even forget the past, when any one who has fallen under the influence of error has retraced his steps, honestly avowed his faults in the most public manner, and striven, for the space of fourteen years, to efface every impression of his former conduct, and to explain to his former party the causes of their prejudices and the dangers attendant on them. This has been precisely my case. I pursued it with unabated ardour for many years, without the least communication directly or indirectly with a single person connected with the government. So far indeed from courting the favour of the government, there is a mass of different publications, written by me, in support of the constitution, with and without my name, which, if collected, would extend to more than eight volumes in octavo. But this is not all. While I was thus actively engaged in the repression of Jacobinism, and in defending our institutions and *laws*, I laboured under a proscription, as unjust as it was unfeeling; for though I had complied with all the rules prescribed to those who offer themselves as candidates for the bar: though I had communicated to the benchers of the Inner Temple the most powerful recommendations *(at their own desire)* respecting my political character; though several of them had assured me there was no intention to preclude me from the exercise of my profession as an advocate; and though I hold in my possession letters from two of them, declaring that there could be no objection to my call to the bar; I never have been called to this hour, and whenever I offered myself, they always postponed it to another term. If persecution and proscription were capable of making a man, after years of application to the study of law, and with a young family, relapse into rampant jacobinism, the treatment I have endured from the benchers of the Inner Temple, would have made me furious once more. I appeal to the feelings and justice of every man who is not a jacobin (for men of that class are the greatest persecutors in the world) whether it was not cruel and unjust for a man, circumstanced as I was, to be kept for nine years in a state of anxious suspense respecting his future views in life, during the whole of which time I was deprived, from the nature of the case, from pursuing any other profession, or exerting myself so as to derive one farthing benefit from my education or talents.

It is a fact, that during the greatest part of that long period, I lived in absolute retirement in the country, eternally reading, but reading without being able to derive advantage from it; and living wholly upon my own means, without deriving

one sixpence benefit from the government, the public, or any individual beyond the circle of my own family. If then my uniform conduct, under such usage be not a test of sincerity, I know of no test by which sincerity may be judged of on this side of the grave. Thus much in answer to the insinuations cast upon me for apostacy from the *good old cause*. With respect of the sources of these political errors in youth, they may be traced to a real desire to promote the happiness of mankind, and to a total mistake of the means of attaining it, as well as an ignorance of the human character. A few particulars in the character of man, were deemed sufficient arguments to establish a general theory for the whole species; and too great a confidence in his natural powers, conducted to those wild attempts at perfection, which created universal uproar in almost every country of Europe. Without regard to the previous education, habits, and prejudices of the people, we considered men, not *as they are*, or *as they have been*, but *as they ought to be:* hence the foundations of lawful authority were shaken in the vain hope of obtaining this imaginary state. But in this pursuit, we evidently lost sight of the wise dispensations of providence, which hath so ordered our affairs that we should all have our allotted stations, and that distinctions should exist, lest mankind should be left to perish by the means contrived for their preservation. It is evident from this, that we mistook the road to happiness, when we proposed to corrupt the foundations of this allotted station; to remove every man from his accustomed sphere of action; to make the philosopher become a mechanic, and the mechanic affect the philosopher. For the actions of the many must be circumscribed in proportion to their thoughts; the chief object, therefore, of a benevolent legislation is, to let every man continue to remain in his proper destination with as little interruption as possible; to impress on his mind that it is the interest of government to make him happy; and to pursue such measures as will convince him that he is so. Upon this ground, the knowledge of duties arises in its proper course, and the mind thus instructed cannot, without an immoral motive, trouble itself about claims and rights of equality, which it would be impracticable and dangerous to assert. The peculiar advantage of such a legislation consists in this, that it discards fancy, and operates only on experience. Throughout the history of the human race, it will be found that there are elementary truths common to all nations and to all men. The situation to which every active being is formed, is the true and only ground on which we can legislate for the human species. Particular experiments, which are absolutely necessary in the elucidation or establishment of the principles of other sciences, can never be applied to man, when he appears in a forced or uncommon condition. The state of man is peculiar to himself; there is no analogy between his nature and that of other animals. If we would collect the properties of his species, we must take the whole race, as they ever have been, assembled in bodies; we must attend to their universal qualities, examine the course of human life, and the tenour of human conduct. From these primary truths, we shall find that he is susceptible of improvement, and possesses within himself an inherent principle of progression. History throughout exhibits mankind in this state; ever acting under the desire of perfection, without attaining it. The neglect or perversion of these truths, have caused those despotic forms of government, with which the gloomy page of history is pregnant. That such forms should long continue in an age fertile with innovations, was not to be expected. The ignominy of servitude was felt, but the best mode of redress was a subject of polemical controversy. To revolt against injustice, to ascertain the boundaries of right and duty, to reclaim the dignity which was originally delegated to man by his Creator, are generous offices of patriotism; but to adjust the differences which arise between subverted oppression and newly recovered liberties; to describe the line of demarcation how far we are to go, and where to stop; when to advance our projects, and when to recede from them, are objects that require the exercise of the most disinterested virtue, added to the most consummate wisdom. The principles which predominate in the mind of the subject result from a sense of duty, and from ideas of subordination. They are so deeply rooted in the modes of thinking, from the influence of early habits, that they may be justly regarded as important branches of moral obligation. To destroy them, or even to shake their stability, is to poison the fountains of jurisprudence, and to annihilate every notion of security, which

arises from the mutual wants and assistances of men, and from the *power* of society. Man, therefore, loosened from the restraints of law, is a savage—acting under the prepossession of being his own legislator he is a slave, and of the lowest order, because he is mocked with the honour of providing the rod with which he is scourged. In the examination of every other question, men resort to facts and observation; alas! it is only in what relates to themselves, and in matters the most important, that they substitute hypothesis instead of reality, and confound the provinces of imagination and reason, of poetry and science. It is a truth, that ought constantly to be in our recollections, that in all civilized communities men act more under the impulse of habit than the guidance of reason, and therefore it is a measure of incalculable injury, suddenly to withdraw the instrument of their impulses, and to commit them at once to the exercise of their own reason. For in this case, as France has proved, every man springs up at once as a legislator, conceives he has the right and the capacity, not for his equitable portion of freedom, but for office, power, emolument, and dominion. A general phrenzy ensues, which none can remove; which adventurers improve for temporary advantages; and which, after ravaging the country by its violence, disposes it to bend under the yoke of military usurpation, or to return under the government it had contemptuously demolished.

The calamities we have all witnessed and felt have arisen from the abuse of general principles. Politicians have reasoned too much *à priori* from the principles of human nature. Principles that result from an extensive examination of the human constitution, and of the general laws which regulate the course of human affairs, ought always to be weighed and considered by the legislator, because they are the fruits of a more extensive induction than any of the inferences that can be drawn from the history of actual establishments. But I deprecate their practical application, because the peculiarities of the case are almost always overlooked. The worst form of government in its original may, by successive modifications, become not only tolerable, but good. In its progress it may assume the form of systematical arrangement, and bear evident marks of consistency. Wherever a government has existed for ages, and men have enjoyed tranquillity under it, it is a proof that its principles are not essentially at variance with each other. In the art of government it is a much more difficult matter to refer effects to their causes than in the mechanical art; and therefore it rarely happens, even when we have an opportunity of seeing a political experiment made, that we can draw from it any certain inference, with respect to the justness of the principles by which it was suggested. The errors of the artist must necessarily become apparent in the last result; but in the political system the discovery of errors may come too late for remedy. God forbid that I should draw any conclusions unfavourable to human liberty! On the contrary, I conceive that a just appreciation of these sentiments is the most likely method either to obtain or to secure the freedom of mankind. The greater part of the plans proposed by modern projectors proceed from what logicians call *petitio principii*—on the supposition of a miraculous reformation in the moral character of the people. Mr. Hume has justly observed, that all such plans may be safely abandoned as impracticable and visionary. Of these plans by far the greater number proceed on the supposition that social order is entirely the effect of human art; and that wherever this order is imperfect, the evil may be traced to some want of foresight on the part of the legislator, or to some inattention of the magistrate to the complicated structure of that machine whose movements he regulates. The projects of reform, therefore, which such plans involve are, in general, well entitled to all the ridicule and contempt they have met with; inasmuch as they imply an arrogant and presumptuous belief in their authors of the superiority of their own political sagacity to the accumulated wisdom of former ages. It is a partial view only of government that produces indiscriminate zeal against established regulations, in the same manner as a partial view of christianity begets levity and infidelity.

These are the sources of the political errors which misled many of us, and it only required the habit of observation relative to what was passing around us, to induce every one, whose heart was not depraved, to renounce them, and to return into the path of loyalty and patriotism. I make use of the word patriotism because one of the most fascinating contagious principles of those times was, that

patriotism was an ungenerous principle, compared with benevolence, which was of no country, but embraced within the wide circle of her arms from lake Huron to the wall of China, the brotherhood of the human race.* Well might the conspiring philosophists of France inculcate the principle that patriotism was a vice, when they were preparing to make themselves the masters of mankind. The ingenuous and open-hearted youth of every country, deceived by such captivating doctrines which promised the reign of peace and concord among men, were disarmed of their zeal, and the shield and sword of defence which they should have raised on high for their country, thus dropt from their unsuspecting hands. If it be true that benevolence is of no country, it necessarily follows, that no man has a country to defend; hence any power, which may take it into its head to extend this principle, must inevitably conquer, and establish one absolute government over the world. To every rational mind, however, the introduction of an universal scheme of legislation must be considered as an idle and vicious project. Independently of this consideration, it should be observed, that the varieties in national institutions have a greater tendency to meliorate the condition of mankind, than this absurd notion of universal government, which, by affording no opportunity of competition, would leave the world to the consequences of a good or bad system, without the hope of any redress from example or opinion. But the rivalship of nations begets a liberal spirit of national emulation, brings into action the latent powers of the mind, and provides eventually for the comforts and elegancies of civil life. Besides, it accustoms men to the habit of thinking, and by presenting to their senses a detail of original facts, which they may combine into general principles, enables them, without risk or peril, to deduce institutions of civil wisdom from the just or erroneous regulations of ancient and modern times.

Having thus overturned the fundamental doctrines of the revolutionists, and fairly explained the motives upon which I withdrew from any connection with them, I shall, in my next, which will be my concluding letter, display the conduct of lord Howick and his associates in a light that will rectify the public opinion respecting them. It will appear, that experience made no impression on their minds; that the most astounding crimes did not shake their constancy; and that they are justly entitled to the merit of acting with most mischievous consistency.

STATE PAPERS.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF HAYTI.

The undersigned mandatories, charged with the powers of the people of Hayti, being legally convoked by his excellency the general in chief of the army—penetrated by the necessity of making their constituents enjoy the sacred, imprescriptable, and unalienable rights of man—proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the all-powerful, the articles contained in the present constitutional pact.

Title 1.—*Of the Condition of Citizens.*

1. Every body residing on the territory of Hayti is free, in the fullest sense.
2. Slavery is for ever abolished in Hayti.
3. No one has a right to violate the asylum of a citizen, nor to enter forcibly into his dwelling, without an order, emanating from a superior and competent authority.
4. All property is under the protection of the government. Every attack upon the property of a citizen is a crime, which the law punishes.
5. The law punishes assassination with death.

Title. 2—*Of the Government.*

6. The government of Hayti is composed,—first, of a chief magistrate, who takes the title and quality of president and generalissimo of the forces of Hayti, both by land and sea: every other denomination is for ever proscribed in Hayti. Secondly, of a council of state.

The government of Hayti takes the title, and will be known by the denomination of "the state of Hayti."

---

* An insane expression of my own in the year 1792.

7. The constitution names the general in chief Henry Christophe, president and generalissimo of the forces both by land and sea, of the state of Hayti.

8. The trust of president and generalissimo of the forces is for life.

9. The president has the right to chuse his successor, but only from among the generals, and in the manner hereafter prescribed.

This choice must be secret and contained in a sealed packet, which shall be opened only by the council of state, solemnly assembled for that purpose.

The president shall take all necessary precautions for informing the council of state where this packet shall be deposited.

10. The armed force shall be under the direction of the president, as also the administration of the finances.

11. The president has the power to make treaties with foreign nations, as well for the purpose of establishing commercial relations as to secure the independence of the state.

12. He is to conclude peace, and to declare war, to maintain the rights of the people of Hayti.

13. He has also the right to consider of the means of favouring and increasing the population of the country.

14. He is to propose the laws to the council of state, who, after having adopted them and drawn them up, send them back to him for his sanction, without which they cannot be executed.

15. The appointments of the president are fixed at 40,000 dollars a year.

Title 3.—Of the Council of State.

16. The council of state is composed of nine members, nominated by the president, of which, at least, two-thirds are to be generals.

17. The functions of the council of state are, to receive the propositions of laws from the president, and to draw them up in the manner they may judge adviseable; to fix the amount of taxes, and the mode of collecting them; to sanction the treaties concluded by the president, and to fix upon the mode for recruiting the army. An account shall be presented to them annually, of the receipts and expenses, and of the resources of the country.

[The fourth and fifth heads respect the appointment of a superintendant general of the finances, the marine, and the interior, and also the appointment of a secretary of state.]

Title 6.—Of the Tribunals.

There shall be in every division a tribunal, to determine both on civil and criminal matters.

There shall be also a tribunal of commerce in each division.

There shall be a justice of peace in each parish, to determine controversies up to a limited sum.

Each citizen may, however, have his disputes determined by arbitrators, if he thinks proper.

Title 7.

The catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, is the only one acknowledged by the government.

The exercise of other religions is tolerated, but not publicly.

There is to be an apostolic prefect, to superintend what concerns divine worship, and to communicate directly to the president upon the subject.

The state gives nothing to the support of any minister, but the law will fix the emoluments and perquisites that they are to receive.

No one has a right to disturb the exercise of any religion.

Title 8.—Public Education.

There shall be established a central school in each division, and particular schools in each subdivision.

It shall be, however, lawful for every citizen to have private seminaries.

The salaries of the professors and masters shall be settled by a particular law.

Title 9.—Of the Guarantee of the Neighbouring Colonies.

The government of Hayti declares to those powers who have colonies in its neighbourhood its fixed determination to give no disturbance to the government of those colonies.

The people of Hayti make no conquests out of their own island, and confine themselves to the preservation of their own territory.

[After those nine heads there follow some general regulations, the principal of which are: That every Haytian from 16 to 50 can be called into the army, whenever the safety of the state requires it: that the government solemnly guarantees the foreign merchants the security of their persons and properties: divorce is strictly forbid in Hayti: and agriculture, which is declared the most ancient, the most noble, and the most useful of all the arts, is to be encouraged and protected]

This constitution was published at the Cape on the 17th of February, 1807, and is signed by three generals of division, eight generals of brigade, four adjutant-generals, and a number of civil officers.

Proclamation.—Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the military and naval Forces of the State of Hayti, to the Army and People.

" The light has broke in upon us, and a beneficent constitution has put an end to the plots and machinations of which you were on the point of becoming victims. A wise code, adapted to our manners, our climate, and our customs, has sprung, as it may be said, out of chaos, and fixed once more the destinies of Hayti.

" Long had I in vain sought to present you with this precious gift: in vain did I assemble the districts, and urge them to send deputies to Port-au-Prince, to give you a constitution. My anxiety, instead of being followed with the desired success, only operated as an additional incitement to the factious to pervert the public opinion, and to establish a constitution favourable to their interests, and those of their adherents; but as hostile to the liberty of the people as it was to the principles of sound reason.

" Fellow-citizens, you have all been witnesses to the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. You know how this sincerity has been abused by the miscreants who fomented revolt, and kindled civil war. Their efforts never intimidated me for a single moment, or diverted me from my design of serving my country. By night or by day I have never ceased to occupy myself in providing for the public safety. What have I not done to effect it? What have I not suffered in counteracting the secret wiles and plots of the factious?

" I have always been in the midst of you, and you can say whether my conduct has ever been influenced, or my honour tarnished, by ambition. Invested with the supreme power, this day, by the wish of my fellow-citizens and my companions in arms, I have yielded to their desires; and I have consented to bear this weighty but honourable burthen, because it was their wish that it should be entrusted to my hands, and because I am willing again to serve my country. Happy shall I be if my efforts are crowned with success, and if they tend to the happiness of my fellow-citizens.

" But, to attain this, my efforts alone will not be sufficient: the laws and constitution which have just been presented to you must be observed. It provides for the religious preservation of your rights; it secures to every citizen his personal liberty, his right of property, and that of his family.

" The fatal consequences of the wars in which we have been engaged, and still more, the immoral example held out to us by the French, had almost destroyed every principle of religion. The moral system was publicly laughed at, and a corrupted youth abandoned itself without remorse to all the licentiousness of its age; public education was degraded, and confided to mercenary instructors. It was necessary to restore to religion its dignity, to cause it to be respected and cherished. It was necessary to revive morality, to give it due distinction; to inculcate into the minds of

youth its sacred principles, and those of honour also; in short, to convince the people, that without religion and morality human society could not exist.

"Your interests will be secured to you by proper tribunals; the judgments pronounced by their ministers will be dictated by equity and justice. It remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves distinguished by their probity and good faith. Essentially a trading country, as well from its situation as the nature of the commodities it produces, it is necessary that it should attract the merchants of every country on the globe, both by its equity and its produce.

"Trade being the source of all our wealth, it is important that the foreign merchants who frequent our ports should be equally protected with our fellow-citizens; and that they should receive all that hospitality due to this useful class of society.

"To feed this trade—to give it a new spring—agriculture must be prosecuted with perseverance and vigour. Placed under the finest climate of the world, favoured by nature with her most precious gifts, even to profusion, the husbandman has not at Hayti to contend with the rigour of a frozen clime, or to fortify himself against the inclemencies of seasons. A little labour is sufficient to enrich him, and to place him on a level with the manufacturers of other countries. Exert yourselves, then, industrious cultivators, to fill your warehouses with the produce of our fertile soil. Display to the eyes of the merchants of Europe all that can tempt their desires, and you will soon see your trade flourish much above your most sanguine expectations.

"After having re-established religion, defecated morality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affection of our friends. We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! It is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.

"The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us is not yet manifest: whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation that, without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions. Let those who wish a political connexion with us, or who would wish to enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest let us only offer death and battles.

"At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget that the safety of a free people is best maintained by arms. If cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens, let us remember that we are all soldiers, and that it is warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind that a handful of Greeks, devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to imitate their example; let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, and to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree.

"Published at the head-quarters at the Cape, February 17, 1807.

"HENRY CHRISTOPHE, president,

"ROUANEZ, secretary of state."

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. HODGSON, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°23. Saturday, June 6, 1807. Price 10d.

PROBABILITY OF NEGOTIATION.

Under this title, the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday last, indulged itself in the most virulent abuse of the present administration. It assigned no reasonable grounds for asserting that a negociation was probable, but availed itself of a captivating title to attract the attention of the public to its indiscriminate scurrility. To obviate the effects of the misrepresentations contained in this whig club article, I shall animadvert upon every passage of it which deserves chastisement.

First; "the question then is—whether the allies and neighbours of England are likely to make a separate peace, or to resist every temptation with as much steadiness as she displayed last year?—and this is the very question in determining which, *the weakness of our present ministry must have the greatest weight.* If indeed our government had exhibited an appearance of solidity and strength; if our cabinet had presented to the eyes of foreign courts men of known talents and established reputation; if they had seemed to possess so far the confidence of this nation as to ensure their remaining in power, and procuring a steady and effective support in their measures, then it might have been expected, that the measures of the state should be planned with a reference to our interests; and that the union happily subsisting between England and her allies should continue unimpaired. But what confidence can we suppose a ministry like the present capable of exerting?—To what corner of our present cabinet may foreign statesmen look for security? The three leading members of it are absolutely unknown out of England; the existence of the duke of Portland has been long ago forgotten on the continent; that of Messrs. Percival and Canning was never heard of there; lords Mulgrave and Hawkesbury, indeed, are not quite so little known; but, alas! their names are of fatal omen to all who may look towards England in this critical juncture. The author of the peace of Amiens and the editor of the secret dispatches, are not precisely the men best fitted to attract the confidence of the Austrian cabinet. While such men as these, from circumstances in themselves accidental and transitory, but likely to exert a lasting influence on the destinies of the country," *(diatribe révolutionnaire)* have got possession of the government, our allies perceive that those eminent statesmen are excluded whose high name and known talents they had been accustomed to revere; whose weight in the nation they knew to be real and substantial; whose return to power they must view as in a high degree probable, when the senseless clamour shall pass away, which a few contemptible intriguers have raised. It is, therefore, extremely likely that the courts of the continent will act for themselves, as if England were out of the question, or that they will at most give her a nominal share in their deliberations. The weakness of our government will be with some of them a real cause of distrust; to others it will afford the best pretext for breach of faith. We shall be considered as nothing in their councils."

The above extract we must consider as the substance of the sentiments of the discarded ministry, and as the best specimen of political reasoning which "*all the talents*" are capable of circulating amongst the public. It is high time that I should acknowledge the many obligations we are under to them for their candour, liberality, and good sense; and I trust, I shall pay my compliments to them in a handsome and becoming manner. I shall begin with the first paragraph, and shall anatomize the whole manifesto after the plan which I usually adopt when it is my wish not to exterminate mine enemy at a blow, but to enjoy the *savage* gratification of seeing him *die by inches.*

"Whether the allies and neighbours of England are likely, &c." The line of conduct which the allied powers may think it expedient to adopt, must regard either their own sense of self-preservation abstractedly considered, or, their best judg-

ment relative to the general security of Europe, in which we must, of course, suppose that they will take care to blend their own safety with that of the public. They have no other mode of acting unless, we can bring ourselves to believe, that they are disposed to betray themselves. It is true that a government may be the author of its own ruin, in consequence of the pursuit of an erroneous system of policy, but no government *wilfully* becomes the instrument of its own destruction. We may therefore, consider it as an undeniable truth, that the allies, under any circumstances, whether of war or negociation will endeavour to consult their own interests. Let us next inquire, how far these interests are connected with, dependent upon, or at variance with the interests of Great Britain; for *that* is the proper question, and not whether Mr. Percival or Mr. Canning, or the rest of the ministers, be qualified to fill the situations which they hold.

The present state of the continent is such, that no permanent security can be enjoyed by any government which yet retains a vestige of independence, unless a similar security is also extended to every other government which has not been subdued by the arms of France. For, in this case, the only pledge of security which can be required by one power, is, the common safety of all. The evils of a detached struggle are felt, and, the necessity of co-operation acknowledged. Europe is now precisely in the same condition which Tacitus represents the different states of Britain to have been at the period of the Roman invasion—*nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quàm quòd in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus, ad propulsandum commune periculum convenit: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.** After having been scourged by a remorseless hand for the folly of which they have been the infatuated victims, there is no principle within the range of human conception which can prompt the allies to withdraw from the contest, unless they obtain a satisfactory and full assurance of safety for the future. It is not therefore, a question dependent upon the strength or weakness of the British ministry, but upon the alternative of life or death for the allies themselves. In the event of the prosecution of the war, it will become a matter of serious consideration with the allies, who may be at the head of our affairs; and their first and most natural inquiry will be, whether the councils of Great Britain be directed by an heterogeneous collection of discordant materials, by a party-coloured assemblage of statesmen in masquerade, heedless of the tottering cause of Europe, and greedy and bustling only after power? or whether, the British administration be composed of men who think and act together as one mind, and whether, in the whole course of their public lives, they had sent a minister to negociate with the oppressor of Europe, at the very moment, when the powers of Europe had shaken off their torpid inactivity, and were on the eve of opposing a barrier to his usurpations? They will inquire whether the British administration be weak and wicked enough to solicit peace from the enemy of the British name, while the people of Britain are reconciled to endure the ills of war, and even to prefer them to the hazardous experiment of an insecure peace? These are the tests by which they will judge of the degree of confidence which they ought to repose in our government. If they find that the British ministry, supported by the voice of the people, are ready to make every sacrifice for the success of their efforts; if they find, that after a short absence from the councils of their sovereign, they have been victoriously recalled by the united sentiment of king and people, to save their *own* country, which had been endangered by the subtle and violence of an aristocratic confederacy, it is a reasonable and fair presumption that the allies should entertain a higher opinion of *such* men, than of those who are contradistinguished from them by qualities directly the reverse. The cabinets of Europe can have no other rule by which they can conduct their relations with this country, than the known disposition of our government towards them. They are sensible that the people of England are with them; all, there-

* Which I have here translated freely for the use of Mr. Cobbett. "There was one thing which gave us a great advantage over these powerful nations, that they never consulted together *in one body* about the *security of the whole*. It was even rare that two or three of these states united their forces against the common enemy. By these means, while each of them fought separately, they were all successively subdued."

fore, which they can require from our government is, that it should sympathize with the public feeling, and give to its honest and patriotic motives an honourable direction.

If, then, as I have already shewn, no power can singly make a separate peace with France without endangering its own security; and if it cannot hope for one day's tranquillity without every other power participating likewise in the moments of rest; it follows, that no peace of security can be concluded by the allies, upon the principle of giving to England a mere "nominal share in their deliberations." But we are told that the question of a separate peace will be determined from the weak appearance of our present ministry. This is assuming a ground of argument without proof. In order to render the position valid, it should have been first shewn, that the question of peace or war depended upon the solidity or weakness of our ministers, and then to have made it appear that the present is a weak administration. The *Morning Chronicle* has evaded this fair mode of reasoning, and, in its usual manner, has resorted only to general assertions. I have already stated, that the question of a separate peace will be mooted by the continental powers according to their own abstract notions of self-preservation, without any immediate reference to our domestic arrangements; it remains for me, therefore, to comment upon the observations relative to the weakness of our ministry. In the opinion of the Morning Chronicle, of lord Howick and Mr. Byng, the nation has lost all the talents it possessed by the removal of the late ministers; and really, if they would confine their opinion within the purlieus of the whig club, I see no great objection to their finding a source of consolation from it. There is comfort to the degraded in the society even of their fellows, and nothing contributes so much to keep up the sinking spirits of the fallen as insolence and vanity. In this manner the poet represents the devil and his host of fallen spirits after they had been hurled neck and heels out of heaven, and so lord Howick and the Whigs since they have been *cashiered* (they understand the word) fancy that they have carried away with them all the strength, vigour, and talents of the government. They are perfectly correct—all the strength, vigour, and talents, which they brought with them into office, they certainly took away with them when they left it; but inasmuch as there is not a single man in the country out of the circle of their click, who has felt the beneficent effects of these fine qualities, they will excuse us for being a little sceptical respecting them. I defy their partizans to shew that during the whole of their imbecile administration of one year and two months, which was precisely one year and two months too long, they ever performed more than *two* good and useful actions in the service of their country, one of which they did by *mistake* and the other, I admit, has redounded to the honour of our sovereign, and the independence and happiness of the country—I allude to the declaration of war against Prussia, which originated in a *mistake*, and to the catholic bill which it now appears, they introduced for the express purpose of being turned out of office for the good of us all.

But the flag of defiance is unfurled and we are assured in the Chronicle, that "our allies perceive that those eminent statesmen are excluded whose high name and known talents they had been accustomed to revere." The only answer to the defiance of the party is to come to close quarters with them, which I shall now do without further ceremony. But, first, I cannot refrain from smiling at the lamentations of the Chronicle, which speaks of the late ministers as "eminent statesmen who high name and known talents the allies had been accustomed to revere," when, it is a well known fact, that lord Howick, lord Henry Petty, lord Ellenborough, lord Holland, lord Erskine, lord Fitzwilliam, six members of the late cabinet constellation, were never before employed as ministers of state, and were as little known upon the continent in the capacity of a statesman as Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle. Yet, all these were "statesmen whose *high name* and *known* talents the allies were *accustomed* to revere" after a twelvemonths acquaintance; while the duke of Portland, Messrs. Perceval and Canning "are absolutely unknown out of England." Without enlarging upon the topic, it may be questioned, whether, admitting the force of the objection in the Chronicle, it be not more advantageous for the present ministry not to be known at all upon the continent, rather than to be known as ticklers to French insolence, and as indifferent spectators of the grand

truggle of Europe, for the recovery of its libertits. As, then, we are not compelled to exhibit the contrast between the late and present ministry, let us do it effectually, and compare them in detail.

(To be continued.)

THE EDITORS OF THE DAILY PAPERS, AND THE CLERKS IN THE POST-OFFICE.

Sir.—I lately observed, in the Times, a strong charge against some of the clerks in the post-office, for having availed themselves of their official situation, to levy unreasonable contributions on the editors of the different daily papers, for furnishing them with articles of foreign intelligence. This subject, considered only as it respects the interests of the parties, is scarcely intitled to the attention of the public; but if we carry our view of it farther, and consider it as connected with the liberty of the press, it becomes of considerable importance. Under this impression, I have endeavoured to make myself master of the transaction, which, with a few comments upon it, I shall now lay before your readers.

If I am rightly informed, the state of the case is as follows:—For many years past, the editors of the daily papers have been furnished with translations from such German papers as were brought over by the mails, in consequence of an arrangement with certain gentlemen in the post-office, who were paid for this accommodation. A competition, however, still existed between the editors, for obtaining the priority in such articles of foreign intelligence as were derived from French or Dutch papers brought over direct; and through which, the most recent and important continental information was, from time to time, communicated to the public. To procure intelligence of this sort, some of them spared neither pains nor expense, and the Times, in particular, by a decided superiority in this respect, had established and maintained a very high character and extensive circulation.

Some few months ago, notice was given to the different editors, from the post-office, that an alteration in the old plan would take place; that, in addition to the intelligence hitherto furnished from the foreign journals brought over by the mails, the intelligence received in the French and Dutch papers brought over direct would be communicated also; and, for the information to be supplied on this extensive scale, a large additional sum was required of each editor. The editors, aware that the distribution of early foreign intelligence was so much in the power of these gentlemen, that they must either pay them for it on their own terms, or be deprived of it altogether, were obliged to submit; and were thus reduced to one common level, which must have been mortifying to those who had established their reputation by a superiority in foreign intelligence; and the editor of the Times, feeling more sore than any of his brethren, has at last given vent to his complaints in pretty strong language, and brought the transaction before the public.

Whether the merit of this project ought to be ascribed to the clerks in the post-office, or to the late administration, under whose reign it was contrived and executed, I have not been able to ascertain. If the original invention belongs to the latter, it must be admitted to be one of the best concerted designs, in which all the talents were ever displayed; and to be perfectly consistent with that disposition to fetter the liberty of the press, which they evinced on various occasions, and in various ways. Mr. Fox, after his return from Paris, reprobated the conduct of those journalists, who mentioned Buonaparte with that honest indignation which his crimes so well deserved. Lord Erskine, as chancellor, forbade the publication of any other account of lord Melville's trial, than that which was printed under the authority of the house of peers. The chief justice of the court of king's bench, had given an enlarged construction to the law of libels, as referable to strictures on the public conduct of public men; and nothing was wanting to complete their plan but to keep the daily papers under controul; which was thus accomplished, with admirable dexterity, through the agency of the clerks in the post-office.

While the editors of the different papers depended upon their own exertions for procuring the French and Dutch journals, they were led by a spirit of emulation to import them both in great abundance and in great variety, and to publish every

interesting article that could be extracted from their columns; but now that they are furnished with them by the clerks in the post-office, the public no longer receive either that abundance or variety of information, and the same dull monotonous paragraph is copied into every paper. Nothing will be published, if the present system be carried into complete effect, but what has passed the review and received the license of these new political lord chamberlains in Lombard-street; who, in due deference to *all the talents*, might have excluded every article that did not exactly square with the views and wishes of their patrons, and have kept poor John Bull in ignorance of every fact, but such as his lords and masters thought proper to communicate. Perhaps, too, facts might not only have been suppressed, but altered; for the virtues of some of the late ministers appear to have been of a nature sufficiently accommodating to have recouse to such innocent deceptions for the public good; as men who will attempt to deceive their king, will hardly scruple to deceive the people.

The advantage necessarily possessed by the clerks of the post-office, in point of priority of intelligence, had already been considered by them as a source of profit, and used accordingly in other instances. Now, if the principle be once admitted, that men in any public department, who are paid a just remuneration for their services, are also allowed to convert that information which they receive in their official capacity to their individual advantage, where can the line be drawn? If such conduct be connived at in a clerk of the post-office, with what consistency could it be arraigned in a cabinet minister, who might be induced to enter into speculations at the Stock Exchange, by the contents of the dispatches on which he was summoned to deliberate in council?

Within a very few years, these active gentlemen, exclusive of a voluminous annual directory, have established two daily publications, of which they are both proprietors and editors; and which they take the official liberty of forwarding, free of postage, to their subscribers in every part of the kingdom, though neither of their works pay any duty whatever to government. These publications are, "a Daily Statement of the Packet Boats," and "a General Shipping and Commercial List;" the latter being set up in opposition to that so long published at Lloyd's coffee-house, the proprietors of which have not the advantage enjoyed by their new competitors, of being able to forward their list free of postage. While the clerks of the post-office are proprietors of a publication, to which they can give additional value by keeping back intelligence till after it has appeared in their own work, have they not a temptation so to do, of whatever importance the immediate communication of such intelligence may be to merchants and underwriters in general? and if the possibility of this case be admitted, as indeed it cannot be denied, ought men to be allowed to place themselves in a situation, where their interest and their duty are directly at variance.

This consideration may perhaps furnish a clue to the regulation, by which no letters nor newspapers that arrive after two o'clock in the day, are delivered from the foreign office till the following morning. During this long interval, the clerks of that office have free and full access to their own letters and newspapers, and indeed have nothing else to do, but to translate, transcribe, and forward extracts of them, to the editors by whom they are pensioned; while the other editors are effectually debarred from receiving their newspapers; and the poor merchants, whose ruin may be involved in the delay, are equally debarred from receiving their remittances, or covering their property by insurance.

So much time must be devoted, by some of the clerks in the post-office, to the various occupations of translating all the foreign papers, transcribing extracts from them for the different editors, collecting and arranging the materials for their various publications, correcting and revising the press, directing and forwarding their lists to their numerous customers, keeping and settling the accounts connected with these undertakings, that one of these facts necessarily follow. Either their official business must be neglected by their being thus taken off from their regular duty; or, many more clerks must be employed than are actually necessary, who, if these spurious avocations were prohibited, might be discharged, and their salaries saved to the public.

One gentleman in the post-office is reported to make 5000l. per annum, by sending newspapers to the British colonies, the postage of which is appropriated to his own use, as a perquisite of office. The privileges exercised by others, infinitely exceed those allowed to the members of either house of parliament. The franks of the latter are limited both in number and weight; those of the former are subject to no such restrictions, but carry any weight whatever. The liberal use that may be made of so weighty a privilege, and the emoluments that may be derived from it, are too obvious to require explanation.

But to confine myself for the present, to the question between the editors of the daily papers, and the clerks in the foreign office. Is it to be endured, that men in subaltern public situations should derive such unreasonable emoluments to themselves, and that the editors should be obliged to submit to the extortionate demands of these bashaws, who, holding that intelligence which is the source of popular favour, in their own hands, can, by a partial distribution of it, reward those who obey, and ruin those who oppose their will? No Briton can wish to see any of his countrymen reduced to such a state of vassalage; nor can any Briton, with patience, see all the pure and legitimate sources of information thus stopped up, and none but this polluted source left open; so that the public can know nothing, but what those minions of office may be pleased to communicate.

This system might indeed have been fostered under the late administration, but the present ministry will, I trust, adopt a more liberal policy, and restore the editors of the daily papers to their former independence; for the liberty of the press has ever been protected and encouraged by all good governments, in the same degree as it has been dreaded and discouraged by all bad ones.

June 2, 1807. CENTINEL.

TO EARL TEMPLE.

My lord,—In the *Courier* of the 15th ult. you returned your thanks to the county of Bucks, for electing you one of their representatives, in the following terms:—

"*To the Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Bucks.*

"Gentlemen,—It is not sufficient for me to return you my sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, for the honour you have done me, in again electing me as one of your representatives, without expressing my warmest gratitude for the unanimity with which you conferred it, and the zeal and kind activity with which my friends came forward to support me. In spite of a cry the most malignant, raised for purposes the most mischievous, and amidst attempts the most artful, to make religious animosities subservient to the political objects of individuals; to inflame the passions, and to blind the judgments of the people: it must be most gratifying to your feelings, that the freeholders of this county have resisted the contagion, and have treated with contempt the endeavours which have been used to pervert their reason. To the clergy of this county, it is most honourable, that the clamour which has been encouraged with so much activity, for the purpose of making them parties to the fraud; and the acts which have been used, to induce them to consider the security of the established church as depending, not upon the exercise of the mild virtues of christian charity and benevolence, but upon bigoted and fanatic intolerance, have failed completely in their effect. My principles of loyalty to my sovereign, and of attachment to the civil and religious constitution of my country, are, I trust, too well known to make any pledge on my part necessary. My best exertions shall be used in your service; and it shall be the object of my life, to prove myself worthy of the confidence, which for the fifth time my constituents have now placed me in. I have the honour to remain, gentlemen, your very grateful, and faithful humble servant, "CHANDOS TEMPLE.

"*Aylesbury, May 11th, 1807.*"

Had you contented yourself with only thanking the freeholders, no one would have had any right to remark upon the propriety of your advertisement. But you have availed yourself of that opportunity, to introduce reflections which, in fact, constitute a libel of the most scandalous and serious nature. You have, my lord, with that *liberality of sentiment* by which you are characterized, thrown a most severe im-

putation on a considerable portion of the electors who presumed to differ from you in opinion, with respect to those points which led to the dissolution of the last parliament. You have attributed to *all*, motives which *many* abhor. For these reasons, I claim a right, as a freeholder, to apply the touchstone of truth to your brilliant epistle.

And first, as to the *zeal* which you there boast to have been displayed in your cause on the day of election, I cannot help thinking, anxious and alarmed as many of your friends were—that *zeal* was excited by much more solid materials than the *sublimated* idea of your lordship's virtues—that it was fed with good *breakfasts*, and those other *corporal inducements* which were held forth to the freeholders and non-freeholders who attended; and as lord Titchfield's friends were certainly not *your* friends, *he* must, at least, have *halved* that *unanimity* with which you tell us your election was confirmed.

That your lordship should be greatly irritated at the failure of your prospects; that all those *meritorious labours* of the Hampshire election, last November, should vanish like a dream, and leave you not a wreck to hang a hope of future power upon, will be readily admitted, by those who know you, as reason sufficient for that degree of acrimony towards your successers in office, which blazed forth on the day of election, and pervades your address to the county.

I have no intention, in this letter, of entering on the question between his majesty and his late ministers! It has been fully and fairly discussed in a small pamphlet, which, neither you nor any of your lordship's friends have been able to answer. I shall only remark, that in dismissing those ministers his majesty acted *constitutionally*; and, I firmly believe, from the sincere conviction of a RELIGIOUS MIND! It is, as I said before, to those "brilliant" sentiments with which you favoured the Bucks freeholders, that I shall confine my present examination.

You tell us "a cry the most malignant" was "raised for purposes the most mischievous." This *gentle* expression is highly characteristic of those *mild virtues* your lordship so much commends, and fully explanatory of the *tolerance* of your own heart. But why should we expect in your public capacity what never influenced you in private life? My lord, a man who can write to his attorney, (you well know to what I allude) and order him to carry on a law suit "in the most harassing and expensive manner," is, without doubt, *well qualified* to talk of "the mild virtues of christian charity and benevolence!" But to return to your "CRY."—Pray let me ask you where it was raised? I have passed, since the dissolution of parliament, through different towns in the lower part of the county; I have conversed with laity, and clergy; with *independent* freeholders, and with men *devoted* to your lordship's interest; and have neither heard, nor seen any circumstance tending to excite commotion, "to inflame the passions," or "to blind the judgment of the people." There in are no part of the county that I know of, any meetings to excite disturbances, or any hand bills in circulation to raise a clamour against the professor of any religion whatever. If your lordship has taken the alarm from articles in newspapers, reflecting on your own conduct, or from caricatures exhibited in the print shops in London; or from that *gentle* correction which has been administered to your uncle by a member of the society for promoting christian knowledge, it must have been without considering that such things meet the eyes of very few of your constituents. Where, therefore, you have discovered these *abominable* "endeavours to pervert our reason" I am utterly at a loss to guess. From the *pretended* apprehensions, however, of this hideous phantom—this imaginary "*cry*," you have contrived to cast a severe reflection upon a numerous portion of the clergy. I am, my lord, a clergyman beneficed in the county; and, I am thoroughly confident that numbers of my brethren will look upon that part of your address, which relates particularly to them, as very far from compliment, and further still from fact. Your words are—"To the clergy of this county, it is most *honourable*, that the clamour which has been encouraged with so much activity, for the purpose of making them parties to the *fraud*; and the acts which have been used to induce them to consider the security of the established church as depending, not upon the exercise of the mild virtues of christian charity and benevolence, but upon bigoted and fanatic intolerance, have failed completely in their effect."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

estimation, it did not stand quite so high as it seems to do in your own. And your attachment to the civil and religious constitutions of your country has been most plainly evinced by your having been a member of the late administration, and now being united with the rest of your fallen brethren in virulent opposition to his majesty's government. CLERICUS.

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

Grand Dinner at Portsmouth, given to Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Chute.

It is hardly possible to conceive a more decided and unanimous manifestation of public opinion than was exhibited, on Friday, at this place. So general and enthusiastic were the feelings of the gentlemen and freeholders of the towns of Portsmouth and Portsea, and the neighbourhood; and so exasperated did they feel at the numerous misrepresentations, which had been ascribed to the motives which induced their zeal at the late election, that, at a meeting, lately held, they determined to shew their attachment to the cause of the present members, by giving them a dinner to celebrate their triumph. The day fixed on for this purpose was the 29th of May, which, being a holiday, it did not interfere with the public business in the dock-yard. On the morning of that day, the members for the county made their appearance, at one o'clock, on Hilsea Green, about four miles from Portsmouth, which had been previously fixed on as the place of general rendezvous for those gentlemen who meant to attend them in procession into the town. They were met on that spot by more than fifty carriages, decorated with blue and orange ribbands, and by upwards of three hundred of the yeomanry on horseback; and a superb car was provided for the members. At Kingston the cavalcade was met by four hundred gentlemen connected with the dock-yard, who, with those who had originally assembled and afterwards joined them, were formed into a regular procession, and exhibited one of the most brilliant and imposing sights ever witnessed in this part of England. The bands of the North Hants and Devon militia, the marine corps, and the Dock volunteers attended on the occasion; and near twenty flags, at proper intervals, were displayed, inscribed with appropriate emblems and mottos adapted to the popular feelings. At about three o'clock the procession, which had accumulated to more than ten thousand persons, and which extended near two miles, entered Portsea, and proceeding through several streets of that town, reached Portsmouth through the Quay gate: it then went up St. Thomas's-street, and down the High-street, through a lane of the inhabitants, who had lined the streets through which the procession passed, and saluted the members as they proceeded with repeated acclamations, and every mark of public applause. When arrived at the Crown Inn, sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Chute alighted from the car, and addressed a few words to the freeholders, which, from the immense crowd which were present, could not be distinctly heard; but the substance of which was to return thanks for the honour bestowed upon them. The procession having concluded, the concourse of people who had assembled, are estimated little short of thirty thousand, dispersed with the utmost regularity and good order; and a company of about three hundred sat down to a most excellent and magnificent dinner, which had been previously provided at the Crown Inn, and Mr. Gurnett was unanimously called to the chair. The dinner consisted of a profusion of turtle and every delicacy which the season could afford, and the wine was excellent. After the cloth was removed the chairman rose, and modestly apologizing for any defects of which he might be guilty, in a situation to which he was unaccustomed, and expressing the most unshaken loyalty to his sovereign, and determined attachment to the independence of the county, proposed the health of his majesty, which was drank with the most rapturous and enthusiastic applause; the other branches of the royal family followed; the army and navy; and other public and patriotic toasts. When the health of the members were given sir Henry Mildmay rose and said, that the zeal and perseverance which the company had already shewn in his cause, and the magnificent and unexpected honours with which they had received his colleague and himself, had almost taken from him the ability to express his gratitude to them; and he hoped that they would consult their

own generous minds, and judge of what he must feel on such an occasion. He had come forward to rescue the county from the imputation which had so frequently been cast upon it, of being a ministerial nursery; from having lived upon such a patronage, who had neither a vote, a residence, or a place of interest in the county. He was not a person who had two sets of political principles, to be used as circumstances might present. He had stood, on the present occasion, on the ground of independence, and he had not deviated from the same line on the last election. He challenged any man to show a single instance in which the influence of government had been exerted. The gentlemen present must have known it if it had been so. He disclaimed the charge of any assistance from the minister, however a few might approve their conduct and their principles. He wished it to be remembered, as an example to all future candidates, that the county could be carried by the free vote of independent men, and without being enslaved to government for a single vote. He hoped that the county was now emancipated; and, if the freeholders would be true to themselves, no minister would ever, hereafter, dare to interfere with the choice of their representatives. He was confident that the present gentlemen acted for well what was due to the consideration of their county, ever to attempt it. He adverted to the conduct of the late members, at the former election, and stated that besides the influence which had been used in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, before the applications which had been made to every one who even had any dealings with the government, they had set in motion the whole battery of government against him, to defeat the independent voice of the county. He compared the conduct with that of the present ministers, of whom the most that could be said, was, that they had given permission to those connected with them to act as they thought proper. He could not understand why the cry of interest should be applied to Mr. Coote and himself; they had both been in parliament many years, but neither of them ever asked for, or received any place, pension or other emolument, or had the means of defrauding the public of a single guinea. So far from meeting public reprobation, he was a member of that committee to which so much credit had been given for detecting abuse. Though the functions of that committee had been suspended, by the prorogation, he was confident that they would be revived when parliament met again; though, perhaps, not composed, as it had been, of the chancellor of the exchequer, and of sixteen out of eighteen members known to be attached to government, but of country gentlemen, who could have no interest in concealment. If he should be again a member of it, he would do his duty as he had done;—he would honestly investigate every motion which came before him, from those who put thirty thousand a year of the public money into their pocket for doing nothing, down to those who condescended to pilfer pens, ink, and paper. He had always venerated the principles of the late Mr. Pitt; those who emulated his virtues, who followed his principles, and trod in his steps, should always receive his cordial support. He was persuaded that in the whole of the brilliant career of that great statesman he had never done any thing to cause public regret, except the sacrificing his own invaluable life to his country's service. He hoped that these opinions would not be unacceptable to his constituents.

Mr. Coote then rose, and returned, in a very appropriate speech, his thanks to the company for the honour done him. He trusted that his conduct in parliament had ever, and ever would be marked by a zealous, disinterested attachment and fidelity to his constituents. He flattered himself that the general voice of the county, which had restored him to the situation of which he had been deprived, was the most decisive mark of their approbation of his former conduct. He adverted to the restoration of the monarchy, which took place on the same day on which the meeting had taken place: among many incalculable advantages which that event has confirmed to the country, he desired the company to recollect the re-establishment of that prerogative which, he believed, had lately saved the country. Mr. Gurnett, Mr. Blackburn, and several other gentlemen addressed the meeting, and were received with unanimous applause. Many loyal and constitutional songs were sung; and about nine o'clock the members quitted the room to pay their respects to the various bodies of freeholders who had assembled, at different houses in the towns of Ports-

mouth and Portsea, to celebrate this generally joyful occasion. The party at the Crown did not break up till two o'clock in the morning; and, it is most satisfactory to observe, that through the whole of this expression of public feeling, no one accident occurred; not the least disposition to riot or disorder was manifested, or any spirit of exultation over the few whose opinions had taken a contrary direction. The whole was conducted with the utmost regularity and order, and with a temper becoming the cause which gave rise to it; the expression of joy of a free people on the triumph of their independence.

SHREWSBURY ELECTION.

Letter to the Honourable G. H. Bennett.

Sir,—It is a matter of rejoicing to the lovers of truth and consistency, that cunning and duplicity cannot pass long without detection. And it is equally a matter of triumph that, however falsehood and calumny may tarnish the reputation of a man of sterling integrity, and whatever may be the conspiracies formed to supplant him, yet, such a character will eventually rise superior to all such attempts, and stand revealed in his own unborrowed splendour. This last observation, I may venture to predict, the people of Shrewsbury will find verified in that person who has been by yourself and friends most basely traduced; and if you, sir, were to ask for the character I first described, will not your secret and solemn monitor exclaim—"*Thou art the man!*"

You are the son of a nobleman; and I should judge from the suppleness of your character, and the facility with which you smile, that the arts of a courtier were become habitual. You have all the fickleness of the softer sex, but let me prevail upon you for once to give ear to a few plain, but I trust manly observations. The ladies may evince their partiality by espousing your cause—they may vent their little rage upon their tenants and tradesmen—they may again canvass for you; but your constituents are men, not women.

I like consistency in speech and action in a member of parliament. Perhaps your sentiments are changed a little since 1805, for you then said—"I cannot look with indifference at this monstrous *monopoly*, nor contemplate without indignation, an attempt to reduce this borough to the state of those boroughs, where the election of their representatives is not left *to the free choice of their electors, but* where a *few overbearing interests, force* upon an indignant though *submissive people*, persons who, whatever be their other qualification, have not the *constitutional qualification* of being elected by the *free, unbiassed* choice of their *fellow citizens.*"*

If you beheld with "indignation" such attempts by the candidates and their friends at that time, with what emotions must we look down upon your conduct, and the conduct of your party *now*? After declaiming, so loudly and so long as you then did, against "the monstrous monopoly" and coalition of the two Hills, and threatening them with a future contest, why did you not boldly step forward to rescue us at the late election before you knew Mr. John Hill withdrew? You have, at least, taught the people of Shrewsbury not to trust too much to boasting professions, for vaunting and cowardice are generally united.

I will, however, make some allowance for these hasty expressions in an extemporaneous harangue: perhaps they escaped you without due consideration. For, when you found us a "*submissive people;*" when you saw, that, like the camel we stooped to have the burden placed upon our backs, and when you intended at a future period to mount upon us yourself, surely you could not wish to goad us to resistance. Are we to impute this to an error of judgment? Either, you have found an animal of more mettle than you imagined, or else, you are not yet an adept in jockeyship.

But, though I may pardon an inadvertency in speech, yet, where are we to look for your real opinions, if we cannot believe what you have deliberately written, revised, and published? In page 76 of "*Thoughts on the Protestant Ascendancy in Ire-*

* Vide the Shrewsbury Chronicle, June 14, 1805.

land," you quote the following passage from Burke: "The taking away a vote is the taking away the shield which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but from worse than oppressions, the persecutions of private society & private manners." Now follows your comment: "This observation was made before the catholics were permitted to vote at elections; the *principle*, however, is at ALL times applicable, as it asserts the NECESSITY OF GIVING INFLUENCE TO THE PEOPLE, as a guard against the *power and influence of the higher classes of society*." Do condescend, sir, to inform us if the electors of a candidate for the borough of Shrewsbury, has not received sufficient influence from the result of, in the ardour of your zeal to emancipate the catholics, do you think you should allow such liberties to *them* as you deem the privileges of worthy citizens enjoying?

You next say, have I positively charged Mr. Jones and his party, with exciting tumult and disorder? Gentle reader! do not forget that, they themselves were the first to lead the rabble through the town with streamers and music, and even barbarously to insult Mrs. Jones in her own apartments—they forget the nights of November the 8th and 15th, when, with a view to raise an uproar, they insulted Mr. Jones while speaking, and afterwards, in a state of intoxication, rushed out of their Inn to provoke their opponents, and then ordered a watchman to arrest them—they did not *know* that you employed a number of bullies to carry you on their shoulders from the hustings every evening, and that a second number were engaged to drown the shouts of the people, by bellowing your obnoxious name. It would be unfair in me to impute this *forgetfulness* on the part of your advocates to any wish to calumniate or misrepresent: they were *all* gentlemen, and we must ascribe it solely to their friendship for you, and an honest zeal for your cause.

Were any thing wanting to convince us of the low cunning and duplicity of your character, a knowledge of your domiciliary visits after your election would be sufficient. When you had been carried through the town— not for our triumph but for our contempt, not as the man of our choice but in mockery of our rights, not placed in the chair by consent of the people but smuggled into it by force and authority— you devoted the remainder of your stay in Shrewsbury to visiting those burgesses that polled against you. What was the drift of your conversations with them? The principles of your family—your own abilities—to vilify the private and political character of Mr. Jones—to get acquainted with the objects of his petition, and to wean his friends from their attachment. Convinced of the instability of your situation, these were the expedients you resorted to, as preparatory to another election, which you knew would be inevitable if Mr. Jones presented his petition.

But, these traits are venial in comparison with the total degradation which followed. If, sir, I accused you of perjury, how could you vindicate yourself? After you admitted to the committee your want of a qualification, you circulated a hand-bill in the borough, declaring you had sworn yourself qualified. It would not in any degree extenuate the guilt, by saying, "Though I was *not* qualified at the time of my election, yet I am qualified when I took my seat in parliament." Such quibbles may pacify *your* conscience, but they will not satisfy the laws. The *Oath declares you to be qualified according to the [illegible] law*; † and the *act* expresses that, "the person shall be qualified *at the time of election or return*." I would willingly ascribe it to your ignorance, but how can I, when your friends so much compliment your *knowledge of the constitution and skill in the law*? Take care, sir, least while you wish us to extol your understanding, you give us reason to suspect the integrity of

† *The following is a copy of the oath.*—I, *Henry Gray Bennett* do swear, that I truly, and *bona fide*, have such an estate in law or equity, and of such value, and to and for my own use and benefit, or in trust for others, in lands, tenements, or hereditaments (over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same) as doth qualify me to be elected and returned to serve as a member for the place I am returned for, *according to the tenor and true meaning of the acts of parliament* in that behalf: and that such lands, tenements, or hereditaments, do lie as described in the paper or account signed by me, and now delivered to the clerk of the house of commons. So help me God.

* Stat. 9 Ann. c. 5. s. 5.—Simeon, p. 45.

your heart. But, the doctrine of the catholics may be convenient for your peace of conscience: "No faith need be kept with heretics;" and as for the infraction of an oath, why, in consideration of your services in defence of papal power, surely his holiness cannot hesitate to lull your fears to rest, and administer absolution to your soul!

But, I am almost ashamed of myself on being betrayed into any thing like levity on this occasion. Let your friends step forward in your vindication.—Come forward, ye advocates for a disgraced man: come forward and "wash the Ethiopian white!" I am told, some of your friends have blushed for you. But God forbid that I should accuse all your friends of blushing at iniquity: a blush is a symptom of some remaining virtue.

After such an event, and such an avowal, little did we suspect, that you would again become a candidate for Shrewsbury. And yet you did come down and rapidly canvass amongst us; and, week after week, and newspaper after newspaper, brought us your addresses of thanks to a fresh accession of friends, and declarations of your additional confidence of success. Like the proprietors of quack medicines, who are obliged to keep up their impostures, by forging fresh *cases of relief*, and by constantly advertising.

But permit me, Sir, to indulge myself a few moments in contemplating a different character. Mr. Jones, in domestic life, I believe to be irreproachable. I have heard him extolled by his tenants, by his neighbours, and by his domestics; and even your libellous partizans have not dared to arraign him. What! could you find no wretch that would prove him a tyrannical husband, a cruel father, an ungenerous landlord, or an unkind master? Was there no slanderous tongue to accuse him of not performing the religious, and the relative duties of man? Had you no *happy genius* in pay, that could produce a letter from Rochampton, similar to that from Windsor? or, was all their skill in penmanship employed in altering parish assessments and the Talbot ledger?

As a public man, how came he by the honorary titles * affixed to his name, unless he possessed some superior abilities? Why is he so popular, and so highly respected in the metropolis at this time? Why was he solicited † to supply the place of representative for the city of Westminster on the death of Mr. Fox, unless he had publicly manifested some talents in speaking, or some integrity in acting?

But, sir, I do not mean in this letter to pass an eulogium on Mr. Jones: my business is with you. Let me beseech you to be careful of your reputation. You are a young man; you have betrayed your youth and inexperience, in becoming the rival of such a gentleman as Mr. Jones. Let not your ambition overshoot the mark. Do not suffer your native cunning to forsake you. For, should you engage in another contest, and another scrutiny for Salop, perhaps you might not feel *inclined* to strike a bargain for the venal borough of Leominster, at the next dissolution of parliament. Retire, then, for the present.—The burgesses of Shrewsbury are not to be sold. Retire, Sir, to your chamber, lay your head upon your pillow, and sleep if you can, with the consolation of having attempted to sneak into the senate by violating the rights of your fellow subjects, and when destitute of such a qualification as the statutes of your country demand.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

PHILO SYDNEY.

Shrewsbury, April 24, 1807.

---

* Mr. Jones is a "Fellow of the Royal Society," a "Fellow of the Antiquarian Society," a "Liveryman of the City of London," &c.

† The newspapers announced this, soon after the death of Mr. Fox.

The Fourth Letter to the Electors of the United Empire, and the Animadversions upon Mr. Byng's Address to the Electors of Middlesex, in our next Number.

THE CLASSICS.

Quid Domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?——*Virgil.*

Sir,—I am among yet unpunished as the champions of literature. I feel myself emboldened to engage the gage of defiance which has been thrown down by a certain modern writer.* This gentleman, like a certain number of the ordinary run, prudently chooses the time of no danger, (most of whom give the preference to French compositions, not because the writings of English men ever did not possess some standing rank among their countrymen. Error in perspective is done by the interposition of a medium as dense as common. He has shewn himself an utter stranger to the force and right use of a medium highly interesting to all scientific men;—"The study of the learned languages." In the whole course of his opposition, he seems influenced by the sentiments of Cowley's "Plants;"—

O Fates! damnata Deæ! quicunque venena
Fraudibus apta dedit.

In imitation, also, of our ignorant sons, he proposes, by a vigorous assault, at once to destroy that might, fame whom the united efforts of centuries have failed to subdue. It must be confessed. As it is not my intention to enter into a elaborate discussion of the various arguments advanced in opposition to the study of ancient tongues, or to point the benefit arising from those pursuits, hitherto so universally approved, I shall merely take the liberty of analysing a few of the most material expressions. It is contended,† "That the whole structure and genius of the ancient languages are so different from those of the moderns, the words of which they consist are so peculiar to themselves, and the construction of these in sentences is so irregular and complicated, that to learn any one of them thoroughly is a work of much labour and time, requiring perhaps a long period of society for its accomplishment, and a prodigious increase of the customary application of riper years." And further, "That the learned languages should be in a manner excluded from practical education, and calculation and experiment, sciences depending on reasoning and observation introduced in their stead. The last suggestion is more particularly enforced, as being the principle of the *New French System*; a system dictated by necessity, calculated to exercise the understanding, expressly adapted to the service of the state, and cultivating, exclusively, the memory and the taste, both subordinate faculties of the mind."

In contradiction to these positions I shall observe, that when the Romans invaded any country, they carried with them laws, customs, and expressions peculiar to themselves: and the inhabitants of the vanquished states, by degrees relinquishing their own prejudices and maxims, submitted to the ordinances, and not unfrequently adopted the speech of their conquerors. And this it is which, in many instances, renders the diction of the English and Latin nearly similar. The irregular and diversified collocation here concerned, gives the sentences additional force and energy, as it does with our blank verse.—The great eternal scheme

Involving all, and in a perfect whole
Uniting, as the prospect wider spreads,
To Reason's eye refined clears up apace.—

In the next place, it is lamented that children are compelled to study *that* which they dislike; and even before this study is compleated, their parents, from various causes, remove them from the theatre of education.—But, let me ask, what boy, whose attention could not be fixed on the works of Virgil or Ovid, books interspersed with narrative and interesting tales, would, with tolerable readiness, endeavour to demonstrate the abstruse problems of Euclid? Again, in lieu of authors themselves we are recommended to peruse translations; but were there no scholars, where would be the translations? Nay, by way of example, I defy the greatest infidel in literature to assert, that any person can, with due fidelity and emphasis, interpret from the original Greek those beautiful lines in Homer's Iliad, describing Hector—the great, the mighty Hector, smiling on his child,—With respect to the learned languages—there is no pleasing affection of the mind which may not, in these valuable remains of antiquity, find ample scope for gratification. The scholar, and

* Mr. Cobbett. † Vide Political Register.

the scholar only, who has, with many a weary step, won his way through the rugged path of grammatical studies, can attain the hill of science, and pluck the fair flowers and choice fruits growing in its summit. He alone can weep with Sophocles, moralize with Plato, and laugh with Terence. His ear is ravished with the soft and sympathizing notes of Bion or Tibullus, with the pastorals of Theocritus, or the soft melody of the Mantuan pipe. He wanders by the channel of Pindar's wild and impetuous steams, or reclines with Anacreon in the bowers of harmony and love. Ye foes of learning, be not thus wise in your own conceit! Though ye taste not

> Those ever blooming sweets, which, from the store
> Of Nature, fair Imagination culls
> To charm th' enlivened soul!

Yet attempt not to debase the minds of your brethren, or to confine their thirst for knowledge.

> ——————— Would the forms
> Of servile custom cramp *her* generous powers?
> Would sordid policies, the barb'rous growth
> Of ignorance and rapine, bow her down
> To tame pursuits, to indolence and fear?
> Lo! she appeals to Nature, to the winds
> And rolling waves, the sun's unwearied course,
> The elements and seasons!

Children, it will appear, are occasionally inclined to shew the superiority of their understandings by an unpardonable neglect and contempt of their parents; and, indeed, cases of this nature, have sometimes happened within the reach of my own observation; yet, let not this fault be supposed to arise from any particular study, but rather from an innate perversity of disposition, which the instructive writings of antiquity would rather tend to ameliorate than encourage. The final argument, however, adduced in favour of this extraordinary doctrine, certainly demands a more attentive consideration. The proprietor of the Political Register, exhorting the practice of "calculation and experiment," in lieu of the learned languages, observes, "that this suggestion is more forcibly argued as being the principle of the NEW FRENCH SYSTEM, a system dictated by necessity, and expressly adapted to the service of the state!" If this advice be given as advantageous to the country, long may we want such counsellors! Has France, whose principles we are thus called upon to admit, in any one single instance, profited by innovations or by the destruction of her seminaries? Has the bloody reign of unlettered chiefs advanced her prosperity, or has the fury of an illiterate mob augmented the number of her citizens? Have they not rather compelled her with unavailing sorrow to exclaim,

> Hoc fonte derivata clades,
> In patriam populum: fluxit!

But, to conclude, as the worthy gentleman, who is now the subject of my *admiration*, is determined to persevere in the establishment of a plan, so *evidently beneficial* to its followers, I must beg leave to offer to his notice that curious machine to expedite the art of printing, which was formerly imported from the flying island of Laputa, by the famous Gulliver, of travelling notoriety, but which has hitherto been totally neglected. True, it is, that Mr. Cobbett has, *very generously*, consented to receive the opinions of correspondents, for a specified time before his general answer is announced, and has thereby, of course, spared himself much trouble in *composing*; but this ingenious machine would even enable him to *publish* ream upon ream without any additional expense. As, however, it would be impossible for me within these narrow limits to attempt a faithful description of its wonderful properties, I must beg leave to refer the curious to the volume from whence the idea was taken, or to the antiquarian society.

According to the usual mode adopted on such occasions, it would be more appropriate to finish these remarks with a pompous quotation from the Greek; but, from the better comprehension of my antagonist (who, poor man, does not seem to have been burdened with any thing beyond his mother tongue, though in that, it must be confessed, he is *astonishingly* proficient) I will conclude with a plain English

fable.—A few, from some trifling accident, not in the least connected with a good deal, mortified by reflecting on the reception figure he should make among his former [illegible]. In the agitation of his thoughts upon this occasion, an expedient occurred to him which he resolved to try, in order to remove this disagreeable embarrassment. With this view he assembled his tribe together, and with a most elaborate speech, how much he had at heart whatever tended to the common good—how low, he observed, was their thought of the height and dimensions of their tails, and with what pertinacity, that they were much more considerable than formerly.—He, therefore, earnestly recommended it to them to divest themselves of so much an incumbrance. "My good friend," replied an old servant, who had listened with much attention to his harangue, "we are, no doubt, extremely obliged to you for the concern you express upon our account; but pray turn round before the company; for I am already inclined to suspect, that you would not be quite so solicitous to ease us of our tails, if you had not lost your own!!!"

ANGLICUS.

GRANTHAM ADDRESS.

Sir,—As you have printed the Anglesea address, I send you one which may serve, if you think proper, as a companion to it. This I do, the rather, because it appears to be the very address from which a passage was expunged through modesty, as stated by your correspondent (p. 424). As the omission is thought by some to have rendered it tame and spiritless, I have now an opportunity of transmitting it, entire, as it was originally penned. I also take the liberty of printing the requisition.

INCOGNITUS.

To Richard Hall, Esq. Alderman of the Borough of Grantham.

Grantham, April 29th, 1807.

Sir,—A momentous question, in which the just prerogatives of the crown, as well as the fundamental principles of our excellent constitution, are both deeply involved, having been recently determined by our gracious sovereign, with a firmness and magnanimity which do him the highest honour,—We request that you, as chief magistrate of this borough, will convene a meeting of the inhabitants thereof, to afford them an opportunity, in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, of addressing his majesty, and expressing the heartfelt satisfaction they must necessarily feel on this important occasion.

Joseph Lawrence,	Jno. Wood,
Fras. Turner,	Richd. Winter,
W. F. Kirke.	Geo. White,

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the alderman, recorder, &c. of the borough of Grantham, beg leave to approach your majesty, with heartfelt gratitude for the signal deliverance which your majesty, as the true defender of the faith, has effected for this church and nation; convinced as we are, that to your majesty's wisdom and firmness, under Providence, we owe the preservation of a religion, which is inseparably connected with your majesty's crown and dignity, and the happiness of your people.

We suppose and presume, sire, that the more any age is really enlightened, the more apparent must be the errors, and the dangers of that bloody and anti-christian faith, which was invented through the ambition of the popes of Rome. We are sensible that there is no other way of supporting toleration, but by supporting that church which alone, as being the true one, possesses a tolerating spirit; and we feel, from experience, that the liberties of your majesty's subjects must be annihilated, if ever your majesty should be overawed and controled in the free exercise of your invaluable providence.

That heaven may ever guard and protect your majesty, as it has hitherto done, in the most conspicuous manner, against all your majesty's enemies, foreign and domestic, shall be our constant and fervent prayer.

Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. Hodgson, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°24. Saturday, June 13, 1807. Price 10d.

REMARKS UPON THE ELECTIONS.

My readers will observe, from the correspondence laid before them in this day's review, that every thing connected with meanness, duplicity, trick, and corruption, has been exerted by the friends of lord Milton in Yorkshire. From my knowledge of the people of that great and extensive county, I did hope that they would have exerted that good sense for which they are remarkable, and more remarkable than any other inhabitants of the kingdom: instead of which, they have evinced, at least such as have voted for lord Milton, an imbecility of character, which will require years to wipe away. Is it natural? Is it consistent with common prudence, or with our ideas of public safety, that a boy of twenty-one years of age shall be the representative of a county the greatest in extent, the most illustrated for industry, and the richest in commerce throughout the kingdom? Every one is surprised at the majority which he has obtained over Mr. Lascelles. But it is some comfort to acquaint my readers, that the triumph of lord Milton will be but short. His pensioned hirelings have resorted to violence, corruption, and bribery; and though he be nominally returned, and through the aristocratic families in his interest drive about the capital with ribbons in their hats as tokens of triumph, the house of commons will rectify this infamous abuse of public freedom, and place Mr. Lascelles in his proper situation, as the representative of the county of York. I request the attention of my readers to the correspondence which appears in this day's paper, and I sincerely hope, that every independent gentleman will come forwards with his purse and his heart, to support the petition which the honest electors of Yorkshire are about to prefer in behalf of that firm friend of the church, and the state, Mr. Lascelles, whose return has been prevented only by a scene of iniquity unexampled in the annals of electioneering villainy. Though it would be at any time disgraceful for the vassals of Malton or Higham Ferrers to be represented by a boy, yet we may pardon the dependants of Wentworth house; but it cannot be endured that the noblest county in the kingdom, in point of rank, weight, and talents, should be disgraced by having an *apprentice* for its representative, and an insolent aristocracy to dictate to its numerous population the choice of its member.

As the returns have not yet been completed, it is out of my power to mention to my readers the specific number of voters upon the different poles. But it is a most remarkable fact, that, wherever the friends of the church and the state have been defeated, they have, in fact, obtained the majority of their respective towns and counties; for instance, Mr. Osborn, in Bedfordshire, lost his election by less than twenty votes, in consequence of the exertions of that most virtuous and patriotic family, the illustrious house of Bedford; but, let it be recollected, to the honour of the county of Bedford, that Mr. Osborn had nearly nine hundred plumpers. In fact, therefore, general Fitzpatrick is intruding upon the county.

The address of sir F. M. Eden, which I have inserted in this day's review, is as genuine a specimen of true loyalty as ever appeared in print; and it shews, furthermore, that the people of Durham, notwithstanding all the false representations that have been made respecting the vigorous and constitutional conduct of our virtuous and excellent sovereign, have evinced a gratitude and a love towards the British constitution and their prince, that can never be forgotten; I will say the same for the people of Dorchester; for, though I offered myself as a candidate for that town, upon the sole ground of maintaining the glorious principles of the church and the state, and, though I believe, that with the exception of a dozen dissenters and *saints*, every inhabitant of the place thinks as I do, yet nothing can withstand in the country we live in the force of money. We may struggle for our king and country with zeal, honesty, and energy; but if money only be the rule by which the people of England chuse their representatives, we may be represented by rich,

but not by discreet men. Corruption, bribery, cheating and thieving, will form the fundamental principles of the elective franchise, and, in my opinion, they who sell themselves must not be surprised if they are sold. Notwithstanding, however, the influence which corruption has, I can assert with confidence, that no administration ever obtained a more warm, zealous, and disinterested support than the present one; and, I do assert, that no administration ever interfered less in elections than the present. The reason is obvious: they are honest men, and will serve their king and country with loyalty and fidelity. They have not disgraced themselves by making pretences of economy, and by appointing a brigade of dependents to fill situations for the sake of obtaining votes. They came in to defend the church and the throne, and they will stand or fall in the support of them. Hence their popularity is established throughout the nation, and I now take this opportunity of assuring the gentlemen of the whig club, that it will take a very long time before they are restored to power; and, as a friend, I can assure them, as my private opinion, that they never will return to power again. Discarded by their sovereign, detested by the people at large, and despised by every enlightened man in the kingdom, there is but one rule of action left for them, and that is to HANG THEMSELVES!!

THE LATE CONTESTED ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF YORK.

Sir,—The partizans of the late ministers affect to be transported at lord Milton's having been elected a representative of the county of York. They exult in the language of the noble lord himself, that he has been returned by "the unbiassed and undivided suffrages" of 9000 voters.—Let us however dispassionately inquire how those *unbiassed and undivided suffrages* have been obtained, and then let the public judge of the merits of the case and the real grounds of their exultation.

It is well known that during the ten first days of the election Mr. Lascelles was supported by a decided majority of the most *respectable* freeholders of this great county. Lord Milton's party have not dared to say that those suffrages were not *free and unbiassed suffrages*, nor have they ventured even to insinuate that any unfair or unconstitutional means were resorted to to obtain them. Had *they* pursued the same honourable line of conduct, his lordship would not at this moment have been entitled to a seat in the house of commons. No.—He would, in that case, have been in his proper element—sipping caudle, and rocking the cradle in the nursery at Wentworth house.

But let us look at the reverse of the medal. It is well known that the great body of the woollen manufacturers of Yorkshire have, since the woollen bill was passed, conceived a violent prejudice against Mr. Lascelles. This prejudice has been studiously and too successfully fomented by lord Milton's party. This deluded class of Freeholders have been taught to believe that Mr. Lascelles has been, and still is, their common enemy, the destroyer of their rights and privileges, the great obstacle of their prosperity! and though Mr. Wilberforce, as one of the representatives of the county, was equally implicated with Mr. Lascelles in the completion of that measure, though the bill passed the ordeal of the whole committee, and afterwards the more solemn investigation of the two houses of parliament, yet the whole *supposed odium* of it haf artfully been thrown on the shoulders of Mr. Lascelles! He, he alone has borne the brunt of the battle.—He alone, with the adamantine shield of rectitude and honour, has sustained the mighty conflict! No intrepid nisus has dared to appear at his side and cry out

"Me, me! adsum qui fui,
In me convertite ferrum———"

And if at length, by the dishonourable manœuvres of his opponents, and the more vile * *treachery of pretended friends* he has suffered a defeat; it is one of those rare defeats more glorious, more honourable even than victory.

Let us now take a glance at the manœuvres alluded to. When the Milton party saw how little chance there remained of his lordship's being returned by *fair* means,

---

* Mr. W———y, chairman of Mr. Lascelles's committee at Y—. can best explain this allusion.

they thought it perfectly honourable to resort to *other* methods. It was then that lord M. affecting to be sure of victory, requested his friends to give their split vote to Mr. Wilberforce. Immediately afterwards the party discovered a pretended coalition between that gentleman and Mr. Lascelles. The cry of "no coalition" was raised, and the freeholders yet unpolled were earnestly requested to give lord M. plumpers. In order more effectually to put their design into execution, a number of picked fellows were dispersed in all directions, especially among the clothiers. These *revolutionary* orators (for they were all *great talkers*) were such as would have done no discredit to the clubs of the Parisian jacobins at the beginning of the French revolution. They first inflamed the bodies of their auditors with liquor, and then their passions with the most artful and insidious harrangues. The people were told by these mouth-pieces of the faction—I beg their pardon—I should say the party—that should lord Milton be elected, he would soon obtain the repeal of every act they conceived inimical to their interests; and get other acts passed, by which the price of the raw material would be *decreased*, and the price of the finished goods *increased*. They were informed, that all the necessaries of life would be reduced one-half; and that, by a general peace soon taking place, their trade would be lucrative and unbounded, beyond all calculation.

On the other hand they were warned, that should Mr. Lascelles be returned, they would, for ever, be slaves at the mercy of the merchants; then trade would be ruined, and their wives and families be reduced to beggary and starvation.

Such, sir, are *some* of the artifices that have been made use of to mislead the great body of industrious, but ignorant and prejudiced, manufacturers of this county. The design has answered the purpose of the party. The name of Milton has been the watch-word; and even women and children have caught the infection, and joined the senseless clamour.

> ——— Bacchatur fama per urbem
> Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
> Tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus æther! *Virg.*

Scenes of confusion and riot, disgraceful to human nature, have ensued. There is hardly a town or a village, in the west-riding of the county, but what has witnessed such tumults; nor have the friends of Mr. Lascelles been able, for the last fortnight, to pass from one place to another, without imminent danger of their lives. Numbers of freeholders, who had promised to support that gentleman, have had their windows broken, their gardens and plantations destroyed and laid waste; and many have been threatened with the entire destruction of their property, and even the loss of their lives. To these circumstances let us only add, that immense numbers of respectable freeholders have been informed,* by written notices, that if they *did not vote* for *lord Milton* they would be discharged from their farms, &c. in due course of law—and then let us ask the noble lord, what he means by his nine thousand unbiassed and undivided suffrages.

It would be a waste of time to make a single comment on these transactions. They will long remain on record, a lasting testimony of the dishonourable conduct of a faction, and an indelible disgrace to the county at large.

Of Mr. Lascelles there can be but one opinion. His bitterest enemies even admit that throughout the whole of this great contest he has conducted himself with the coolness of a philosopher, the urbanity of a gentleman, and the fortitude of a man! He has shewn himself to be the great and *just* character of whom the Roman bard, in his immortal language, speaks.

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Monte quatit solida." †

---

* Amongst the foremost of these *conscientious* landlords stands a certain baronet, not a hundred miles from By——m.

† Monte quatit solida ———
—— si fractus illabitur orbis impavidum feri. *Virg.*

He will now retire from public life into the bosom of an affectionate family. He will carry with him the sympathetic regard of his numerous friends, and the regrets of the virtuous and respectable part of the county. And though he may feel disgusted at the disgraceful conduct of his opponents, and hurt at the delusions of the ignorant and the prejudiced; yet will he have the supreme consolation of reflecting that he has hitherto discharged, conscientiously, the various and important duties that have been imposed upon him; and that he will, to use his own words, "feel more satisfaction, in retirement, under the present circumstances, than had he been elected a representative of the county, by the *same means* as the noble lord has."

Huddersfield, June 9, 1807. VERAX.

YORKSHIRE ELECTION.

Dear sir,—By the unnatural coalition of the nobility and mobility, the voice of the independent freeholders of this extensive county has been overpowered.

The means by which lord Milton's return, for election it cannot be called, has been effected are scarce less insulting to the county than disgraceful to himself and his *too* conscientious partizans.

It is not the cause of the Hon. Henry Lascelles, and I am therefore glad to find that he means to take no further steps. The honour and independence of the county are at stake; and we must therefore at once either unite to redress the injury which our character has sustained, or merely resolve to remain the tools of a factious aristocracy, which heaven avert!

Mr. Lascelles has performed his part—"his conduct must ever entitle him to the highest regard of the county of York."—He was called upon, by numerous meetings of the most respectable gentlemen in the mercantile interest, to stand forward the champion of our loyalty and independence: the patriotic views of these gentlemen were most amply seconded by the independent landed interest of the county on the days of nomination and election: so honourably called upon Mr. L. who had on a former occasion in the handsomest manner retired to preserve the peace of the county, again presented himself to our choice. The exercise of an undue influence, with the aid of the most flagrant corruption, has, for the present, turned the scale against us; but if we are "true ourselves" our independence may yet be saved.

Let us then, as our duty dictates, stand forward with our purse and influence, in order to place Mr. Lascelles in that situation which we so publicly proclaimed him worthy to fill; which he has before filled with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the general interests of the county; and from which he has now been excluded, by the influence of the most glaring and disgraceful corruption.

Should this hint engage your able and patriotic pen to take up the cause of injured freedom, of an hitherto independent county and a beloved monarch—success may yet attend us—let the standard of independence once be raised, many wait but for a leader. If you allow this letter a place in your excellent paper, or if you make use of the hint contained in it, it may attract the attention of a more powerful.

York, June 6th, 1807. HAMPDEN.

N. B. For instances of undue influence apply to the house of Devonshire, &c.

To abate the pride of the thousands of low Westminster electors who voted for sir Francis Burdett, I must remind them, that Phocion always suspected himself of some blunder, when he was attended, with the applauses of the populace. He stopped to interrogate them, what foolish things he had done.

Surely sir Francis Burdett has committed a blunder, or something else, when he would make his illiterate followers believe that the abolishing of any thing contained in the Red Book would regenerate the constitution. Let me observe, that the pension list he inveighs against so much is not to be found in it. Such list has

been frequently laid before parliament, to which any body may refer; and if they do, they will find, on inquiry, that the king is restrained, by Burke's bill, from granting pensions beyond a given sum; and when they exceed that sum, the consent of parliament is necessary, and only applied for to reward public services. The Livre Rouge is swelled to a thick volume by a great deal of extraneous matter, no ways connected with government.—It contains an account of the East India company's very numerous civil and military servants. The army and navy are greatly increased in Great Britain. Does sir Francis and his partizans mean to disband them? The number of ships of war and armed vessels is very great. Is a saving to be made by reducing our naval force? Would he put an extinguisher on the great companies or the corporation of London? for all these make a part of the Court Kalender, though independent of the court. Sir Francis is called upon to use his ingenuity, and to particularize the reforms he proposes: he may, perhaps, propose the cashiering of the king and royal family, as his friend colonel Despard would have done, and urge, as an argument, the annual saving it would make of a million sterling. Such a calculation, the jacobins of Paris made, and bellowed forth, when they excited the mob to join in the cry for abolishing monarchy in France.

There are no lengths, after what sir Francis has promulgated in his address, to which he may not be expected to go. I am for letting him, however, have rope enough, believing that the more rope he has, the sooner he will be entangled in *a noose*. I am firmly persuaded, likewise, that speculations, that are the most essentially and extensively useful, have no tendency to unhinge established institutions, or to influence the passions of the multitude: instead of violence, the improvements they recommend are to be effected by means too gradual and slow in their operation for visionaries and demagogues like sir Francis and his preceptor; but, in proportion as they are adopted, they constitute the political fabric, and enlarge the sphere of human happiness.

As for the baronet and such legislators, my motto is,—*Hunc tu Romane Caveto.*"

Bath.

To the Worthy and Independent Freemen of the City of Durham.

Gentlemen,—To thank you for the promises I have received, and to express my firm persuasion that those promises will shortly raise me to the honourable station of your representative, is so common a course in an address after a canvass, that I might, naturally, confine myself within it; but I feel it right, on this occasion, to subjoin a few observations, which, I trust, will satisfy you that the grounds, on which I solicit your countenance, are of substantial importance, with reference to your dearest rights as British freemen.

In the progress of my canvass, I have observed, with the highest satisfaction, that the electors of the city of Durham feel the warmest gratitude to his majesty for the firmness and wisdom he has displayed in resisting the injudicious measures of the late ministers; in dismissing those ministers; and in making that appeal, which their conduct has rendered necessary, to the sense of his people.

I have observed that the most enthusiastic zeal for our ancient establishments, both in church and state, prevails among you; and that you are most anxious to preserve all the fundamental land marks of our constitution inviolate. I am convinced that, in the electing members of parliament, you will, by no means, assent to the doctrine, which has often been inculcated, that a systematic opposition to ministers is necessary; but that you will agree with me that such opposition should arise from misconduct; and that, under the circumstances of the present war, it is only from a strong government that we can expect those salutary counsels, which may lead to (what we all earnestly desire) a *just*, *honourable*, and *lasting peace*.

It is, therefore, my intention, if I should be the object of your choice, to give my support to his majesty's present ministers; and, as the first act of free, unsolicited support, whilst their predecessors are telling the country what they have performed in a few months, I cannot but remark that those who succeed them are entitled to your confidence for the services they have rendered you in a few days. You have to thank them for the removing that part of the new plan of finance, which

would have permanently pledged, as a security for the loan of this year, those war taxes, which press most heavily on the shipping interests, the commerce, and the manufactures, of the country: you have to thank them for their decided approbation of the volunteer system, and their early exertions to invigorate and maintain it: but, above all, you have to thank them for the judicious advice they have given to their sovereign, to submit the constitutional exercise of his prerogative to the approbation of his people. In so doing they have shewn an intimate knowledge of the feelings, and a just sense of the interests, of their countrymen.

Gentlemen! with these impressions, and these intentions, I shall, on the 14th instant, the day of election, submit myself to your decision. I have delayed making my general canvass of the city of Durham till this day; not, I assure you, under any doubt whether I should canvas at all, but to afford those who are personally unacquainted with me, full time to inquire how far my private character and political principles might render me deserving of your favour. If they are such as you approve, you will, I trust, confer the high honour to which I aspire, by making me the instrument of proving that, whilst the country at large is furnishing abundant testimony that they will virtuously discharge the duty, which, in this arduous crisis, they are called on to fulfil, the Durham freemen, renowned for independence, perseverance, and patriotism, can perform their part in the formation of a parliament to support the king and constitution. I am, gentlemen, your most obedient and faithful servant,

F. M. EDEN.

Durham, 11th May, 1807.

BOROUGH OF CARNARVON.

At a meeting of the bailiffs, burgesses, and other inhabitants, of the antient and loyal borough and town of Carnarvon, convened by public notice from the bailiffs, at the Guildhall, in the town of Carnarvon, on Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seven, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of presenting a respectful address of thanks to his majesty, for his paternal care in support of the protestant establishment in church and state.

John Evans and Matthew Fleming, gentlemen bailiffs, in the chair.

Resolved, That the address moved by the Reverend Henry Jones, clerk, and seconded by Hugh Ellis, esq. comprising the universal sentiment of this meeting, be presented to his majesty.

Resolved, That the bailiffs be requested to sign the address and these resolutions in the name of the meeting, and to transmit the same to the honourable Charles Paget, the representative of this borough in parliament, and the right honourable the earl of Uxbridge, the mayor thereof, with a request that they will be pleased to present the same to his majesty.

Resolved, That after the address shall have been presented, the same be published in the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, and both the Chester papers.

John Evans and Matthew Fleming, bailiffs.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the bailiffs for convening the same, and for their conduct in the chair.

O. A. POOLE, town-clerk.

"*To the King's most excellent majesty!*

May it please your majesty, We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the bailiffs, burgesses, and other inhabitants, of the borough and town of Carnarvon, beg leave to approach your majesty's throne, with our humble expression of the highest admiration, and the most lively gratitude.

"Accustomed to behold in the whole of your majesty's conduct, for a long series of years, the firmest resolution, and the most anxious solicitude in supporting the true principles of our admirable constitution, both in church and state, we were not surprized at the late noble stand made by your majesty in defence of the venerable fabric, raised by the wisdom, and watered by the blood of our martyred reformers.

But when we look back upon those times of unrelenting persecution, in which bigotry and superstition consigned to death and to torment every friend of civil and religious liberty, when the sword was avowedly set in opposition to the word of truth, and power employed without remorse to bind and to force the conscience; we cannot too strongly express our thanks to your majesty, for your seasonable and patriotic exercise of your undoubted prerogative.

"Your majesty has ever been our friend, our protector, and our father, your enlightened mind has ever penetrated the crafty designs of the wily, and your manly fortitude has ever resisted the daring efforts of the violent.—May heaven long continue to your majesty unimpaired health of body, and undiminished vigour of mind.

"May the great ruler of the universe long continue to this country, the enviable blessing it now enjoys—a good and patriotic king! Such are our prayers to heaven, and such the genuine sentiments of our hearts; deeply sensible as we are that, under your majesty's government, we shall enjoy in its original purity, that equal and tolerant constitution under which we have hitherto lived and been happy.

"May it please your majesty to accept graciously this our humble address, with the most respectful assurances of our unshaken allegiance and most devoted services."

Signed at the request of the burgesses and other inhabitants of the antient and loyal borough and town of Carnarvon, convened at the Guildhall, on Saturday, the twenty-fifth day of April, 1807.

JOHN EVANS,
MATTHEW FLEMING, } Bailiffs.

TO REDHEAD YORKE, Esq.

Jam dudum ausculto, et cupiens tibi dicere servus,
Pauca, reformido.———

Sir,—So very liberally of late have you bestowed your dignifying epithets on persons of every description, that gratitude imperiously calls upon one, whom you have deigned to qualify by the very christian, liberal, and polite appellation of *heathenish rascal*, to return you his most sincere acknowledgments.

This instance of your exalted charity, exemplary humanity, and superior politeness, will, no doubt, meet with universal approbation. It will convince the laity of the goodness of your heart, the clergy of your burning zeal in the cause of religion, the vulgar of your ingenuity, the gentry of your good breeding, the loyal of your indefatigable efforts to protect the throne, and the learned of the excellence of your highly cultivated understanding.—It is well, it is perfectly well. Martin Luther in the sixteenth century called the pope an ass; and Redhead Yorke, Esq. in the nineteenth century very civilly denominates every catholic priest an heathenish rascal. That the disciple should imitate his master, is natural. Where tempers are perfectly congenial, language, necessarily, is synonimous. The phraseology of one Newgate bird is always similar to the phraseology of another Newgate bird; and shortly, no doubt, we shall behold revived in a Redhead Yorke the charitable, the meek, the holy reformer of Christ's Church. In the interim, sir, I earnestly recommend to your particular attention and assiduous perusal, the sacred volumes of this your holy apostle. From them you may derive an inexhaustible fund of most elegant epithets, wherewith to enlarge your already extensive catalogue. In that store-house of charity and politeness, you will find whatever can perfect the christian, or form the gentleman. From that garden of sweets you may cull numberless fair flowers of oratory, exceeding in beauty whatever Billingsgate can possibly produce. For the benefit of my countrymen, and to render them acquainted with the expressive beauties of their mother tongue, I have already begun to make a choice collection of your most refined epithets, which, when completed, I propose giving to the public under the title of—"A Vocabulary of most delectable Epithets, selected with the utmost care from the Political Review of Redhead Yorke, Esq. designed for young gentlemen who have lately completed their course of moral and literary

education, and are just entering on the vast theatre of life, to enable them with facility to express themselves christianly, humanely, and elegantly in the pulpit, at the bar, or in polite company." The amusement which I shall derive from this occupation will, I am persuaded, amply repay me for my trouble, exclusive of the satisfaction which I shall feel at having contributed towards the embellishment and lexicographic improvement of the English language. But, irony apart, permit me, sir, to ask you whether you really believed your own assertion, when you declared that all catholic priests were heathenish rascals, and the majority of them the decided auxiliaries of the Corsican tyrant, Buonaparte? Have you then, sir, not sufficiently examined into their tenets, investigated their conduct, and sounded their opinions, to convince yourself that they are neither heathens, rascals, nor traitors? That paganism is held in as great abhorrence by them as by the most religious of protestants? That they adore but one God in a Trinity of persons, and Christ Jesus the eternal and natural Son of God? That indeed they honour and revere the image of their and your Saviour; but this only with a relative honour and reverence, an honour and reverence which is referred to what it represents, not to the mere representation? That catholic priests are as little given to robbery, to cursing, to intoxication, to lewd discourse, as any of your most exemplary parsons? That they love their king and country with as much sincerity and ardour as the most patriotic protestant? In case, sir, you have not made this examination of their tenets, this investigation of their conduct and political principles, to inform yourself of the one, you have only to repair to their places of worship; to convince yourself of the other, to frequent their company; and to ascertain the last, to consult their behaviour. From such poor heathenish rascals and traitors be, sir, assured you have nothing to apprehend. They will neither sacrifice you as a victim to their idols, as heathens; pick your pockets, as rascals; nor cut your throat, as rebels.

But the weighty charge which you, sir, have brought against the majority of the catholic clergy, of being the decided auxiliaries of Buonaparte, is indeed a terrible accusation, and hitherto, fortunately, it is an accusation without proof. Yet as I must suppose Redhead Yorke, Esq. to be a christian as well as patriot; that he sometimes reads the decalogue as well as writes patriotic pamphlets; that he knows false testimony is forbidden by the ninth commandment; and that in the present case he has accused his neighbours of the heinous crime of treason, I must intreat the said Redhead Yorke, Esq. to clear himself from the reasonable suspicion of wilful calumny, by adducing (as I would suppose) his latent yet incontrovertible proofs to substantiate his accusation. Then as a liege subject of a most delicate conscience, let him denounce these traitors to government; declare to the civil power the money, the arms, the ammunition which these auxiliaries of the Corsican despot have forwarded or have purchased, in order to forward to their worthy ally; disclose to the privy council the correspondence held between them, &c. &c. For surely the conscientious Redhead Yorke, Esq. must be perfectly acquainted with all these transactions! He, good soul, would never, most certainly, have accused his neighbours on rash suspicion, and exposed himself to be branded by mankind with the epithet of infamous calumniator!

Once, sir, I considered you as an impartial writer. Your professions of independence and disinterestedness I then believed to be sincere, and I naturally concluded that prejudice and passion in your writings would have no part. The ebullitions of a convert from jacobinism to loyalty were natural, and consequently excusable. He who has injured a just cause, must in justice repair the injury; this is the gospel, this is the law. And as you had furiously inveighed against loyalty, you supposed that furious invectives against jacobinism would be an adequate atonement for your former guilt. But I never thought you would direct this flaming sword of your ardent zeal against the breasts of your innocent countrymen. I never thought, that in imitation of the present tyrant ruler of France, you would condemn, without judge or jury, the majority of catholic ecclesiastics. I naturally supposed, that to obtain an accurate information concerning their principles and character, you would have applied not to the enthusiastic rhapsodies of a Westley, not to the scurrilous invectives of a Duigenan, not to the declamatory nonsense of a Burch, but to the luminous writings of that great statesman, that

impartial observer of mankind, Edmund Burke. He, sir, would have informed you, that during the riots of 1780, (which were first excited by the Rev. John Westley of pious memory, and then continued by the celebrated lord George Gordon) those very catholic ecclesiastics, or in your own words, those very heathenish rascals and traitors, appeased the minds of the infuriate catholic vulgar, irritated by the proceedings of the protestant rioters, who burnt down their chapels and ransacked their dwellings. He, sir, would tell you that the catholic clergy of Ireland are a respectable body of men, who have been degraded only to be oppressed. He, sir, would assure you that the catholic clergy of France, when he visited that country, were in no respects heathenish rascals, except piety, learning, affability, urbanity, benevolence, constitute the heathenish rascal. Condescend, sir, to be advised.—Instead of employing your time in venting your spleen on inoffensive catholic priests, dedicate those precious moments to the lecture of Edmund Burke's speech at Bristol previous to the election; to the lecture of his letter on the penal laws of Ireland; to the lecture of his reflections on the French revolution. In those compositions you will find something that may contribute towards rectifying the errors of your judgment, as well as humanizing the sentiments of your heart. In every sentence you will discover the man, the philosopher, the christian; he feels, he argues, he sympathizes. And although like you of a very warm disposition, you will not discover anywhere in his writings, that with one dash of his formidable pen he ever consigned the majority of catholic priests to hell as heathens, to the gallows as rascals, and to the scaffold as traitors.

Unfortunately, Mr. Redhead Yorke, you were tutored in the school of jacobinism. You there imbibed sentiments not the most honourable to humanity; and since your goal conversion, I greatly apprehend you have carried into protestantism all your pristine jacobinical ferocity. *Naturam expellas furcâ*, was never, in my opinion, more aptly applied. Redhead Yorke, once the furious jacobin, is now transformed into the furious protestant. Nevertheless, I shall not, in imitation of that charitable and zealous soul, consider his sentiments and principles as the sentiments and principles of the majority of protestants. No, although an 'heathenish rascal,' I I hope that I am not quite so destitute of liberality. I trust that I know, in practice as well as in theory, the full extent of that divine precept, *Love thy neighbour as thyself*. I shall not, therefore, even indulge a mental calumny to the prejudice of my fellow man. If there are some infatuated protestants, I likewise know there are many unprejudiced protestants. If there are some who consider catholic priests as heathenish rascals and traitors, I know there are many who esteem them as good christians, and loyal subjects. I shall never consider a solitary pamphleteer, a writer of a review, or a newspaper scribbler, the echo of a nation's voice.

Indeed, whenever I peruse the scurrilities with which catholicity and catholic priests are sometimes loaded by hireling bigots, I pity the men, and laugh at their folly. For what they intended as a check to the catholic interest, serves only to promote its cause. In reality, most people have sense enough to perceive, and impartiality sufficient to suppose, that where abuse supplies the place of argument, and violent declamation is substituted to calm discussion, there the cause is the weakest: it is passion that vociferates, not reason that argues. It is the enthusiast's last resource, his forlorn hope. Similar to the scuttle fish, which, when too closely pursued, finds its only protection in the black filth which it discharges.

But you, sir, most certainly have adduced one argument by which you imagine you have substantiated your accusations against the catholic clergy. I will give it in your own words.——"The natural antipathy of these men to the protestant cause is, in no instance, more clearly demonstrated, than in their rejection of every offer made to render them dependent on a protestant government." Now, Mr. Redhead Yorke, you would have greatly obliged us had you mentioned some of those offers which were made to, and rejected by, the catholic clergy;—this would have had, at least, the appearance of candour. For my part, I only know of one instance in which an offer was made and declined, and that is the instance of the Irish clergy's declining the pensions proffered to them after the union of Ireland. But the true reason for this rejection of proffered pensions, you have, sir, most disingenuously concealed. I shall mention it to you in a subsequent para-

graph. Ere I proceed to that point, I must put a civil question to Mr. Redhead Yorke. Have you, sir, reflected that this very act of government, which most assuredly is far better acquainted with the character, dispositions, and principles of the catholic clergy than you are, is a direct refutation of all your former calumnious aspersions? For, can any man, who enjoys the privilege of common sense, be brought to suppose that government would pension heathenish rascals, and support, by pecuniary assistance, the decided auxiliaries of Buonaparte? You, sir, indeed may believe it, for you have a wonderful knack at reconciling inconsistencies.—Alas! Sir, insult not the government which you pretend to defend, by declaring to the world that it is the avowed supporter of heathenism, rascality, and treason.—Take care, Mr. Redhead Yorke, that, whilst you stand forth an advocate for pensions, you bring not into question your professions of disinterestedness. If a pension presents to your eyes such fascinating charms, some may be apt to suspect that you, sir, have no very strong objections to a pensioner's stipend. The world, then, will be very well able to account for your burning zeal in the cause of protestantism, your furious invectives against catholicity, your violent declamations against the late ministry, and your elogiums on the present administration. What then will become of your Political Review? Court sycophancy will read it; but independent honesty will scout it with contempt.

Returning to the question, why the proffered pensions were declined by the Irish catholic clergy? Mr. Redhead Yorke will tell us, it was because by this refusal they sought to manifest their secret enmity to the king and constitution. By-the-bye we must allow that traitors of so silly a description are rarely to be found. but catholic traitors are so full of simplicity that they cannot conceal their sentiments. Such, too, will be the motive assigned by virulent prejudice. But impartiality will assign a very different motive. It will tell the world, that the Irish catholic clergy declined the offered pensions because they would not exchange the promises made to them at the Union, for any sum of money; because they would not become *participes criminis* in deception; because they wished to refute, by facts, the calumnious accusations of their protestant adversaries, "that wealth is the chief object of a catholic ecclesiastic's pursuit; because they considered their character of more value to them, than all the places and pensions in the British Empire.—But, continues Mr. Redhead Yorke, it was to demonstrate their antipathy to the protestant cause, that they declined the proffered pensions! Here, then, we behold a protestant, a pious, zealous protestant, in direct violation of the sacred law of charity, giving a scandalous interpretation to an action which would obviously admit of a favourable interpretation. We behold a protestant presumptuously interpreting the intentions of his fellow creatures, which only can be known by divine omniscience. We have here, too, a wonderful specimen of logical ratiocination.—Whoever will not become a prisoner of government, when solicited, bears an antipathy to the protestant cause; consequently, every upright and conscientious representative, who, for a government bribe, will not betray the interests of his constituents, bears an antipathy to the protestant cause. Every independent freeholder, who will not huckster his vote, and vend his right of franchise, for a pension to government, bears an antipathy to the protestant cause. Good God! Mr. Redhead Yorke, is it possible, that, from your established premises, you should expose your proposition to this necessary inference, that those only manifest an esteem for the protestant cause who are willing to be venal, dishonest, and contemptible? Were I, sir, a protestant, I would never select you as a pleader in its cause, you injure it by your declamation, and render it ridiculous by your arguments. Yes, sir, if the protestant cause was before beautiful and well-proportioned, you have now stripped it of all its charms, and distorted all its features. You have delineated it rather with the pencil of an insidious foe, than with the masterly hand of a real friend.—You have depicted it as a whitened sepulchre, clean without, but filthy within. It is no heathenish rascal, but you, Mr. Redhead Yorke, who have represented the protestant cause as some emaciated, haggard, ghastly, strumpet, despoiled of all her borrowed bloom and costly attire, presenting to the eye of the spectator nothing but an object of disgust and horror. For who will be captivated by that cause, or consider it as the cause of religion, of virtue, and of justice, which has for its ad-

versaries (according to the conclusions naturally deduced from Mr. Redhead Yorke's premises) the conscientious, who will not sacrifice their consciences; the virtuous, who will not prostitute their honour; and the honest, who will not forego their integrity for a government pension?

But, continues Mr. Redhead Yorke, the catholic clergy bear an antipithy to the protestant cause, and this may authorize the suspicion of their being traitors! In order, sir, to prove your first position, that the catholic clergy bear an antipathy to the protestant cause, it is not enough for you to adduce a vague accusation, which amounts to no more than this—the catholic clergy would not be bribed out of their claims, and, consequently they bear an antipathy to the protestant cause. But you must evidently prove, that the catholic clergy have not and will not take the oath of allegiance to his majesty; that the catholic clergy have dissuaded and deterred their flocks from taking the same oath; that the catholic clergy have withheld those committed to their charge from entering into the army and the navy, or, when entered, have encouraged desertion; and, as a proof of these heavy charges, you must demonstrate mathematically that the proportion of catholics in the navy and army, in proportion to their numbers, is greatly inferior to that of any other sect; and next prove logically, that, in consequence of the catholic clergy's persuasions and exhortations, the catholics, on the plains of Egypt and of Maida, would not fight for their king and country, and, at the Nile and Trafalgar, they would not engage the French and Spaniards because they were their brother catholics: and then conclude, that the catholic clergy bear an antipathy to the protestant cause. This would be an incontrovertible argument. This would evidently prove the charge. This would leave the catholic clergy without a reply; and they would then justly incur the appellation of traitors.—But permit me, sir, to ask whether it be absolutely necessary for catholic priests to take a bribe, or to admire and approve all the sanguinary acts passed by the government in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and queen Ann, of all the prohibitory laws, which exclude British catholics from a participation of British rights, to evade the suspicion and imputation of bearing an antipathy to the protestant cause? If so, I readily confess that no catholic clergyman, can escape the imputation. For no catholic clergyman, no, nor any good Christian, can admire or approve cruelty and oppression. To these, indeed, every catholic and every Christian must submit, with resignation, where they cannot be averted without the commission of the heinous crime of rebellion: but submission does not always imply esteem and reverence. The slave submits to the lash; the condemned criminal submits to his punishment, yet, neither the one nor the other can be said to love his chastisement. Whence, then, originates this catholic antipathy? Produce, sir, your prohibitory laws, that code of oppression; produce your statute-book, that code of blood, and the question is immediately answered. And is not a similar antipathy every way natural, every way rational? Yes, sir, you must extinguish every glimpse of reason, and suppress every natural feeling in man, in order to eradicate a similar antipathy as long as the cause of it remains. You might as well tell the ox he is not to feel the goad, and the camel he is not to perceive his burden, as to tell a catholic, or any man, he is not to be sensible to cruelty and oppression. And this, sir, was tacitly acknowledged by the great and illustrious William Pitt, and by the majority of those who formed his administration, when he pledged himself to the Irish, to bring into the house, and, if possible, to carry the bill for catholic emancipation. For, can you, sir, suppose him to have been so ignorant of the nature of the British constitution, as to imagine catholic emancipation compatible with the integrity of the British constitution, when, in reality, it was not compatible with its integrity? or, will you suppose, that he promised to effect what he knew he could not perform? admit, sir, but these two suppositions, and you must necessarily allow, that your and my favourite minister, was, either the most ignorant blockhead, or the most consummate cheat that ever directed the helm of state. But no, sir, he was as perfectly acquainted with the nature of the constitution, as any of your Hawkesburys, your Sidmouths, or your Percivals. He, sir, was not to learn his constitutional and political lessons from such pigmy tutors in state affairs. Thus he resigned his place, because he could not perform his promise, and sacrificed his honourable ambition to his integrity and conscience.

This may suffice to silence all those scrupulous bawling patriots, who continually are sounding the war whoop of church and state in danger from catholic emancipation. This ought, sir, to tranquillize your mind, labouring under the greatest apprehensions for the safety of the British constitution, in case catholics should obtain their emancipation. This should induce you, sir, to imbibe, in this particular, the sentiments of the immortal Pitt, in preference to the imbecile opinions of that state empiric, that modern Petronius Arbiter, who by his black, demonic arts, is continually conjuring up before the eyes of our much-beloved sovereign, hideous, though airy phantoms.

Here, for the present, I shall conclude, with professing myself an admirer of many of your political sentiments, your friend as a man, and a subscriber to your Political Review.

June 6, 1807. CLEOSTRATUS.

MR. BYNG.

The insulting language which this gentleman has employed respecting the clergy, it is now our duty to comment upon. If Mr. Byng imagines that popularity is to be acquired by calumniating the most respectable order of men in this country, he knows little of its virtue and its integrity. The indecency of accusing a learned and venerable body of giving their votes from motives of corruption, can only be equalled by lord Howick's insolent epistle to the freeholders of Northumberland. From lord Howick, the champion of the whig club and the friend of the papists, any abuse of the clergy is natural and a matter of course; but that Mr. Byng, who has been most honourably supported by that clergy, should traduce the whole body for the assistance which they gave to sir Christopher Baynes upon a question in which their vital interests were concerned, remains to be explained by him and his whig club adherents. I have boldly challenged the world to produce any body of men equal to the clergy of England, for genuine learning, piety, and uprightness. This ground I have gone over before; but it cannot be too often repeated, that, in the unhappy times in which we live, the last consolations of the people depend upon the independence of the church.

There may be immoral characters in the church; but, I trust, no reasonable man will send forth a general ban of proscription against the many for the faults of the few. I request Mr. Byng to reflect, if his heart be not steeled against reflection, that when the altar was subverted in France, the throne fell immediately after; and the licentiousness that followed ought to have appalled his mind, as a man of property, and induced him to support an establishment which is the foundation of our comforts in this life, and our hopes in the hereafter. Let Mr. Byng reflect on the effects of popular opinion. I touch upon a delicate chord. But it is most true, that the voice of the people is not always the test of public judgment. Does Mr. Byng presume to say, that the clergy, who voted for him, are hypocrites? And if they be not, why are those respectable clergy, who voted for Sir Christopher Baynes, to be libelled as hypocrites and hirelings. I have been more mortified at some of the transactions which have taken place, during these elections, respecting the clergy, than from any political circumstance I have experienced through line; but I do glory in my affection for the clergymen of the church of England; because, I have been all over Europe, and have never found (in any regulated government) a class of men more worthy of the admiration and respect of the people.

Mr. Byng's attack upon the clergy of Middlesex proves, either that he has no religion, or, if he have any, that the church of England is not the religion he would support. He has written an address, both infamous and false, and which, I trust, at the next election, will for ever exclude him from representing the county of Middlesex. When Mr. Byng accuses us of hypocrisy, I wish to ask of him, whether he did not support sir Francis Burdett, whose ignorance, vulgarity, and seditious notions, render him unfit to be the associate of any friend of his king and country.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNITED EMPIRE.

The last letter to the Electors of the United Empire is postponed, on account of the difficulty of compressing all the beautiful dissertations of lord Howick, when he was Mr. Grey. Whether this great question, which has agitated the public mind, will be doubted by any Englishman, we shall see in a very short time; but I wish to exhibit to the public the opinions of my eloquent friend, Mr. Bowles, who has unmasked the strange impropriety of one of these citizens of the world.

The article, which my readers will find below, cannot be surpassed in eloquence or morality.

The avowed object of Mr. Lancaster's plan, as it respects religion, is " the formation of a society under whose patronage *all* the youth in these *kingdoms* may be intructed to read their Bibles; and to impress on their memories the knowledge of those most essential parts which relate to the history and theory of christianity." The society which he proposes to establish is to include all denominations of professing christians. " Let the friends of youth," he says, " among every denomination of christians exalt the standard of education." But a difficulty here naturally presents itself. As the different denominations of christians entertain very different opinions on religious subjects, how can a society composed of all those denominations agree in a plan of religious instruction? Mr. Lancaster is fully aware of the difficulty, and he thus meets it: " Let me add, that a society for this purpose should be established on general christian principles, and on them only. Mankind are divided into sects, and individuals think very differently on religious subjects, from the purest motives; and that gracious common parent who loves all his children alike, beholds with approbation every one who worships him in sincerity. Yet it cannot be reasonably expected that conscientious men should promote a religious opinion directly contrary to their own. A presbyterian, baptist, quaker, or any other, cannot with sincerity sacrifice his opinions to those of his amiable and christian brethren in the establishment. Neither can the last conscientiously unite entirely in opinion with other denominations; but the grand basis of christianity alone is broad enough for the whole bulk of mankind to stand on, and join hands as children of one extensive family. This basis is 'Glory to God, and the increase of peace and good will amongst mankind.' In thus describing the grand basis of christianity, Mr. Lancaster mistakes the effect for the cause. Glory to God and peace on earth ought certainly to result from christianity, and they must result from it, if it be genuine. But they cannot with any propriety be called its ground-work or " basis." It appears, however, from the whole of the foregoing passage, that the method by which Mr. Lancaster proposes to unite all denominations of christians, in a society for the education of youth, is to refrain from promoting, by means of such a society, any religious opinions which are peculiar to any of those denomination, or about which they differ, and to inculcate those only in which they all agree. For he says, " It cannot be reasonably expected that conscientious men should promote a religious opinion directly contrary to their own." In another part of his publication he says, " his object is to instruct youth in useful learning, in the leading and uncontroverted principles of christianity." And he elsewhere most explicitly and most emphatically lays it down as a kind of dogma, that " above all things education ought not to be subservient to the propagation of the peculiar tenets of any sect. Beyond the number of that sect," he adds, " it becomes undue influence, like the strong taking advantage of the weak." By which I understand him to mean, in reference to his own plan, that although each sect, acting separately, may properly inculcate its own peculiar tenets, yet when all sects unite in a society for the purpose of education, they must act on what he calls " general christian principles," and propagate no opinions which are peculiar to any sect, but only those which are common to all. In page 11 of his introduction, Mr. Lancaster further says, " I long to see men who profess christianity, contend, not for *creeds of faith*, or names, but in the practice of every heavenly virtue."

With Mr. Lancaster's religious opinions, or " creeds of faith," I have no right to meddle; but I consider myself not only entitled, but bound to say, that the system of religious instruction proposed by him is highly objectionable in a religious, a moral, and a political view. It leads to consequences of which, I should hope,

Mr. Lancaster is not aware, and which, if he were aware of them, he would most earnestly deprecate. One of those consequences is, that his system, if universally adopted, would tend to the subversion of christianity itself. Strong as this assertion may appear, I pledge myself to prove that it is well founded.

It will appear upon examination that all systems which in their nature and tendency are injurious to society, are founded in error. This is the case with that of Mr. Lancaster, which is evidently built upon the supposition that the different denominations of Christians, differ only in the non-essentials, but agree in the essentials of Christianity. This supposition is the basis of all his reasoning on the subject now under consideration. It is clearly implied in his general proposition, that "the grand basis of christianity alone is broad enough for the whole bulk of mankind to stand on;" and it appears more distinct when he proposes it as one of the objects of his society to impress on the memories of youth the knowledge of those most essential parts which relate to the history and theory of christianity. Indeed, one would not willingly suppose that Mr. Lancaster would intentionally leave youth uninstructed in what he deems to be the essentials of christianity. It must therefore be presumed that he considers the various denominations of christians as agreeing in essentials, and differing only in non-essentials. But in truth the very reverse of this is the case. The subjects upon which the various denominations of christians differ, involve the very essentials of christianity. They relate to matter of such high importance, that if all belief, and, consequently all instruction, respecting them were excluded from a system of faith, that system could not in any sense of the word be denominated christianity. A single example will suffice to prove the truth of this assertion. It is well known that one of the principal differences which have agitated the christian world, relates to the blessed founder of our religion, respecting whose person, character, and office, the most contradictory opinions have been strenuously maintained. Will Mr. Lancaster say that a person can be denominated a christian, who has no belief whatever respecting the points in dispute between the sects who hold different opinions on the above subject? But as Mr. Lancaster's proposed society is to consist of all denominations of christians, and as it cannot be reasonably expected that "conscientious men should promote a religious opinion directly contrary to their own," it necessarily follows, according to such a scheme, that the trinitarian doctrine upon the subject in question is not to be inculcated, because it is "directly contrary" to that maintained by socinians, and *vice versa*; and that, in relation to a matter which is palpably and necessarily fundamental in every possible system of christianity, youth are not to form any belief whatever. But how can a person be called a christian, who has no opinion or belief on the question whether the author of his religion is an object of his adoration? Nay, how is he to attend any place of Christian worship, if he is ignorant whether he is to worship the Son as well as the Father? In relation to this most important subject, Mr. L. most scripturally says, "To the name of Jesus all must bow, in mercy or in judgment." But the youth to be brought up by his society must not be taught to bow to that name; for, strange as it may appear, there is a sect of professing christians who consider such adoration as idolatry. Indeed, all knowledge and belief upon the essential and fundamental doctrine above alluded to, must, according to his plan of education, be withheld from youth, in order that Trinitarians and Unitarians may unite in a society for general education.

In like manner most of the essential doctrines of Christianity have occasioned differences of opinion or belief, and excited controversy among professing christians; and the ardour of the controversy has generally been in proportion to the supposed importance of the question in dispute. Upon all such doctrines, however, youth must remain totally uninstructed, if Mr. Lancaster's principle be carried into effect. But when, in conformity with that principle, he has excluded from his system of religious education all instruction upon subjects about which the various denominations of Christians differ, he will find that he has excluded christianity itself: for the religion which will remain, when, in compliment to the numerous sects of professing christians, all the doctrines in which they do not agree are kept back, will certainly not be Christianity. It will, indeed, be scarcely any thing else than Deism. I cannot conceive that any sect would, upon mature consideration,

promote such a system of religious education. For, persons of all sects, whatever their peculiar tenets may be, consider it a matter of indispensable necessity to form some belief on the subject of those tenets; and unless they were of opinion that salvation is confined to those of their own persuasion, they would rather see youth educated in a faith from which they differ, than in no faith at all; or which, with regard to Christian belief is the same thing, a faith in which all christians agree. Thus it appears that the effect of Mr. Lancaster's system would be to make youth deists rather than christians; and that what he conceives to be the broad basis of Christianity, is, in reality, so narrow, that no Christian, of any sect or persuasion, can stand upon it.

If the mischievous effects of such a system were confined to the season of youth, the objections to it on the grounds above stated, would be insurmountable. For with regard to great numbers, youth is the only period of existence in this world, and it is impossible to say that it will not be so in any particular case.—And who, that is a Christian, can reconcile himself to the thought, that this period should pass without any knowldge e of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel—without any belief in those doctrines? But the influence of such a system upon those who are educated in it, must, in after-life, be of the most pernicious kind. The best that can be expected of such persons is, that they will not "hold fast" any form of doctrine—that they will never be firm, or steady, or long consistent, in any system of faith; and that through life they will be wavering and inconstant, and "blown about by every wind of doctrine." But the danger, nay, the probability is, that, after many fluctuations, they will become sceptics, and, perhaps complete infidels.

That one error is generally the parent of another, is a truth which is remarkably verified in Mr. Lancaster's system. The fundamental error of that system, which consists in supposing that the various sects of professing christians agree in essentials, and differ only in non-essentials, has led to a conclusion no less erroneous, that the plan of religious education which Mr. Lancaster proposes to adopt, will tend to produce the *moral* effects of christianity. This is a position which he assumes, and on which he reasons with as much confidence as he could do if it were fully established.

Thus, after laying down his grand principle, that "above all things education ought not to be subservient to the propagation of the peculiar tenets of any sect," he says, "Yet a reverence for the sacred name of God, and the scriptures of truth; a detestation of vice; a love of veracity; a due attention to duties to parents, relations, and to society; carefulness to avoid bad company; civility without flattery: and a peaceable demeanour; may be inculcated in every seminary for youth, without violating the sanctuary of private religious opinion in any mind." He proceeds, "When obedience to the divine precepts keeps pace with knowledge in the mind of any man, that man is a christian; and when the fruits of christianity are produced, that man is evidently a disciple of our blessed Lord, let his profession of religion be what it may. The propagation of this knowledge, and the production of those fruits, increase the number of true christians, which is far better than the increase of party to any extent; and at the same time proves beneficial to society, in the improved principle and conduct of its members; and in private life, by the steadiness and amiable disposition of parents, masters, and children, who are influenced by its mild and benignant precepts."

All this is undoubtedly very specious, and its speciousness has, I dare say, contributed much to the patronage which Mr. Lancaster has received from the friends of good morals. But it is altogether built upon fallacy. It is founded on the supposition that an effect may be produced without its appropriate cause. Mr. Lancaster says, "When the fruits of Christianity are produced, that man is evidently a disciple of our blessed Lord." But how are the fruits of Christianity to be produced, when the tree, of which those fruits are the natural product, is not planted? It is true, according to Mr. Lancaster's system, a knowledge of the divine precepts is to be inculcated; for he says, "When obedience to those precepts keeps pace with knowledge in the mind of any man, that man is a Christian;" but he most unphilosophically, as well as most untheologically, expects "obedience," without the principle by which alone obedience can, in any case, be produced. That principle is faith.

DISINTERESTEDNESS OF THE WHIGS.

Sir,—The "men of all the talents" having made a great parade of their disinterestedness and integrity, during their short administration, I was induced to open the "accursed leaves of the scandalous red book" (as they are called by sir Francis Burdett) to see what alterations they had made in the peerage, and in other titles of honour, not doubting from so much purity, that I should find few names added to the former lists; but, to my astonishment, I found that those immaculate patriots had, during the short space of ten months, made an addition of no fewer than seven earls to the English and Irish peerage, four viscounts, and thirteen barons—making, precisely, two dozen in the whole; and that they had made twenty-two privy counsellors, and seventeen baronets!! I shall subjoin the lists, with a hope that in the next edition of Johnson's dictionary, the words "disinterestedness" and "integrity" will be properly explained. And I remain, your's, very truly,

"AN ADMIRER OF WHIGS."

English Earls, 3.

Manners, Orford, Grey, } 1st April, 1806.

Irish Earls, 4.

Gosford, Ross, Normanton, Charleville, } 1806.

English Viscount, 1.

Anson, 1st February, 1806.

Irish Viscounts, 3.

Templetown, Lismore, Lorton, } 1806.

English Barons, 12.

Erskine, 10th February, 1806.
Monteagh, 20th.
Ardrossan, 21st.
Lauderdale, 22d.
Granard, 24th.
Crewe, 25th.
Beauchamp, 26th.
Ponsonby, 13th March.
Datton, 4th November.
Ailsa, ditto
Breadalbane, ditto.
Gardner, 15th.

Irish Baron, 1.

Rendlesham, 1806.

Privy Counsellors, 22.

Lord Holland.
Duke of Bedford.
Marquis of Douglas.
Earl of Lauderdale.
Earl Moira.
Earl Carysfort.
Earl Donoughmore.
Earl Powis.
Earl Grey
Earl Temple.
Lord Henry Petty.
Lord J. Townsend.
Lord V. Morpeth.
Lord Howick.
Lord Ossulston.
Lord Cathcart.
Lord St. John.
R. B. Sheridan.
W. Eliot.
G. Ponsonby.
Sir J. Newport.
Sir J. Anstruther.

Baronets, 17.

Bateman, Hugh, 11th November, 1806.
Berry, Edward, ditto
Bromhead, Gonville, 19th February.
Cholmeley, Montague, 25th.
Fraser, William, 11th November.
Hardy, John, 4th February.
Hastings, Charles, 28th ditto
Lockhart, Alex. Mackdonald, 24th May.
Louis, Thomas, 29th March.
Lubbock, John, 5th April.
Morris, John, 12th May.
Nugent, George, 11th November.
Ramsey, Alexander, 12th May.
Scott, Joseph, 30th April.
Shelley, Bysshe, 3d May.
Sibbald, James, 11th November.
Sutton, Thomas, 5th March.

H. R. Yorke begs his readers will excuse the paper not being published in time for the post, owing to his indisposition.

Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. Hodgson, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°25. Saturday, June 20, 1807. Price 10*d*.

HISTORICAL.

It is a most extraordinary fact, that until the last week, no event of any particular importance has reached us from the continent; so that our attention has not been distracted from the consideration of our domestic arrangements by any political details worthy either of record or of animadversion. The elections are at an end, and I am now about to resume the historical department of this review, which I am sorry to observe will present to the reader a gloomy and distressing picture of public affairs.

The house of Austria has not availed itself, as was generally expected, of the critical position of the French armies after the battle of Eylau to co-operate in the effort of the continental powers to shake off the yoke of the French ruler; and the death of the empress on the 13th of April may be justly regarded as an unpropitious event. For, the influence which she was known to possess whenever the cabinet of Vienna directed its hostilities against France having ceased, the predominance of the pacific party at that court must be considered as complete. Rumours of a very contradictory nature, relative to the line of conduct which Austria meant to pursue, have been circulated in all the journals of the continent. At one moment we were assured that, after having attempted in vain to mediate between the contending parties, she had come to the determination of making a common cause with the allies; but the next hour, other rumours brought the intelligence that she was inflexible in the maintenance of her neutrality. Thus, we have had no authentic materials by which we could form any conclusion respecting her political views. There *was* a time when Austria might have placed herself in a most commanding attitude; when she might have fallen upon the rear of the French, and intercepted the junction of the conscripts with the main army of France; but, having suffered that favourable opportunity to pass by, we may reasonably doubt, whether she will make any resistance to the progress of the enemy. Hence, the only policy which it is probable the cabinet of Vienna will pursue, is to offer its mediation to the Belligerent powers. Every mail from the continent strengthens this assertion.

The cause of European independence must not be dispaired of, notwithstanding these disheartening appearances: for much has been gained by the checks which Buonaparte has sustained on the shores of the Vistula. It is consoling to find, that there *is* a state upon the continent capable of balancing his overgrown power; that there is a barrier beyond which his numerous armies and experienced generals have not been able to penetrate; and that if the views of the emperor of Russia and the confederates should lead them to desire the cessation of hostilities, it will be in their power to prevent the establishment of an universal monarchy in Europe, the evils of which have been amply depicted in the prior numbers of this Review. But, notwithstanding all the pacific reports that are spread over the continent, notwithstanding the negociations which are said to be pending between the belligerent powers, it is extremely difficult to reconcile to our conceptions of public security, the possibility of a definitive peace, while France retains a foot of territory on the other side of the Rhine. Brannau has not yet been ceded to the Austrians, nor have the French obtained possession of Catarro. Besides, the mortifications and disappointment which Buonaparte has undergone since his arrival in Poland, must convince him of the many obstacles he must experience before he will be able to erect Poland into a kingdom for the use of his brother Jerome. It was from Poland that the enemy of human freedom hoped to derive an unqualified co-operation. No one understands so well the arts of disorganization as Buonaparte; but he has been egregiously deceived in his calculations respecting the Poles. Although the partition of Poland can never be justified upon any principle of natural equity or the law of nations, yet, it cannot be denied that the people have enjoyed more happiness

under the government of the spoilers of their commonwealth, than they ever felt under the turbulent administration of their antient nobles. This fact accounts for the indifference with which they have received the proffers of the French government, and for their general steadfast attachment to their new masters. A few of the antient Polish nobility and their immediate dependents, have marshalled themselves under the French standard, but the great mass of the community have retained their loyalty, and, in many instances, have most courageously resisted the progress of the French troops. Thus, it appears that as the French can have no reasonable ground for expecting to make a permanent establishment in Poland, the negociations, if pursued, must hinge upon their further occupation of Germany, their influence over its councils, and the consolidation of the Rhenish confederation, which was one of the leading causes of the present continental war. In the mean time, all the belligerent parties have made prodigious exertions to qualify them to renew the contest with encreased effect. The French conscripts have arrived at their points of destination; the Prussian army has rapidly increased, and the Russians have received very great reinforcements from every part of the Russian dominions in Asia as well as Europe. On the 2d. of April, the grand duke Constantine arrived at the Niemen with the imperial guards, thirty-two battalions of infantry, twenty-seven squadrons of cavalry, and ninety-two pieces of cannon. This force reached the grand army about the middle of April; and in addition to it, thirteen battalions had arrived about the same time from Riga, and were to be followed by the army of reserve collected in Lithuania, composed of fifty-four battalions and thirty squadrons. The whole of this force is estimated at more than one hundred thousand men. After having passed two days at Memel, the emperor Alexander arrived at the head quarters of his army a few days after, where he was received by his troops with the warmest demonstrations of loyalty, and devotion to his cause.

From this period, the Russian army seemed to be in a condition to act offensively; for in all their previous operations, the Russians had confined themselves to defensive operations, as they were greatly inferiour to the French in numbers. But notwithstanding these reinforcements, no action of any consequence has taken place. This may be esteemed a fortunate circumstance, because it affords more time to the Russian troops to perfect themselves in discipline, as well as to habituate themselves to the manner of fighting pursued by the enemy. The inaction of the grand armies is accounted for in the continental journals, upon the ground that all the belligerent parties are engaged in negociation. Without taking upon myself to deny the fact, I must observe, that the vigour with which the siege of Dantzic was pushed, the indefatigable efforts of the French to reduce the remaining fortresses of Prussia, together with the continued petty warfare waged by the Kozaks against the enemy, which has extremely harassed him, should lead us to dispute the inference which the papers under the direction of the French government have asserted. In fact, the tone of insolence in which all the French bulletins were composed is wonderfully lowered; a circumstance that cannot otherwise be explained than by concluding that the situation of the French affairs is not so agreeable, as the writers in the service of Buonaparte would induce the world to believe. We have had sufficient experience of French suppleness to be fully qualified to trace their sentiments through the medium even of their deceptious press. Thus, when they are at a stand, they talk of peace; when they are successful they breathe nothing but war and extermination. What can more completely demonstrate the awkward predicament of Buonaparte than the modulated tone with which the king of Sweden is mentioned in the seventy-second bulletin of the French army, dated April 23d.? This sovereign who had never before been treated with even common decency in the French journals, nay, who had been insulted in the most insolent and reproachful language, is saluted in this bulletin with the greatest politeness for the armistice which the Swedish general Von Essen had proposed to general Mortier; and the most artful insinuations are thrown out, to detach Sweden from any further participation in the public cause. I have extracted the passage relative to this affair that the reader may form his own judgment of the state of Buonaparte's mind.

"Baron Von-Essen, who commands the Swedish army during the absence of

general Armfeldt, proposed an armistice to general Mortier, informing him, that the king had granted him a special power to conclude the same. A peace, or even an armistice, granted to Sweden, *would accomplish the most sanguine wishes* of the emperor, who has always been *very reluctant to carry on a war against a generous and brave nation, which, upon local and political grounds, is the friend of France.* Must Swedish blood flow, either to protect or to subvert the Ottoman empire? Is it to flow for maintaining the balance, or for supporting the slavery of the seas? *What has Sweden to fear from France? Nothing. What has she to fear from Russia? Every thing.* These reasons are too evident not to prompt an enlightened cabinet, and a nation which possesses clearness of mind and independence of opinion, *to put a speedy stop to the war.* Immediately after the battle of Jena, the emperor made known his desire to restore the antient relations between Sweden and France. These first overtures were made to the Swedish minister at Hamburgh, but rejected. The emperor constantly directed his generals to treat the Swedes *as friends*, with whom we are at variance, and with whom we shall soon be reconciled, from the nature of things. Behold the true interest of both nations. 'If they did us any harm, they would regret it; and we, on our part, *should wish to repair the wrong which we may have done them.* The interest of the state will at last rise superior to all differences and petty quarrels.' These were the emperor's own words, in his orders. Animated by such sentiments, the emperor ordered the military operations for the siege of Stralsund to be discontinued, and the mortars and cannon which were sent from Stettin for that purpose, to be sent back. He wrote to general Mortier in the following words: 'I already regret what has been done. I am sorry that the fine suburb of Stralsund is burnt. Is it our business to hurt Sweden? This is a mere dream. It is our business to protect, not to do her any injury. In the latter, let us be as moderate as possible. *Propose to the governor of Stralsund an armistice, or a cessation of hostilities, in order to ease the burden*, and lessen the calamities of a war, which I consider as wicked, because it is impolitic."

On the 8th of April, an armistice was concluded between marshal Mortier and baron Von Essen; in gratitude for which the Telegraph, a paper in the French interest and published at Berlin, remarks that "the Swedes never act contrary to their word, and it is known that their king would not permit any of his subjects to depart from the paths of honour." All these meditications of French insolence serve to shew that Buonaparte is aware of his difficult situation, and would most readily enter into negociations with the allies, if they felt themselves disposed to treat with him. But the germs of war are too deeply and widely sown to warrant us in believing that peace is near at hand. Even Austria, which it has been already noticed, has allowed a favourable occasion for the display of her military strength to escape, is actively engaged in laying the foundations of a great augmentation of her force.; for the emperor proposed to the Hungarian diet, on the 10th of April, to put upon a proper establishment the land force which the states had acknowledged in 1802, the necessity of raising. The expense for the support of the military having necessarily increased, his majesty recommended the states to take it into their consideration, and to increase the contributions accordingly. The levy in mass, another infallible mean of defence, which circumstances prevented from being called out last war, is to be put in such a state of readiness as to be called out upon the shortest notice possible, whenever it may be necessary. The archduke Charles has already formed the plan for a military conscription throughout the Austrian states, *exactly upon the French model.* All the youth in the Austrian monarchy, not excepting the nobles, will be subjected to this new regulation; and the number of conscripts for each year will be settled by law; but the youth of good families, the nobles, &c. as soon as they understand the nature of the service in a competent degree, are to be promoted to the rank of officers. When we reflect upon these arrangements, and consider the strong positions which the different bodies of the Austrian army now occupy, I do not think that there is reason to feel any despondency relative to the cause of Europe, while the Russian and Prussian armies remain upon the field. All we have to apprehend is, that Buonaparte should succeed in cajoling or inveighling the allies by a negociation that may yet allow him sufficient scope for intermeddling in the affairs of the north of Germany, after

the allies shall have consented to rest upon their arms. Their experience of the stratagems of that man both in the arts of negociation as well as in the arts of war, ought to make them extremely cautious in trusting either to his forbearance or his sense of justice.

The diversion which the intrigues of the French have enabled them to obtain on the side of Turkey, through the miserable policy of the Ottoman government, is not likely to be of any durable advantage to them. The fortress of Giurgewo, the Russians under the command of general Michelson carried by storm, and the Servian army under Czerni Georges, passed the Morawa on the 2d of April with great promptitude and spirit, in defiance of the presence of a Turkish force consisting of more than 20,000 men. Indeed the operations of the Russians and Servians appear to have been conducted with uncommon ability. On the 19th of March, a Russian courier arrived at Semendria with a dispatch from general Michelson, to remind the Synod of the fulfilment of their promise to order the Servians to pass the Morawa. This dispatch was immediately transmitted to Czerni Georges at Giurlandi, who took measures for passing the river. On the 1st of April, he ordered two considerable batteries to be raised upon the shore near Giurlandi, upon which he planted, on the following day, 16 pieces of cannon, 6 mortars, and 3000 infantry. In the interval, he had given strict orders to the corps of observation, near Istrina, upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to watch the motions of the Turks in that quarter, and to prevent them from passing Istrina towards Giurlandi, and taking the Servians in the rear. On the 2d of April, Czerni Georges began his march with 30,000 men, who, on the following day, were joined by 2000 cavalry, from the camp near Guirlandi. These troops he caused to embark between the two batteries, and under the protection of 7 gun boats; and with these he forced the passage of the Morawa. The army having gained the opposite shore, Jacoblerich, the commandant of the two first columns, attacked the Turkish advanced guard encamped between Nissa and Muslapak, under Saschi Pascha, whose force amounted to 20,000 men. The Servians compelled the Turks to fall back in this quarter. While Jacoblerich attacked upon the right towards Muslapak, the general in chief had passed the Morawa with the other columns, and was marching with impetuosity towards the left against Nissa, when the Turks were compelled to give way, after a column of Servians had advanced to Miprovaz to turn the enemy's cavalry. The Turks rallied, and endeavoured to resist the Servians; but, observing that the latter were advancing against Miprovaz, and were defiling upon their flanks, the retreat became general. Czerni Georges caused Nissa to be invested with 5000 men, and with the rest of his army pursued the enemy, who retired by way of Chipno and Pires to Sophia. The loss of the Turks on this occasion amounted to 1500 men, that of the Servians to 800. The Servians took 14 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, a number of cattle, the equipage of Saschi Pacha, and 36 loaded waggons. By this rapid movement, the junction between the Russian and Servian armies was secured, as both began to advance from the Danube and the Morawa early in the month of April. About the same time the grand vizir left Constantinople to take the command of the Turkish army. From the numbers of the Russian and Servian forces, there is no doubt entertained that they will be fully competent to prevent any important operations which the Turks may attempt to make, in order to promote the movements of the French grand army in Poland; but it cannot be concealed that the miserable expedition which the late ministers sent into the sea of Marmara, and the discomfiture of our troops in Egypt, must have a tendency to inspire the Turks with fresh animation and zeal against us. The history of the transactions before Constantinople, I have already detailed; in another part of this week's review, will be found the melancholy official narrative of the defeat of our unfortunate troops in their attempt upon Rosetta. This is another specimen of the ability, prudence, and enlarged conceptions of "All the Talents;" but I shall comment upon this wretched adventure more at large presently, it being first indispensible to dispatch whatever relates to foreign transactions.

According to the latest accounts from the continent, the Russians were concentrating their force in the neighbourhood of Pultusk, and the head quarters of Buonaparte

were still at Finkenstein. It has not been in the power of the allies to prevent the fall of Dantzic, though the Russians effected a landing on the 12th of May at Weichselmunde, and attempted to open a communication with the beseiged city, which was, however, frustrated by a superior force of the enemy. The following summons was sent by the French general Lefebvre to general Kalkreuth, to which is subjoined the spirited and affecting reply of the Prussian commandant.

" General,—From esteem for your excellency, and out of compassion for the inhabitants of Dantzic, I have hitherto not made use of all the means in my power to compel the place to surrender. I believe that your reputation, long since established, cannot suffer in the least degree by the surrender of Dantzic, as you must know that the Swedish army was totally defeated on the 16th and 17th, and on the 18th was obliged to engage, neither directly nor indirectly, to afford any assistance to Colberg or Dantzic. And, in fine, it must be clear to your excellency, that, under such circumstances, any hope of relieving the place must be groundless.

" That you may preserve the most important place remaining in the Prussian dominions for the Prussian monarchy, and in consideration of the poor inhabitants, I trust that you will relinquish the credit of defending it only a few days longer. Under this persuasion, I require that you will put me in actual possession of Dantzic, Bischofsberg, Weixelmunde, and Neufahrwasser. I am, &c.

" LEFEBVRE."

" P. S. I have ordered the firing to cease till the return of M. Aime, the adjutant-commandant, the bearer of this letter."

The Answer of General Kalkreuth.

Marshal.—" Your adjutant assured the officer at the post-guard, that the letter your excellency has been pleased to address to me, had no manner of relation to the surrender of Dantzic. Trusting to that assurance, the officer on guard received the letter, notwithstanding my express orders to the contrary. You will scarcely doubt of my conscientiouness in the point I allude to; and I have so good an opinion of you, as to flatter myself that you will excuse it. Such an experienced soldier as you are must know as well as myself, that no commandant can ever listen to any proposals, as long as there is no breach in the works—a breach through which twelve men might pass abreast; and I am also very far from believing that your excellency can be serious, in requiring a man of honour to be guilty of an act of baseness. You wish me to consider the interest of the inhabitants of Dantzic; they have nothing more to lose, and like myself are willing to wait in quietude the issue of the war. All that I can do, is to transmit your letter to the king, my master. I am, &c. " KALKREUTH."

Although the utmost gallantry and perseverance were exerted in the defence of the city, general Kalkreuth was compelled to surrender it on the 26th ult. for want of supplies and reinforcements; but the terms of the capitulation have not yet reached this country. The capture of this fortress is unquestionably a most valuable accession to the enemy, and will infuse fresh life and spirit into his army. Dantzic will serve as a depot for the French army, and unless the allies succeed in defeating the enemy before he has so occupied the city completely and made his arrangements for the future defence of it, their difficulties will increase severely.

It is at this time extremely problematical, whether the king of Sweden has ratified the armistice which baron Von Essen concluded with the French. According to a bulletin issued from Stralsund, May 26, we have the most unequivocal evidence either that he has not ratified it, or that he has broken through its conditions. For it is mentioned in the bulletin that two Swedish sail of the line had arrived at Stralsund from Rugen with a part of the royal *Prussian* troops, and that transports are daily arriving with larger or smaller detachments of horse, foot, and artillery, belonging to the Prussian army which is to *act* under the commander in chief of his Swedish majesty. From this circumstance it is not unreasonable to infer that the armistice was entered upon with a view to afford time for the arrival of the Prussian forces, and for augmenting further the Swedish army in Pomerania. Amongst the state papers (in the next number) the readers will find the official report of general Armfeldt, relative to the actions between the Swedish and French troops.

Having collected to together every circumstance worthy of record which has occ

curred upon the continent. I must call the attention of the public to the melancholy catastrophe which has befallen our troops in Egypt. The official account of the transaction seems to have been written under the impression of the deepest consternation, so much so indeed, that the day of the unfortunate action between our troops and the Turks is not even mentioned. The Gazette leaves us in a state of total darkness relative to "this heavy and very unexpected stroke upon us," as general Fraser speaks of it. Until we are furnished with more satisfactory documents it would be unjust to accuse the commanding officers of having committed any errors; but, upon the face of the official account, obscure as it is, we may found a sufficient charge of criminality against the late ministers, for having sent an expedition to so remote a quarter without obtaining sufficient previous knowledge of the disposition of the inhabitants towards us, without securing for our troops the means of subsistence, or without dispatching a force strong enough to impose upon the inhabitants, and prevent the occasion of so much British blood being shed. If the late administration were at all justified in arraigning the conduct of Sir Home Popham, for undertaking the expedition against Buenos Ayres, surely the present ministry have much more substantial reasons for calling to account "all the talents" for the very contemptible force which they sent to occupy a country that has been but recently contested by powerful armies. At the time the expedition was sent, the government at home must have been acquainted with the hostile disposition of the Porte against this country, and, therefore, it should have taken proper precautions in the event of our troops experiencing any opposition in Egypt. Did the late ministers forget that it required more than treble the force which they dispatched to make any permanent impression upon Egypt? And were they not aware of the difference between our landing an amicable force for the avowed purpose of co-operating with the inhabitants to dispossess their foreign oppressors, and our invasion of their country, for objects exclusively our own? In the one case we had reason to hope for assistance, provisions, and good wishes from the Turks; in the other, we had nothing to expect but resistance and starvation, for we placed ourselves in the precise predicament of the French when they wantonly violated the laws of amity with the Porte, and assailed Egypt without a reasonable pretext. It remains therefore to be seen, first, upon what principle the late ministers caused Alexandria to be occupied? Secondly, why so small a force was detached from our army in the Mediterranean for that purpose? And lastly, why the detachment that *was* sent, was destitute of the necessary provision to enable it to remain in the city? This is a second edition of the expedition to the Rio de la Plata. Admiral Sterling, in his report of the operations of our forces before Monte Video, represented to the admiralty, that it became necessary to risk the lives of our troops in an assault, because he had no ammunition; and now general Frazer has written home to the late government, that in order to prevent the inhabitants of Alexandria from being starved, it was necessary, with a handful of men, to go upon a general foraging excursion, which unhappily terminated in the defeat of our troops, the disgrace of our fame, and a prodigious sacrifice of British lives. This lavish waste of British blood, at a period too when the value of every denier of his country is enhanced from the proximity of our dangers, cannot be sufficiently reprobated. It stands without excuse or extenuation, a funeral monument of ministerial imbecility. Within the last century we have not experienced a calamity of so grevious a description, nor has any of our misfortunes cast so deep a gloom over the public mind. The people have a right therefore to demand a full and thorough investigation of the motives of those who advised the measure, and of the judgment evinced by the persons who conducted it. If we may be allowed to form any opinion where culpability should be imputed, from the sentiments and language of the adherents of the ex-ministers, we shall find that the apprehension of blame for misconduct is strongly pourtrayed by the late administration. For, in the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday last, an insidious attempt is made to take the burthen of disgrace from the shoulders of the late ministers, and to affix it on the officers who commanded the unfortunate expedition. Unluckily for the writers their zeal has led them to overstep the limits of prudence; and while they pretend to suspend their judgment, they [illegible] plainly display their desire to exonerate their late employers at the expense

of the soldiers' honour. "There are so many extraordinary and unexplained circumstances," says the Chronicle, "in the late military transactions in Egypt, that we are most unwilling to animadvert upon them, till the gallant and meritorious officers more immediately concerned, have had an opportunity of vindicating their conduct throughout the whole of this unfortunate affair to their country and the world." After having made this insinuation, the Chronicle proceeds to pass a sentence as follows: "Indiscretion may be palliated, and faults of judgment overlooked; but if ever pusillanimity or irresolution in a British officer should be made apparent, we trust the nation will shew itself as equal to the distribution of justice as capable of the exercise of generosity?" Who, besides the partizans of the late ministry, are capable of imputing cowardice to our officers? Did our discomfited troops exhibit any proofs of pusillanimity, when their commanding officer and more than one thousand gallant heroes lay outstretched and lifeless on the ensanguined plain, the victims rather of ministerial ignorance and incapacity, than of Turkish prowess? Most appropriately may the expression of Mr. Burke be flung in their faces, "that War is not a nymph to be played with."

But these are not the only reflections which suggest themselves to our minds upon this melancholy subject. There is in the tone of the discarded talents a ferocity of principle, and spirit of injustice, worthy only of a Robespierre or a Buonaparte. This same Chronicle, anxious to transfer blame from where it ought to be affixed, to those "gallant and meritorious officers, who have not had an opportunity of vindicating themselves," concludes the article with an insinuation against our officers for what it deems their "*irresolution.*" "Rather than compromise the honour of the country," says the merciful writer of the article in question, "*let the inhabitants of Alexandria be driven out to eat grass with oxen, or to furnish food for the crocodiles of the Nile.*" Without animadverting upon a sentiment which would disgrace an Eboo or Mindingo politician, I cannot avoid considering it as a pledge of that vigour and energy which "all the talents" possess. Vigorous and energetic they appeared only amidst ruin and calamity, but weak and vacillating whenever exertion was required. According to the language of the Chronicle on the 9th of May, when it announced that our troops had taken possession of Alexandria, the people of Egypt were generally friendly to us, and the object of our expedition thither was "to defeat completely the views of the French in that quarter, and *to strengthen the party attached to this country*, who have long maintained a contest with the French interest." Yet this same party journal, in the face of its former professions, recently made too, proposes that the inhabitants of Alexandria, whose cause we went to support, that our friends who were anxious to strengthen our interets, should be driven like beasts into the field to eat grass, or to become food for crocodiles! This is whig fraternity, generosity, and commiseration. It seems also, from the previous exultation of the Chronicle, that the ex-ministers were well aware that there was "*a French party*" in Egypt; a circumstance which materially aggravates their responsibility. For, knowing this, how can they justify their having detached an incompetent force to take possession of strong holds in a country, a part of whose inhabitants are avowedly hostile to the British interests? On the 11th of May, the Chronicle spoke of the occupation of Rosetta as a matter of course: "Rosetta would be immediately occupied, *a detachment* being sent on the 21st to *take* possession of it." The fate of that detachment from a detachment is too well known; and, therefore, the authors of the expedition must afford to their injured and weeping country, some explanation of the following dilemmas.

1. The motive for the occupation of Alexandria, at a time when we were at peace with the Porte. This motive the Chronicle has touched upon on the 11th of May, by observing that "the wise men of the city, with an absurdity not extraordinary in them, say it would have been better to have sent the troops to the West Indies," (and who, alas! now doubts it) "in order, we suppose, to add to the 160,000 hogsheads of sugar, for which now they cannot find a market. Such is the policy of those men who would rule an empire in subserviency to the counting-house. If, however, the government of this country be not guided by these despicable notions, they will see that it is not by conquests in the West Indies, *of no value to keep or to give away*, but by obtaining either valuable possessions, or equivalents which the enemy held in estimation, that we can secure either indemnities for the evils of war,

or acquire the means of peace." Thus, according to this doctrine, the ex-ministers caused Egypt to be occupied for the sake of yielding it again as a valuable possession, in order to secure the means of peace. They mistake the enemy with whom they have to deal, if they suppose that the precedent which Buonaparte established, and which we have pursued, of entering into a country during peace, without the permission of its government, will not be briskly followed by the French again. If peace were to be concluded to-morrow, and this valuable possession (supposing it still to be in our hands) were to be given up as an equivalent, Buonaparte would be master of it *by treaty*, in less than three months from the signature of a definitive treaty. But I fear his troops will be comfortably established there, before many months shall have elapsed. The late ministers will be therefore responsible to the world for having conformed to a precedent, built upon injustice and fraud; and to their country, for having paved the way for the introduction of a French army into Egypt. They may rest assured that Buonaparte will not send a small detachment thither. No, no; as soon as he shall have *composed* the affairs of Europe, he will *detach* an army. But the British fleet will intercept them on their voyage. I do not deny the possibility, or even the probability, of such an event; but remember! an army of 40.000 Frenchmen traversed the Mediterranean once before, and landed safely in Egypt, in defiance of our squadrons which scoured that sea: what therefore is possible, is not improbable. And 2dly. The value of Egypt being given, the ex-ministers must give us some information relative to the quantum of force necessary "to *take* possession," as the Chronicle coolly mentions, and of the force necessary to *keep* it. Five thousand men, we find, have been beaten by "a rabble" (these are their expressions in the height of their ministerial Saturnalia) of undisciplined Turks and Albanians, when attempting to *take* a position merely on the coast. But, "contrary to all expectation, the measure did not succeed." What! have they not already told us, that there was a strong French party in Egypt, to overthrow which our troops were sent thither? knowing that such a party existed, did they not expect a stubborn resistance, more especially as they knew, or ought to have known, that French officers, in the garb of commercial commissaries, were stationed over the country? Notwithstanding these obvious facts, they detach a small force, whose very presence suffices to create a famine, and then, to avoid starvation, they issue from Alexandria, for the purpose of foraging for themselves, that the inhabitants may not die with hunger, and thirst too.* It would have been better to have avoided the expedition altogether, or for the moment, rather than to have exposed it to defeat, and the British name to lasting disgrace; for the difficulty of any future attempt to occupy Egypt, must become proportionally greater by our recent misfortune. But, it is said, that more troops are on their way from Sicily. So much the worse; and the greater is the misconduct of the late ministers. They will arrive too late to remedy the evil we have sustained: their presence cannot raise the dead to life, nor restore to the service of their country the thousand heroes who have fallen a sacrifice to ministerial temerity and impolicy. If these troops be *now* judged necessary, why were they not sent before? must the power of Britain be never displayed, except in detachments of the public force? when shall we shake off this fondness for detaching? let us observe the certain consequence of a different policy. There are 20,000 excellent troops in Sicily, who appear on parade twice a day. Suppose half this number had been embarked and sent *together* to Alexandria, what would have been the result? immediately after the occupation of Alexandria, and the imminent dread of famine, they would have marched in force from that city, and possessed themselves of Rosetta and Rhamanie with as little loss as was sustained when general Frazer landed at Alexandria. For 2,000 men would have sufficed to have retained Alexandria, and the other 8,000 would, from their imposing numbers, have met with no opposition from the Turks and Albanians. It was the paucity of men who were *detached* under general Wauchope which encouraged the Turkish force to resist with so much energy, and finally to overwhelm them. On the other hand, had 8,000 men been sent forward, they would have possessed them-

* It is stated that some vessels had arrived in the port of Alexandria with some butts of water from Malta, which afforded a great comfort to our troops.

selves of the above mentioned places with facility; and having secured those positions, a smaller force would have been adequate to retain them; and *five thousand* of the original force might THEN have been usefully *detached*, and put on board the squadron of admiral Duckworth. Had this been done, our combined forces would have occupied the forts of the Dardanelles, and the negociations with the Porte most assuredly been brought to a favourable termination. Instead of which, the ex-ministers, as if they had purposely planned measures to evince their incapacity, and to render themselves odious and contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, have been the authors of greater dishonour to their country, than ever befel it throughout its history.

Perhaps, we shall hear it echoed through the house of commons, when the blood of our immolated countrymen cries out for justice, "*that the orders of the late ministers have not been obeyed.*" * It will be extremely difficult for the friends of the late ministers to shew, how it is possible for any commander by sea or land to obey orders founded upon *impossibilities*; and they may rely upon it, when an inquiry shall be entered into respecting the conduct of admiral Duckworth, that it will appear in the most honourable and conspicuous light, and that the blame will attach to the ex-ministers *only and exclusively*. Nothing can be more disgusting than the attempts made by the Morning Chronicle to detract from the merit of our officers, and to cast every imputation on them for following the orders of government. We have already noticed the malignant spirit with which it criticized the failure at Rosetta; it will be worth our while to contrast its sentiments respecting the failure of the negociation before Constantinople. When intelligence had reached England that the Porte had agreed to the terms we had proposed, the Chronicle availing itself of the supposed good news, flourished thus: *With what face will the new ministry now venture to assert that the late ministers* DID NOTHING *?*" Risum teneatis amici? "This is not a *hasty precipitate* measure. It is *long since* effectual measures were taken to watch the conduct of the Porte, and the fleet in the Levant was *reinforced* at the moment most proper for executing those measures, the *necessity* of which had been *foreseen*. We have disconcerted Buonaparte's plans of aggrandizement; we have most effectually aided the counsels, and strengthened the hands of our allies; and we have achieved what will make fully as great an impression in Europe as the victories of Copenhagen and Trafalgar." This facetious stroke of adulation, this challenge of defiance was pronounced on the 15th of April. But very soon the thunderbolt fell upon the heads of the ex-ministers; and *true* intelligence arrived of the total failure of that negociation, which was not *a hasty precipitate measure*, and qualified the new ministry to "venture to assert that the late ministers—DID NOTHING." On the 8th of May, a day which will be for ever memorable in the anniversaries of the Chronicle lucubrations, that paper raged thus: "When the documents relative to that transaction are laid before the public, impartial men will be able to decide to whom the blame is due. We are confident that it will not attach to those who planned the enterprize;" therefore to the admiral, "it is impossible to enter into particulars at present; but in answer to the *gross misrepresentations* of the ministerial papers, we can *assert most positively* that *the orders of the late ministers have* NOT BEEN obeyed."

I shall here offer a few concluding remarks upon the wisdom and energy of the late ministers, as exemplified in this transaction. In the first place we are assured, that it was not a "hasty precipitate measure." This very fact enhances the guilt of the late ministers; for, we might excuse an error which was the effect of acting upon the spur of the occasion, but deliberate and concerted folly is unpardonable. I have had frequent opportunities of demonstrating that there was one particular talent in which *all the talents* were remarkably defective, and that was, the knowledge of geography, with which now-a-days, every school girl is acquainted. But, as this is a science beneath the attention of exalted minds, inasmuch as it is within the understanding of the vulgar, we cannot wonder, that our great men should not have considered it as most important branch of political study. It was [illegible] conviction of their ignorance of this *trivial* science, that I took the [illegible]

* Vide the Morning Chronicle of May 8 and 28.

last volume, during the discussions upon the American intercourse bill, to sketch a little map for their use and benefit; and, at the same time, I recommended to their perusal, a small eighteen-penny tractate upon geography, which friendly recommendation, it would have been fortunate for their country had they attended to. But to return. As "it is *long since effectual* measures were taken to watch the conduct of the Porte, and to execute measures the *necessity* of which had been *foreseen*;" the ex-ministers will pardon the liberty I take in asking, whether they had ever read or heard of a current which runs with such violence from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmara, that it is with the utmost difficulty ships can stem it, and that not without a strong wind? secondly, whether they ever read or heard that without a particular wind blowing strong from the South East, or E. by S. any ship of war could possibly approach Constantinople so as to lay it in ashes? lastly, whether in their classical moments of relaxation, they ever read the account of this current and this wind in the topography of Byzantium contained in the travels of Anacharsis the younger? If they have either read or heard of such things, they must have known that admiral Duckworth after having forced the passage of the Dardanelles, could not approach Constantinople with an adverse wind. I wish also, with all due deference to their wonderful talents, to ask, whether they were aware, that in case the Porte should evince a refractory spirit, that it would cost the admiral *one hundred men for every butt of water* he might want for his squadron? These little trifles require explanation. In the next place, as *effectual* measures had *long since* been taken, to *execute* what had been *foreseen*, it would be a mark of their condescension if they would be pleased to inform us whether they calculated upon the probability of *any resistance* to our demands? because, in justice to their great merits, it appears to those who have looked a little into geography, not the geography of turtles, but real, downright, *indigestible* geography, that they counted upon the most friendly reception from the Ottoman government; otherwise, it is to be presumed, they would have selected a different description of force from the one they employed to beat the Turks into submission and good humour. A squadron of men of war was necessary to *pass* the Dardanelles, and to cover any attempt to occupy the forts; but it is humbly conceived, that land troops are necessary to occupy those forts. Whence it may be inferred, either that the Porte had sent to London, that the moment a British squadron appeared in sight, the standard of Britain should be hoisted upon Santa Sophia, which is a brisk and chivalrous idea, or, that there was *a small degree* of oversight in the planners of the expedition for not embarking 5000 men on board of the admiral's squadron. For sir J. Duckworth will tell them in due time, that *with* such a force he *could have taken possession* of the forts of the Dardanelles, which circumstance would probably have given a decided turn to the negociation, and without it, a fleet of 50 line of battle ships could make no impression. But it is urged, why did not the admiral approach Constantinople and lay it in ashes? I answer, that if he had done so, the barbarity of the transaction would have been justly reprobated throughout the world. What could have been gained by the destruction of a few hundred or a few thousand wooden hovels, but an indiscriminate slaughter of many of the innocent inhabitants? To avert this evil, I am persuaded, if the admiral had sent a flag of truce ashore expressive of such an intention, and with his compliments to the capitan Pacha, the grand signor would have saved him the trouble, by setting the city on fire himself. Nor, indeed, would an attack upon Constantinople, have in the least forwarded the object we had in contemplation.

There is yet one point more which requires explanation. Did our late blessed ministry obtain any previous intelligence of the state of the fortifications at the strait of the Dardanelles? Read admiral Duckworth's dispatch, and then no one can hesitate to affirm, that if they *did*, they are highly censurable for not having sent a force competent to take possession of them; and if they *did not*, they deserve the severest censure for having sent such a force as the one which they ordered there. Thus, in whatever light the conduct of the planners of the expedition be examined, it will appear that they have betrayed in it the utmost ignorance and impolicy; and when the facts shall be submitted to public investigation, "impartial men" will determine, with mingled shame and indignation, that "*all the talents*"—DID NOTHING!

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RELATIVE TO THE TRANSACTIONS IN OUDE.

> Vice hath not, I believe, a more abject slave; society produces not a more odious vermin, nor can the devil receive a guest more worthy of him, nor possibly more welcome to him, than a slanderer. The world, I am afraid, regards not this monster with half the abhorrence which he deserves; and I am more afraid to assign the reason of this criminal lenity shewn towards him; yet it is certain that the thief looks innocent in the comparison, nay, the murderer himself can seldom stand in competition with his guilt; for slander is a more cruel weapon than a sword, as the wounds which the former gives are always incurable. One method, indeed, there is of killing, and that the basest and most execrable of all, which bears an exact analogy to the vice here exclaimed against, and that is poison; a means of revenge so base, and yet so horrible, that it was once wisely distinguished by our laws from all other murders, in the peculiar severity of the punishment.——*Fielding's Tom Jones, b. 2, c. i.*

IN the *tenth* number of the second volume of this Review, I laid before my readers a general statement of the course of the marquis Wellesley's administration, and I particularly adverted to the arrangements in Oude, as well as to the share which the court of directors had in that important transaction. It is now my intention to enter more minutely into the subject, and to exhibit in a concise and perspicuous manner the principles upon which that beneficial arrangement was founded; by a thorough comprehension of which, such of my readers who have not paid much attention to the complicated materials which usually accompany almost every question relative to Indian politics, will be fully capable to detect and reprove the ignorance, falsehood, and malignity, of Mr. Paull's charge against lord Wellesley, for his lordship's conduct towards the Nabob Vizier.

But, before I enter into the discussion of the subject immediately under our consideration, it will not be useless, nor indeed foreign from it, that I should present my readers with a brief *history* of the *persecution* which lord Wellesley has undergone since his arrival in England in January, 1806. Such an history will afford a salutary lesson to every other statesman, besides that it is now become more necessary, from the disposition evidently manifested, in a certain quarter, to revive the *insolent* and *false rumours*, that undue protection has been shewn to his lordship, in defiance of the reclamations of justice and humanity.

When lord Wellesley left India, in August, 1805, the power of the French, of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the hostile Marhatta states had been *entirely broken*. We were in strict amity with the courts of Poonah, Hydrabad, and with the Guicowar: we were at peace with Scindeah, and the rajah of Berar, whose strength had been completely reduced by the vigorous exertion and success of our arms. We were also connected in bonds of intimate alliance with the states of Oude and of Mysore; having likewise at our disposal the whole resources of the Carnatic and of Tanjore, and of various other possessions of great fertility and value. Holkar had been *repeatedly defeated, and had been driven from Hindostan with the loss of the greater portion of his army*; while every other freebooter who had ventured to disturb the tranquillity of our territories had felt the superiority of our arms. At the period of lord Wellesley's return to England, British India possessed a powerful, efficient, and highly disciplined army, abundant resources for war of every description, the strongest securities for the maintenance of the integrity of our eastern dominions, and a flourishing revenue *nearly doubled* in its amount during his lordship's wise and provident administration. The credit of the company had improved, at least, from 12 to 15 per cent. our subjects were *contented* and *happy*; the power of every enemy to the British name *was destroyed*: our *old* alliances had been strengthened, and *new* alliances of defence and mutual security had been formed—In short, throughout every portion of the company's territories, universal tranquillity prevailed.

Such, in a few words, was the result of an administration, the author of which had *twice* received the deliberate and solemn thanks of parliament, and of the East

India Company, besides several public marks of approbation from the crown, and repeated testimonies of the reverence, attachment, and gratitude of the European and native inhabitants of the principal settlements subject to his authority. If this result be contrasted with the perilous situation of our affairs in the East, at the time when lord Wellesley assumed the government, which situation I have amply submitted to the public in the number of this Review to which I have above referred my readers; it will be found, that his lordship brought order out of chaos, dissipated the most menacing cloud that ever hung over a country, and, by a series of well-combined and vigorous operations, directed by the most consummate prudence, finally triumphed over numberless conflicting embarrassments, and consolidated our empire in the East, so as to make it impossible for it to be shaken, except by the folly or weakness of those who may hereafter be entrusted with the management of its affairs.

Under these circumstances, it was natural to have expected that lord Wellesley, on his arrival in England, would, *at least*, have been received with *common respect;* and that the country would listen *with caution*, if not with disgust and displeasure, to accusations preferred from *any* quarter against a man who Mr. Pitt publicly declared had "performed *as many* and as *glorious deeds* as ever were achieved by any man, and who had constantly secured the interest, upheld the honour, and exalted the glory of his country;" and whose government, in the opinion of lord Grenville, was "*the most splendid and glorious administration which India* EVER *knew.*" Nor was it unreasonable to suppose, that if any inquiry appeared to be necessary into the transactions of such an administration, that the country would, *at least*, take care that the inquiry should be fair, open, and expeditious.

Two events, however, have occurred in our times which have never before been parallelled in the history of the world—the first is, the French revolution; the second is, the appearance of Mr. James Paull, and the consequences that have resulted from his public career.

Mr. Paull, the *eldest son* of a *taylor* at Perth, went out to India as an adventurer about the year 1789, the epoch of the French revolution. He was particularly recommended by a nobleman, to whom his father had been in some degree useful at an election, to Mr. Hay, secretary to the Bengal government, and to lieutenant-general Ross, at that time military secretary to lord Cornwallis. He was kindly received by Mr. Hay, who employed him as a copying clerk in his office, and in whose house he lived until he went to Lucknow with a small investment of glass ware, trinkets, &c. &c. By Mr. Hay and general Ross he was strongly recommended to Mr. George Johnstone, now member of parliament, and member of the board of controul, but at that time assistant to the resident at Lucknow. Assisted by this gentleman, Mr. Paull commenced business, and continued at Lucknow until the beginning of the year 1801, when he returned to Europe. After a short residence here, he returned to Bengal in 1802, in the capacity of agent or factor for the management of an extensive commercial speculation, which had been confided to his superintendance by some persons in England, who had furnished him with a large sum of money, and an extensive credit, to be employed in the purchase of cloths manufactured in the country of the Nabob of Oude.

Upon Mr. Paull's arrival in India, in the middle of the year 1802, he employed the credit which *the countenance of some of lord Wellesley's friends* in England had obtained for him to aid his solicitation for leave to return to Lucknow, and to reside there in the quality of *a merchant*. Mr. Paull had also acquired the favourable opinion of several respectable persons in India, chiefly upon the ground of his *voluntary* and *repeated* assertions, that his views in India were entirely of a *mercantile nature;* and that although he was connected in friendship with persons who had been concerned in *dangerous intrigues* in Oude, and who had taken *an active part* in misrepresenting the late arrangements, both in that province and the Carnatic; yet, that he *entirely disapproved* of their opinions and proceedings; that it was equally *adverse from his inclinations and principles* to interfere in such questions, either for the purpose of affording *them* information, or for any other motive of a nature *unbecoming his character as a private merchant* living under *the protection* of the British government in India.

This recommendation of Mr. Paull to lord Wellesley from some of his lordship's friends in England, aided by the testimonies in his favour from several respectable gentlemen in India, obtained in the manner I have already stated, induced lord Wellesley to comply with Mr. Paull's request, and his lordship accordingly *obtained permission* for Paull to proceed to Lucknow, at a period of time when such a permission was *an absolute matter of indulgence*. The nabob of Oude notwithstanding, objected in strong terms against Mr. Paull's admission into his dominions; but the governor-general interfered, certainly on grounds of justice, and prevailed upon the nabob to allow Mr. Paull to proceed to his capital without further molestation.

At the time when Mr. Paull's object had been nearly matured, and that the orders for the cloths were upon the point of being completed, the nabob vizir *again* endeavoured to impede Mr. Paull's undertaking, and *actually* signified his intention to EXPEL him from Lucknow, and to prevent him even from *residing within his territories*. The marquis Wellesley, however, with that promptitude which always distinguished his character and government, when an act of benevolence or protection towards a British subject was within his power, interposed *immediately* by a remonstrance to the nabob of Oude in a letter, dated the 27th of September, 1802, and *thereby prevented* his highness from expelling Mr Paull from his dominions. At his lordship's *specific request*, Mr. Paull *was allowed* to remain *uninterrupted* at Lucknow, and to *effect* the commercial speculation which had been entrusted to his superintendance. Hence, it is evident, that if the powerful interference of lord Wellesley *had not been exerted*, or that his lordship's remonstrances in favour of Mr. Paull had not been attended to, his highness the nabob would have proceeded to extremities; in which case, *Mr. Paull would not only have been ruined, but the whole of the property entrusted to him must have been irredeemably lost!*

Mr. Paull professed the utmost gratitude to his lordship for this act of just and effective interposition by which his fortune had been preserved; and having occasion some time afterwards to address lord Wellesley upon a subject connected with his commercial concerns, he declared in the most solemn manner in his letter (of December 5, 1802,) to his lordship on that occasion, "that his obligations to him were *indelible*," adding that "*no man ever complained in vain, who complained with justice* to his excellency," and "*that a wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, marked every act of his lordship's administration.*"

Having accomplished the objects on account of which he had returned to India, and having arranged his private affairs, Mr. Paull quitted Lucknow, arrived at Calcutta towards the end of 1803, and took his passage to Europe in the fleet then under dispatch. From the period of his arrival in Calcutta, until *within a few hours before his departure*, Mr. Paull continued to hold the same language which he had formerly employed; and he himself has admitted that he experienced every degree of attention from the governor-general which could be shewn to a person in his situation. I have been informed, that he even applied to be the bearer of lord Wellesley's dispatches to England in the packet that conveyed the intelligence of the success of the war against the Marhattas, and when that indulgence could not be granted, in consequence of a distinguished military officer having been selected for that duty, his next request was to be permitted to return to England in the packet, which could not be complied with without a departure from the letter and spirit of the company's regulations respecting their packets. Hence there was every reason to suppose that Mr. Paull had *faithfully* performed *his engagements not to enter into any political intrigues*; and that he entertained "*an indelible sense*" *of past obligations* to lord Wellesley, while his anxiety to be permitted to be the bearer of the happy tidings of our success in India, did not afford any grounds of belief that he had altered his opinion of that "*excessively wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, which marked every act of his lordship's administration.*" However, upon the evening previous to his departure, Mr. Paull declared in a large company his *real sentiments*, and divulged the *objects* which had engaged his *special attention* during his residence under *the protection* of the British government at Lucknow. This declaration of Mr. Paull's was subsequently confirmed in his letter to lord Falkstone, dated October 20, 1806, wherein he says, that "having formed a resolution to

make several of the acts of lord Wellesley's government the subject of legal investigation, and knowing that for such an investigation the house of commons was the only place that afforded a rational hope of success, he did, upon his return to England in the latter part of 1804, take measures for obtaining a seat in that assembly; an object which was accomplished in the ensuing June, on the 8th of which month he took his seat in the house as one of the members for Newtown, in the Isle of Wight." Thus we discover in the conduct of this person, from his *own deliberate confessions*, that he pursued a regular system of hypocritical deception and treachery, of ingratitude, falsehood, and rancorous malignity, towards the man whom he had before publicly avowed to be *his* benefactor, and the enlightened protector of the best interests of India. I leave every honourable mind to apply an appropriate term to these complicated acts of meanness and duplicity, and to estimate the degree of credibility which is due to a man, who acknowledges, without blushing, that his inward thoughts and outward deportment were ever at variance. It may not be useless to observe in this place, that *all* the acts which Mr. Paull has since formed into articles of charge against lord Wellesley, took place *previously* to his letter to his lordship on the 5th of December 1802, excepting the Bhurtpoor charge, the transaction connected with which occurred *many months after* Mr. Paull's *final departure from India*, at the commencement of the year 1804. To not a *single* act which now forms an article of charge was he an "EYE-WITNESS!" The arrangements in the Carnatic, with the nabob of Oude, and with the nabob of Furrucabad, were concluded while Mr. Paull was in England in 1801 and 1802. He might have been at Lucknow when lord Lake was compelled to reduce the rebellious landholders of Sarsnee and Bidgeeghur, but he certainly was not with the army, and could not therefore be an "*eye-witness*," or upon the spot. The arrangements with the nabob of Surat were concluded by the Bombay government at a distance of *one thousand* miles from Mr. Paull, and the transactions with the state of Bhurtpoor occurred after his departure from India.

With the laudable intentions, however, already described, and with the degree of information which a person in Mr. Paull's situation may be supposed to have possessed, Mr. Paull arrived in England towards the close of the year 1804, and took his seat in parliament on the 8th of June, 1805. It was not long after that Mr. Paull commenced his operations, by moving for several Indian documents connected with the transactions in Oude, and with Mr. Henry Wellesley's mission to Lucknow. It is worthy of public attention, that *all the papers* for which Mr. Paull moved during that session of parliament were granted without reluctance or *opposition*. In the ensuing session, which commenced in January, 1806, Mr. Paull was equally active and virulent, and equally successful; *not one paper which he required*, not excepting even the *private* correspondence of subordinate agents, *having been refused*. Indeed, the progress of this *persecution* has been distinguished by its singularity; for, notwithstanding the *notoriety* of the fact, that not *one* paper moved for by Mr. Paull in support of his charge against lord Wellesley *was refused*, yet, Mr. Paull, and the click of Folkstone, Douglas, Ossulstone, Cobbett, and co. have uniformly declared that they had met every obstacle which power, rank, prejudice, and talent, could throw in their way. In the eyes of these patriotic children of benevolence, it was a crime *primâ facie* to cherish any respect for the character and public services of the marquis of Wellesley. These *impartial* and public-spirited reformers, denied to members of parliament not only the freedom of speech, but even the freedom of thought, since they reviled systematically those who presumed even to *think* favourably of lord Wellesley.

At length, when *three* ponderous folio volumes of papers, each folio containing more than *eight hundred* pages had, at an expense of ten thousand pounds, been laid before parliament; and when every thing appeared to be ready for the discussion of the question which had occupied the public attention for upwards of *fifteen* months, parliament was dissolved, and the whole business remained to be done over again. A wicked and malignant cry was immediately raised, that this dissolution was *one* of the numerous obstacles which this inquiry had encountered, as if *any thing* could possibly be *so injurious* to lord Wellesley as the dissolution of a parliament which, having considered his case for fifteenth months, was on the eve of pronouncing a

judgment upon his conduct; and in which parliament, Mr. Paull, according to his own statement in his published letter to lord Folkstone, had been able to obtain the support of only ELEVEN MEMBERS.

When, to these considerations, we add the effect upon the public mind, from the circulation of atrocious falsehoods and accusations, boldly made and marked down as established facts;—when we reflect how few persons there are in this country who attend to the complicated affairs of India, and who are capable of discriminating between acts of apparent injustice, and of the most equitable and enlightened policy; when we often see that the most innocent men, labouring under any grave imputation, are smitten by the shafts of invective, and exposed to the lash of cowardly and vindictive minds, until the hour of public justice arrives; we cannot feel surprized that even such a contemptible little synod as that of Messrs. Paull, and co. should, by their industry, and their misrepresentations, succeed in placing the conduct of lord Wellesley in the most obnoxious light. It is therefore, high time that this groupe of calumniators should be justified or silenced; and that lord Wellesley should, *at length*, obtain the final and sober judgment of his country. We are about to enter upon the *fourth* session in which this infamous persecution has been before parliament. The treaty, which now forms the subject of inquiry, was concluded nearly *six* years ago, and *has received the solemn and deliberate approbation of the public authorities which by law are empowered to grant or to withhold that approbation.* On the meeting of parliament, it is probable, from the state of parties, that the proceedings relative to Oude will be revived, and that, after the expiration of *six* years, lord Wellesley will, at last, be *tried* for an arrangement which he had *legal power* to conclude, which he was encouraged to adopt by the *legal* authorities to which he was subjected, and for which he received the thanks of his *legal* superiours.

During the period of time that this great cause has been pending in parliament, no effort has been relaxed, no foul artifices have been unattempted, to vilify the character of lord Wellesley, and to disseminate the most false and scandalous impressions respecting his conduct. Newspapers have been *expressly* established for the purpose of giving currency to the most malevolent calumnies. Cobbett, the *modest, impartial, gentlemanly* Mr. Cobbett, has distinctly admitted that he was encouraged by one of the *late* ministers to support Mr. Paull; and with that liberality which is the characteristic of the *brain*, he has never inserted any statement which was calculated to expose and refute any of his own lies and absurdities—while every exertion has been employed by corrupt means, and by the publication of libels and falsehoods, to inflame the public mind against a nobleman whose whole conduct, during an arduous administration of eight years of unexampled difficulties, had been uniformly directed "*to secure the interest, uphold the honour, and exalt the glory of his country.*"

Under these circumstances it is not too much to request the deliberate and impartial attention of my readers, to the grounds of the proceedings which are about to be ultimately decided in the house of commons. We have now tamely listened for nearly *two* years to the falsehoods and calumnies of Mr. Paull, Cobbett, and their associates. Let us not refuse a few hours attention to the cause of a faithful, zealous, and distinguished public servant of the crown, and of the country; of whose long, brilliant, and successful services, we are now enjoying the fruits; and the integrity of whose principles, has been most strikingly demonstrated by the evil consequences which have attended *every departure* from that course of policy which it is now attempted to decry and to alter.

LORD HOWICK'S CIRCULAR NOTE.

THE very important letter of Mercator which appears in this week's Number, has, from its length, compelled me to omit my concluding letter to the electors of the United Empire, relative to the conduct of the modern whigs; but lord Howick and the whig club may depend upon its appearance in the next, which will be the

last number of this volume. In the mean while, I cannot avoid offering a few words to my readers upon the unprecedented, indecent, and unparliamentary conduct of lord Howick, from which they will understand the principles and character of the man, more thoroughly than by the perusal of a volume of anecdotes respecting him. For it is out of his own mouth, that I propose to exhibit his character to you in a blaze of splenetic glory.

Some days ago, his lordship, who now considers himself a fit person to play the part of Mr. Fox, as the leader of a party, thought proper to issue the following circular letter to the opposition members.

"*A division will certainly take place on the first day* of the sessions, and on account of the extreme importance of the occasion, the attendance of those who honoured the late administration with their support, is most particularly and earnestly requested."

Henceforward, let no man be condemned for applying the epithet of FACTION to *all the talents:* for, upon no occasion has a factious spirit more undisguisedly reared its head. His lordship announces that a division *will certainly take place*, before a single member of the opposition can, by any possibility, know what is the subject upon which he is to divide, or whether the nature of the subject will admit of any division at all. While his lordship thus insults the sense and independence of the members of the house of commons, he seems to have forgotten, in the midst of his fury and resentment, that to call upon the representatives of the people to *divide* upon the king's speech, before a syllable of the speech is known, savours of disrespect to his majesty, and is by no means the quickest and most commodious path which leads to his return to power. —What confidence can his majesty hereafter repose in the patriotism and loyalty of a man who goes into parliament pre-determined to cause a division, whether the question to be discussed merit it or not? This note, my lord, evinces rather the passion of an angry school-boy, than the demeanour of a dignified statesman forcing himself forward as the head of a party! Every argument relative to the conduct of the late administration, to their dismissal, and to the famous required pledge, has been exhausted. All these points were amply debated before the dissolution of the late parliament, and carried by majorities, in both houses of parliament, in favour of the present ministers.— What, then, can be the motive for a division? No other than that same malignant principle which was but too successfully exerted by the opposition during Mr. Pitt's life, against the best interests of the state. In Mr. Fox's time, it was not unusual for the members of opposition to meet, and after *wetting their whistles*, to strike out some plan of operations for the parliamentary campaign. But then there were frequently sufficient grounds to provoke inquiry, and, consequently, a division of the house. In the interval between the prorogation of parliament, and its meeting at the next session, the failure of expeditions, or any oversight in domestic policy, might justify a circular note to pipe all hands to quarters, and to make a trial of strength. In the present instance, however, there is not a shadow of ground for the justification of such a measure. The new ministers have not had an opportunity of meeting parliament to discuss the propriety of *any* measures. What related to the expulsion of their predecessors is settled and at an end. Hence it not only betrays a factious, but a vindictive temper, to solicit votes in favour of a division against what may be now termed a non-entity. If I had a seat in the house of commons, and had been devotedly attached to the broad-bottoms, the appearance of such an insulting note as the one attributed to lord Howick, would instantly fix my determination to relinquish all connection with him and his fellow adventurers. Members of parliament are not elected by the people for the sole purpose of being controuled, or even directed, like so many hounds by a parliamentary whipper-in: they must execute their delegated trust with loyalty to their king, fidelity to their constituents, and respect for their own consciences. This attack upon the independence of members will not escape us

appropriate censure in the house; and, perhaps, no one is so well qualified for animadverting upon it as Mr. Wilberforce.

But, it has been said in extenuation of lord Howick's conduct, that the chancellor of the exchequer issued a circular note requesting a numerous attendance of the members. This is a paltry evasion. The note circulated by Mr. Spencer Perceval was a matter of course, and as regular as his attendance in the house of commons. It is always considered as a point of etiquette for every chancellor of the exchequer so to act; and if it were not the usual practice, I wish to be informed what impropriety there is in one of the king's cabinet ministers circulating a letter to remind members of the time of the meeting of parliament for the dispatch of business, not couched in imperative and specific, but in general terms. Here is the letter which Mr. Perceval addressed to each member:

"Sir, as parliament will certainly meet," (which is not always the case at the time first appointed,) "for the dispatch of business, on the 22d inst. and as questions of the greatest importance will come under discussion, I trust you will excuse my expressing to you the anxious wish that I feel for as full an attendance as possible, at the opening of the session."

Not one word about a majority, not one word about those who honour him with their support; but merely a piece of information concerning an event respecting which, until the appearance of this letter, some doubt had been entertained. This pitiful argument, therefore, will not apply. With respect of the remarks upon the second note, I must observe that it was justly occasioned by the epistle of lord Howick. Let us attend to Mr. Perceval's second circular: "In consequence of a formal notification, that an amendment will be moved to the address, and that a division will certainly take place, your attendance in the house of commons on Friday the 26th, when the address will be moved, is most earnestly and particularly requested." This second note completely illustrates what I have already stated respecting the former: the first was general, and merely to remind the members of the day of meeting, the 22d; the second, provoked by the vehemence and publicity of lord Howick's note, apprized many of them of what they never dreamt of—that there would be a division in the house upon the address, before the contents of the king's speech were known; and I verily believe this determination has been made before the speech is written, for, to this hour, I do not think a line of the king's speech has been put upon paper.

After all, I am not surprised at lord Howick's conduct. Amidst innumerable instances of inconsistency, he is remarkable for consistency in one point only, and that is, *in opposing, right or wrong, every administration from a share in which he is excluded.* Opposition is the life-blood of his existence; he delights in it; it is his proper and natural element, to which he is fitted by nature and habit. Long, long, very long, may he range in his favourite element. That he delights in opposition no one will dispute who has read his *mild, liberal,* and *dispassionate* address to the freeholders of Northumberland. He tells them, that his "*principles must make him the declared enemy of the present administration;*" and it cannot be denied he has declared himself with a vengeance. But, when in the same address he mentions the present ministers as a body of men "whose first acts prove that they have carried into government the same *factious spirit* which so strongly marked their *proceedings in opposition;* who, with a hypocritical recommendation to union on their lips, are endeavouring, by the foulest means, to excite political dissentions in all parts of the kingdom"—when, I repeat, lord Howick talks in this manner, the only answer which I can give to such a libellous aspersion is — *Wait, my good lord, until next Saturday, when your proceedings in opposition shall be marked; in the mean while, read your own circular note for a display of the factious spirit.*

WEST INDIA AFFAIRS.

LETTER VIII.

Sir,—It has given me great satisfaction to learn that a deputation from the committee of West India planters and merchants has been appointed to prepare a memorial to be laid before the chancellor of the exchequer. Experience has proved the inefficacy of the measures adopted by his majesty's late ministers for the relief of the distillers. Parliament has put an end to the practice of the latter further by their late foolish interference. Under these circumstances, a petition to his majesty's present ministers can only be attended with success, by pointing out the causes of the present unprecedented distress of the British West India colonies, and by tracing to their political source the evils which have overwhelmed the staple produce of those valuable possessions. It is particularly necessary to explain the consideration of measures adopted by the legislature in the last session.

To prove to the world the existence of this distress, and the extreme degree in which it exists, an appeal need only be made to the gazette returns of the average price of sugar, which for several months past has been from 24s. to 31s. per cwt. exclusive of duty; although the lowest price at which his majesty's ministers have acknowledged that the planter ought to sell it, and at which it previously was, they are on that ground exempted from the whole of the new consolidated duty of 5s. is 30s. per cwt. exclusive of duty. But the future prospects of the planters are still more deplorable than their present situation; for a greater quantity of the last crop of sugar now remains on hand than ever was known at this period of the year; and the arrival of the present crop has already commenced, the accumulation of which will no doubt render the remainder of the old crop still more unsaleable, and further depreciate a market already overloaded.

The reality and urgency of their distress being thus demonstrated, the causes from whence it originates are next to be explained; and this being done, the remedy will be obvious.

One grievance of which they feel the weight, is the system adopted by the mother country, towards the colonies captured from the enemy: which are immediately put on the same favoured footing as her own, of entire possession, and free home consumption open to them. The British market is now glutted with the produce of Demerary, Surinam, Tobago, and St. Lucia, while, by the policy of the enemy, the produce of the colonies of Great Britain is excluded from almost every part of the continent of Europe. The cultivation and population of these temporary possessions, are augmented by British capital and British speculators; and, as they before were, so they again probably will be restored to their former owners, with increased means of rivalling the British colonies in the continental markets, at a peace, after having done them infinite injury in the British market during war.

But the great cause of the distress under which the British planters labour, is, that Great Britain gives even the colonies of which the enemy remains possession, such superior advantages to those which her own colonies enjoy, as have already aggrandized the former in an unprecedented degree, and as, if continued, must inevitably ruin the latter. In former wars, the hostile powers could only maintain a commercial intercourse with their colonies, by hazarding their fleets to carry it on. This necessity has led to some of the most brilliant naval victories of Great Britain, and constantly enriched her navy with the spoils of the enemy. But in the present war, while not a ship that bears a hostile flag dare shew itself on the ocean, while our enemies have no practicable means of carrying on their own commerce with their colonies, Great Britain injudiciously permits a neutral power to carry it on for them. Under her flag these colonies receive their supplies from, and ship their produce to their respective mother countries, without interruption: and are sheltered from the hazards, and even the expenses, of war. Statements have been made, founded on documents of indisputable authenticity, which prove that the sugars of the enemies colonies passing through America, are actually brought to the different continental markets of Europe in American ships, cheaper in point

freight and insurance from 8s. 11d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt. than those of the British colonies can be conveyed there, to enter into competition with them*. This difference operates as a direct bounty in favour of the produce of the colonies of the enemy; and as the natural consequence of such extraordinary encouragement, the amount of their exports to Europe has lately increased to an extent almost incredible. It appears by the Amsterdam bills of entry that 211 sail of American vessels entered that port alone, in the year 1806, with cargoes amounting to 34,685 hhds. of coffee, and 45,097 hhds of sugar. The quantity of produce brought to the other ports of Europe has not been correctly ascertained; but a just estimate may be formed of the total amount of this commerce carried on under the American flag, by the summary of the exports of the United States for the last year, which are published in the American daily papers. These exports are divided into two classes, domestic and foreign produce. The latter, with the exception of a few piece goods from India, consists of the produce of the enemy's colonies, and is valued at 60,283,236 dollars; or estimating the dollars at 4s. 8d. each £14,060,088: 8 sterling, being more than the value of the annual produce of all the West India colonies belonging to Great Britain!!!

Another disadvantage under which the British colonies labour, compared with the foreign colonies, arises from the system adopted by the mother country, respecting their intercourse with the United States of America. The foreign colonies are permitted to receive every article necessary either for their subsistence or manufactures, and to give every species of their produce in exchange. The British colonies are not only totally prohibited from purchasing many articles of the very first necessity, but are restricted from paying for such as they are allowed to purchase, in any produce but rum and molasses. Specie they have not to give; and the demand for rum and molasses in the American market being limited, the consequence is, that the captains frequently refuse to take them in payment, and carry their cargoes away to the foreign colonies, where they can barter them for more desirable commodities, leaving the British colonies in extreme want. If the planter supplicates his majesty's ministers for permission to barter so much of his sugar with the Americans as will purchase him the necessaries of life, the boon is denied; and he is compelled to ship the whole of his crop to Great Britain, where it will not fetch the duties, charges, and expenses of cultivation. This denial is founded, too, on the necessity of a strict adherence to the navigation system. Thus where the relaxation of this system would be beneficial to him, it is rigidly enforced; and where the enforcement of it would be beneficial to him, it is unaccountably relaxed, by the novel permission granted to a neutral power, of carrying all the produce of his rivals to undersell him in the European market.

This interdict has been enforced even in Trinidad, notwithstanding the peculiar claim which a colony in an infant state has to the fostering care and indulgence of the mother country; notwithstanding the notoriety of the fact, that sugar, the produce of newly cultivated land, is so inferior in quality as not to be worth shipping to Great Britain at the present prices; notwithstanding that few of the planters in that island have correspondents here to whom they can consign their crops, and notwithstanding that none of them, in the present depressed state of the market, can obtain any advances on their shipments, but may be starved, together with their negroes, in Trinidad, before their sugars, which are to furnish them with the means of subsistence, can arrive in London, and the proceeds, if any when they are sold, can be ascertained and placed at their disposal. Since the promulgation of the order in council issued by the late administration, sugar has been selling in that unfortunate colony at 2½ dollars per cwt. being little more than half the price which is necessary to indemnify the planter for the bare cost of raising it, as has been proved before the committee of the house of commons; and the merchants who receive it in payment, even at that low rate, will suffer as much by remitting it, as the planter did by growing it. Whether the inhabitants of a country are obliged to send their produce where it will be totally unproductive, or to give it up at once under a requisition, differs only in name. On what just principle can the mother country

* Vide Appendix A. † Vide Appendix B.

Sir,—
mittee of
morial to
perience
ministers
proceed
considera
ministers
dented di
litical me
propriety
measures
To prov
which it ex
price of su
per cwt. ex
ters have a
which, the
duty of 3s.
planters a
tity of the
period of t
the accum
more unsa
The real
from whenc
medy will b
One griev
country, to
on the same
consumptio
duce of Den
enemy, the
part of the
rary possessi
as they befor
with increas
a peace, afte
But the gr
Great Britai
superior adv
dized the for
ruin the latte
mercial inter
This necessit
and constant
war, while n
our enemies
their colonie
for them.
produce to
sheltered fro
made, founde
sugars of the
different coun

ithin our own remembrance, while at war with all the great of Europe, who then disputed with her the sovereignty of the sea, shed the Northern Confederacy. But these invaluable rights, we plenitude of our naval power, tamely surrendered to America, who atever of enforcing her lofty demands; and that too under circum- culiar a nature, as add to the absurdity of the concession. The d a decree, prohibiting British manufactures and colonial produce of his dominions. He then issued a farther decree, putting Great protection of the law of nations, declaring her in a state of that every vessel trading to or from her ports should be ful prize. He acted upon this second decree, by invading neutral wed purpose of confiscating British manufactures and colonial pro- ey might be found, and to whomsoever they might belong. Surely ed loudly for retaliation, and would have amply justified a similar olonial produce of the enemy; but hitherto he has been allowed the very fullest extent of his superiority by land, while Great ne all the advantages which she might and ought to have derived ity at sea.

dered, that in proportion as the cultivation of our colonies de- great interests which are dependant upon them must decline also. manufactures will be diminished; for all purchases must be pro- eans of payment. The great source of that balance of trade in ritain, arising from the export of colonial produce, which furnished ns of paying subsidies to foreign powers in time of war, and pur- me of scarcity, will be dried up. That naval power, which consti- d the glory of the empire, will lose its best nursery for seamen; and ying trade decreases, and that of America increases, the greater seamen have to engage in her service; as, from the similarity of mption from the press, and the high wages offered, too many oing.

and interest of Great Britain require a change in her present n has ever led to new demands. No state that had not spirit its just rights, ever long remained either great or independent; ights of Britain are the foundation of all that greatness and inde- e now enjoys.

aritime system must be reverted to, or the new system be car- er; and Great Britain must request that America will have the rry on the future commerce of her colonies, as she now does that rder that both may be placed on the same footing, and enjoy s of receiving their supplies, and transporting their produce to eights and peace premiums of insurance.

reat Britain disposed thus tamely to surrender the trident of the w may defy the united powers of the universe to snatch from has declared that the neutrality under which she herself finds none to Great Britain. She has declared not only that British colonial produce are lawful prize, but even that neutral property reat Britain, like a criminal taken *in flagranti delicto*, shall be con- indeed suspended the execution of this decree in favour of Ame- y of so doing probably having been whispered to her ruler by rudent counsellors, least Great Britain should be provoked to re- nburgh it was rigidly enforced, when he became master of that e then to take just so much of the law of nations as suits his espect it by sea and violate it by land, and is Great Britain to be erial mandate? Unless she means to resign her high rank in the must either adopt a system of retaliation, or revert to first

eneral law of nations support America in her claim to the right mmerce, nor is it yet (thank Heaven,) sanctioned to her by e two countries. The suspension of rights not the derelic-

thus arbitrarily retain the monop oly of all the produce of her colonies, when sh can no longer procure a market for it at home, and by the adoption of a new political system, has herself deprived her planters of their accustomed participation in the markets abroad?

Surely the British planters may reasonably complain of their hard fate. Is it not a solecism in politics, that British subjects should solicit, and solicit in vain too, to be put on the same footing with the subjects of those powers with whom the mother country is at war? That when they only petition for one of the many indulgences granted to their enemies, even that one should be denied them? Can it be expected that they will not draw comparisons between their own distressed situation, and the prosperous state of the planters in foreign colonies; or that dissatisfaction at such an inversion of every rule of sound policy, and every just regard to their interests, on the part of the mother country, will not ensue? It is now the advantage of the planter to belong to any government rather than to Great Britain; and that the planters in her colonies are fully sensible of this truth, the late letters from the West Indies afford abundant and melancholy testimony.*

Another instance may be adduced of the same reprehensible system of policy. Notwithstanding it is impossible, that the British planter can import rum from the West Indies, in British ships subject to war charges, on the same terms at which brandy can be brought from the neighbouring ports of France, in neutral vessels subject only to peace charges, government, in their contracts for the army and navy, have accepted tenders for great quantities of the latter article. As their purchases for the public service are made duty free, they have thus evaded the protecting duties in favour of rum, which the legislature in its wisdom has imposed upon brandy; and by granting licences to neutral vessels for the especial purpose of importing brandy direct from the ports of the enemy, they have also evaded those navigation laws, the execution of which is so rigidly enforced where they operate against the planter, and so readily relaxed where they would operate in his favour.

Formerly, war gave the British planter the exclusive monopoly of the European market; and the advance in the value of his commodities afforded him some compensation for the additional charges to which he was subjected. During the administration of Lord Sidmouth, the war tax on sugar of 7s. per cwt. was imposed on this avowed principle: but the duty continues, though the monopoly has ceased; and though, on the contrary, the foreign planter now enjoys the exclusive monopoly of every country under the controul of France, whilst the British planter only maintains a competition with him in the few remaining independent states of Europe, and that under the disadvantages before mentioned. In point of justice, this tax on the British planter ought not to be continued, now that he no longer retains the advantage, in consideration of which it was originally imposed.

But the reduction of the duty on sugar would only relieve the planter, so far as it might increase the home consumption; for, while so large a surplus of his crop must be exported to foreign markets, the price that surplus will fetch abroad will necessarily govern the price of what is sold at home. The home consumption might indeed be so extended as to render him independent of the foreign market, by the admission of sugar into the distilleries and breweries: but the use of it in the latter is exposed to great financial objections; and even in the former, must be preceded by certain legislative arrangements, which perhaps can hardly be made in the approaching short session of Parliament; although one of those more pressing conjunctures, in contemplation of which the committee of the late house of commons recommended the removal of all obstacles to this measure, has now taken place, in the increased distress of the British planter.

Without adverting any farther at present to these expedients, the explanation which I have endeavoured to give of the causes of the distressed situation to which the British colonies are reduced, may probably suggest a more eligible and expedient remedy. This distress arises from a relaxation of those maritime rights, which our forefathers fought and bled to establish; and to maintain which, Great

---

* Vide Appendix C.

Britain, even within our own remembrance, while at war with all the great maritime powers of Europe, who then disputed with her the sovereignty of the sea, attacked and crushed the Northern Confederacy. But these invaluable rights, we have now, in the plenitude of our naval power, tamely surrendered to America, who has no means whatever of enforcing her lofty demands; and that too under circumstances of so peculiar a nature, as add to the absurdity of the concession. The enemy, first issued a decree, prohibiting British manufactures and colonial produce from every part of his dominions. He then issued a farther decree, putting Great Britain out of the protection of the law of nations, declaring her in a state of blockade, and that every vessel trading to or from her ports should be considered as lawful prize. He acted upon this second decree, by invading neutral states for the avowed purpose of confiscating British manufactures and colonial produce, wherever they might be found, and to whomsoever they might belong. Surely such conduct called loudly for retaliation, and would have amply justified a similar interdict on the colonial produce of the enemy; but hitherto he has been allowed to vail himself to the very fullest extent of his superiority by land, while Great Britain has foregone all the advantages which she might and ought to have derived from her superiority at sea.

It is to be considered, that in proportion as the cultivation of our colonies declines, all those great interests which are dependant upon them must decline also. The export of our manufactures will be diminished; for all purchases must be proportioned to the means of payment. The great source of that balance of trade in favour of Great Britain, arising from the export of colonial produce, which furnished her with the means of paying subsidies to foreign powers in time of war, and purchasing corn in time of scarcity, will be dried up. That naval power, which constitutes the safety and the glory of the empire, will lose its best nursery for seamen; and the more our carrying trade decreases, and that of America increases, the greater temptation will our seamen have to engage in her service; as, from the similarity of language, the exemption from the press, and the high wages offered, too many of them are daily doing.

Both the dignity and interest of Great Britain require a change in her present system. Concession has ever led to new demands. No state that had not spirit enough to support its just rights, ever long remained either great or independent; and the maritime rights of Britain are the foundation of all that greatness and independence which she now enjoys.

Either the old maritime system must be reverted to, or the new system be carried one step farther; and Great Britain must request that America will have the complaisance to carry on the future commerce of her colonies, as she now does that of her enemies, in order that both may be placed on the same footing, and enjoy the same advantages of receiving their supplies, and transporting their produce to Europe, at peace freights and peace premiums of insurance.

But even were Great Britain disposed thus tamely to surrender the trident of the ocean, which she now may defy the united powers of the universe to snatch from her grasp, France has declared that the neutrality under which she herself finds shelter, shall afford none to Great Britain. She has declared not only that British manufactures and colonial produce are lawful prize, but even that neutral property bound to or from Great Britain, like a criminal taken *in flagranti delictu*, shall be condemned. She has indeed suspended the execution of this decree in favour of America; the expediency of so doing probably having been whispered to her ruler by some of his more prudent counsellors, least Great Britain should be provoked to retaliate: but in Hamburgh it was rigidly enforced, when he became master of that unhappy city. Is he then to take just so much of the law of nations as suits his purpose? Is he to respect it by sea and violate it by land, and is Great Britain to be governed by his imperial mandate? Unless she means to resign her high rank in the scale of nations, she must either adopt a system of retaliation, or revert to first principles.

Neither does the general law of nations support America in her claim to the right of carrying on this commerce, nor is it yet (thank Heaven,) sanctioned to her by any treaty between the two countries. The suspension of rights is not the derelic-

tion of them: and America cannot reasonably complain if Great Britain, after having, in the spirit of peace, tried the effect of concessions, should retract them, when she discovers the extent to which they are abused, and the ruinous consequences that would attend their continuance.

The extent to which these concessions are abused, may be deduced from American documents. It certainly never was the intention of Great Britain to admit the principle that free bottoms make free goods. Her utmost intention must have been to permit America to receive produce from the colonies of the enemy, in return for the supplies with which she furnished them. Whether she has confined herself within these limits, will be ascertained by comparing the foreign and domestic exports of her three great maritime states, Massachussets, New York, and Pensylvania. Their foreign exports, being the surplus of the produce from the colonies of the enemy, after supplying the consumption of America, (for the rum and molasses imported from the colonies of Great Britain are scarcely ever re-exported) amounted in 1806, to 42,096,705 dollars. The total of their domestic exports for the same year, which are their means of purchasing, amounted to 18,440,090 dollars*. What proportion of this domestic produce was exported to the British colonies for their supplies; what proportion was exported to Great Britain in payment for goods, or to the various other countries of Europe, these documents do not distinguish; but they sufficiently prove how vast a proportion of the produce of the enemies colonies is shipped, not on American account in return for supplies, but on account of the planters under the mask of American neutrality.

Some persons are of opinion that this evil might be remedied, by keeping the colonies of the enemy in a state of blockade. It will be found, however, on investigation, that a constant and effectual blockade of these colonies is impracticable. How can the vast island of Cuba, nearly equal in circumference to Great Britain, and along whose shore the Gulf-stream runs with the rapidity of a mill-sluice, be kept in blockade? To keep even the Windward Islands completely blockaded is impossible. No ships can lay on the windward side of any island, without being soon driven to leeward of their station, which it will cost them much time to regain, by beating up again. Even on the leeward side the rapidity of the currents frequently sweeps them away. Besides the blockade must necessarily be confined to the principal ports of the islands; and then this trade would be carried on in the smaller bays, with all which the Americans are well acquainted. Never was a more indefatigable blockade kept up than that of Martinique, by Sir Samuel Hood, when he commanded on the Leeward Island station, in the early part of the present war. He had the advantage, too, which we now no longer possess, of holding the Diamond Rock, which commanded part of the coast, overlooked the harbour of Fort Royal, and from whence his squadron was apprised, by signals, of every movement of the enemy. His persevering vigilance certainly put both the garrison and the inhabitants to great inconvenience and expense, in obliging them to transport their supplies and produce across the country; but it did not prevent them from receiving the one, and shipping the other, in the windward bays, just as if no blockade had existed. If America imported no more produce from the colonies of the enemy, than she received in fair return for those articles of her own growth and produce with which she supplied them, her own consumption would require it all; and she would re-export none to Europe.—To this trade (if any trade at all be allowed her with those colonies) she ought to be restricted; and the only means by which she can be so restricted, is by an absolute prohibition of the re-exportation of any colonial produce to Europe. This prohibition formed the 12th article of the treaty negociated between her and this country in 1794, and that Mr. Pitt thought such a stipulation necessary on the part of Great Britain, and that Mr. Jay acceeded to it as just and reasonable on the part of America, ought to give it weight with the friends of both countries. This article was not ratified by the American government, nor did Great Britain inforce the principle on which it was founded. The political considerations which then prevented her from so doing, have lost their force now the naval power of her foes is humbled; and her motives for

* Vide Appendix B.

so doing are become infinitely more cogent, from the distress to which her colonies are reduced by the relaxation of her rights, and from the necessity of counteracting the outrageous decrees of the enemy. It should also be considered, that a blockade of the enemy's colonies, could it be effectually enforced, would be far more injurious to America than the restriction from shipping their produce to Europe; for the former would utterly destroy her trade to them, the latter would only confine it within proper limits: and it would certainly be bad policy to adopt a measure, which would not only fail of accomplishing the object in view, but give additional provocation to a power with whom we wish to retain a good understanding, in preference to one, by which that object would be completely secured, and that provocation lessened.

It may, however, be said, that if this trade be interrupted, the result may be a rupture between America and Great Britain. That this may not be the case, I dare not absolutely assert. I have given my reasons why America cannot reasonably complain; and it ought not to be supposed that America would act unreasonably.—But nations are unfortunately influenced, rather by considerations of interest, than of right. Indeed, the law of nations has been defined, by a distinguished member of the American legislature, to be nothing more than national power, directed by national interest; and he has even asserted, that America, in her relations with foreign powers, has been guided by no other principle. In order, therefore, to judge of the probability of such an event, I shall weigh the advantages against the disadvantages, that would result to each power, in case of hostilities between America and Great Britain.

The only advantage America could possibly gain from the contest, would be the establishment of her right to carry the produce of the enemy; and the consequent extension of her commerce, whenever the European powers might be at war. This commerce, considered as a source of revenue, is of very little value; for as the commodities draw back the whole duty on exportation, it leaves nothing to the state but the trifling tonnage-duty on the ships employed in it. It is understood, however, that our late ministers stipulated in their treaty, that America should in future make this commerce a subject of taxation, thus acknowledging and pointing out the value of what they had conceded, and America had acquired. They wished to pacify the British planter, by this ingenious device of contriving to lay a tax on the sugars of the foreign planter, the amount of which was to fill the treasury of a foreign power: and infinite address was displayed on one side, and infinite delicacy affected on the other, in settling the quantum to be imposed; the negociators on the part of America contending, that they could not, in conscience, charge more than 1 per cent; and the negociators on the part of Great Britain, urging them to charge 2 per cent. This flimsy expedient was held out as a compensation to the British planter, for the advantage of 25 per cent. given the foreign planter, in the permission to transport his sugar to Europe in neutral vessels. This is no exaggerated estimate; for the value of the sugars may fairly be taken at 40s. per cwt. and the medium between 8s. 11d. and 12s. 6d. the difference between neutral and British freight and insurance, is more than one-quarter of the whole, or 25 per cent. But, to return from this digression.—The increase in her number of seamen, with a view to the support of her navy, that paramount consideration with Great Britain, is no object to America, whose navy is so inconsiderable. Considering this commerce as a source of profit to individuals, the benefit arising from it is confined to the mercantile houses, and the ship-owners, in seven or eight of her principal ports; and it is not very probable, that, for their emolument, the government of the United States would entail all those mischiefs upon the rest of the community, which would inevitably follow a war with Great Britain.

In enumerating these mischiefs, I shall first state, the annihilation not only of the commerce contended for, but of every other branch of her present extensive commerce. The distress of her landholders; whose tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, grain, lumber, and every other article of produce, would be rendered of little or no value, by the impossibility of sending them to foreign markets. The privation, or advance in price, of every article of necessity, or comfort, which she now imports from other countries. The loss of her revenue, which is derived from duties

on her imports, and the consequent necessity of raising a new revenue from a people deprived of their accustomed resources. And, lastly, the intestine divisions which would, in all probability, arise between the northern and the southern states, whose inhabitants already have no great cordiality for each other; and the latter of whom would bear the principal burdens of this contest, without having any interest whatever in the object for which it was carried on:—divisions which might probably hasten that separation between them, which, in the nature of things, may soon be expected to take place.

With such powerful considerations to deter America from engaging in a war with Great Britain, is it probable that she would hazard a measure by which so little could be gained, and so much would be lost? We have the authority of Mr. Randolph, an enlightened member of her legislature, for saying positively that she would not. But, without relying altogether upon his opinion, and to be armed against the worst, I shall now weigh, in their turn, the advantages and disadvantages that would result to Great Britain from hostilities with America.

The first advantage that Great Britain would derive, is the monopoly of the European market for the produce of her colonies, and the laying all the nations, with whom she is at war, under contribution, on her own terms, for the purchase of those commodities, from the impossibility of their procuring the produce of their own colonies when deprived of neutral conveyance. The prosperity of the British colonies in North America, whose agriculture is now decreasing, and population diminishing by emigrations to the United States, from the necessity which they are under, either of giving up all competition in the supply of our West India colonies, or of carrying it on under the disadvantage of paying war freights and war insurances, while the Americans navigate at peace freights and peace insurances; no countervailing duties to compensate this difference, except in the solitary article of codfish, having been introduced by the late ministry into the American Intercourse Bill. The increase of the carrying trade of Great Britain, as the supplies to her colonies now furnished in American vessels would then be carried in British vessels, and the indiscriminate issue of licences to neutrals be properly restricted. The augmentation of her navy, by the many thousands of her seamen, now provided with certificates of American citizenship, who then, no longer able to find employment under her flag, would return to the service of their own country. And, lastly, the encouragement of the officers and seamen of the British navy, who are now defrauded of their just rights, by the property of the enemy being covered from capture by the sacred veil of neutrality.

The disadvantages that Great Britain would sustain in this contest, are, first, the loss of her present exports to America, which amount to seven millions per annum. Were this loss absolute, it would be a most serious consideration; but it is, in fact, only relative; the true question being, whether Great Britain shall lose these exports, or those to her own West India Colonies, which amount to six millions per annum, and which must cease if her colonies are ruined by the continuance of the present system. As the former are exported in American ships, and the latter in British ships, the latter may justly be considered as the most valuable of the two. Besides, British manufactures would find their way to America through indirect channels; though, as Mr. Randolph has justly observed, with this difference, that she would then pay a joe for a blanket from Saint Thomas, or some other neutral port, which she now gets for a dollar, direct from Great Britain. But, on the contrary, the deficiency in the exports, arising from the ruin of the British colonies, would be altogether irretrievable. The next disadvantage to be apprehended, is the loss of the debts due to British subjects from their correspondents in America. Some estimate of the amount of these debts may be formed from the amount of the exports to that country. They certainly do not exceed the exports of one year, and probably may not exceed half that amount, or three millions and a half. But the British capital invested in the British colonies, amounts to nearly one hundred millions; and is now as completely locked up, in consequence of their distressed situation, as if it were in a state with which the mother country was at war; and will be totally lost, unless the ruin of those colonies be averted by a change in the present political system.

I have not noticed the losses that either power would sustain by the captures made on her commerce; and in considering them as counterbalanced, have given the turn of the scale greatly in favour of America: for a few English frigates might block up all her ports, and intercept all her merchantmen, while she has no adequate means of retaliation; the navy of Great Britain having now little other employment, than that of giving effectual protection to her commerce.

From these observations it may fairly be inferred, that the effect of the late concessions to America, and the abuse which she has made of them, are so injurious to Great Britain, that a longer continuance of them on her part, is inconsistent with the first principles of self-defence, and self-preservation; that neither considerations of right, nor of interest, will warrant America in resenting the resumption of these concessions; and that even her hostility is far less formidable, than such neutrality as she at present exercises.

These truths have, I trust, been fully impressed on the minds of his majesty's present ministers, by their own reflections on this important subject. My object in stating them, is to impress them on the minds of the public in general, and of such members of parliament in particular, as read your valuable paper. Whether his majesty's late ministers, from natural timidity, were afraid to open their eyes to a full view of the consequences of a rupture with America, and, like children, fancied themselves in danger merely because they were in darkness; whether they were influenced by the interested counsels of some of their advisers, whose families have establishments both in America and in Holland, and on whom wealth is pouring in through various channels, by this spurious and destructive commerce; or whether, actuated by a laudable spirit of conciliation, they acquiesed in these concessions as measures of experiment, I know not. This good consequence, however, will result from their conduct, that Great Britain, in now adopting such a change in her political relations with the United States of America as circumstances render necessary, cannot be accused of acting hastily or intemperately; and with this reflection, she must console herself for the sacrifices she has already made. Those steps which might, perhaps, have been considered rash and premature in the late ministers, cannot be so considered in their successors; and are consistent with the principles they uniformly professed before they came into office. The general sense of the nation will support them in this change of system, the necessity of which is now apparent. The prosperity of the shipping interest more particularly depends upon the welfare of the colonies, and a strict adherence to the navigation laws. The foreign ship owners have now the same advantage over the British ship owners, from the facility with which licenses are granted, as the foreign planters have over the British planters; and as the foreign colonies are flourishing, and the British colonies declining; so foreign shipping is increasing, and British shipping decreasing, from the impolitic encouragement given to the former, at the expense of the latter.* Ships, colonies, and commerce, are inseparably connected; and are wisely appreciated by Buonaparte, who has declared they are all he wants. Great Britain, who possesses them, appears not to know their value. Let her adopt different councils, or she will repent her error when it is too late. He covets them as the means of gratifying his insatiable ambition; we should cherish them as the sole barrier against that ambition, and the best bulwark of our independence. The representatives of many of the commercial towns and cities have, I understand, at the request of their constituents, the ship owners, pledged themselves to support a recurrence to the old navigation system; the greatest encroachments on which, are the concessions made to America. The baneful consequences of those concessions have now been proved by experience; and the retraction of them has become a measure of imperious necessity. Enough has been stated to convince unprejudiced minds of the truth of these positions; and with those who are governed by interest, or never retract an error, all efforts are unavailing. Men who refuse their assent to plain facts and incontrovertible deductions, are not open to any means of conviction:— "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

MERCATOR.

---

* Vide Appendix D.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

Appendix.——(A)

Statement of Freights and Insurances, on Produce from the British and Foreign Colonies, in the Year 1806.

FOREIGN COLONIES.	£.	s.	d.	BRITISH COLONIES.	£.	s.	d.
FREIGHTS.							
West Indies to United States, per cwt.	0	3	0	West Indies to London, per cwt.	0	10	0
United States to Holland .	0	4	6	London to Tonningen & Holland, 45 guilders per ton, or per cwt.	0	4	0
	£0	7	6		£0	14	0
West Indies to United States, per cwt.	0	3	0	West Indies to London, per cwt.	0	10	0
United States to Mediterranean	0	6	6	London to Smyrna, £6 per ton, Turkish, of 12 cwt. or per cwt.	0	10	0
	£0	9	6		£1	0	0
INSURANCES.							
West Indies to United States, per cent.	2	2	0	West Indies to London, 4 to 10 guineas; average, per cent.	7	7	0
United States to Holland .	4	4	0	London to Tonningen and Holland	5	5	0
	£6	6	0		£12	12	0
West Indies to United States, per cent.	2	2	0	West Indies to London, per cent.	7	7	0
United States to Mediterranean	8	8	0	London to Mediterranean—with convoy	8	8	0
	£10	10	0		£15	15	0

RECAPITULATION.

Extra Charges on British Sugar to Holland and Flanders.

Freight, per cwt. as above	£0 14 0 £0 7 6			£0	6	6
Insurance as above	12 guineas 6	6 guineas per cent.		0	2	5
on sugars valued at 40s. per cwt.						
			Per cwt.	£0	8	11

Extra Charges on British Sugar to the Mediterranean.

Freight, per cwt. as above	£1 0 0 £0 9 6			£0	10	6
Insurance as above	15 guineas 10	5 per cent. on sugars		0	2	0
valued at 40s. per cwt.						
			Per cwt.	£0	12	6

Appendix.——(B)

Summary of the Value of the Exports from the United States of America, for the Year 1806, copied from the New York Gazette of March 13, 1807.

State.	Domestic.	Foreign.	Total.
New Hampshire	411,379	383,884	795,263
Vermont	91,732	102,043	193,775
Massachussets	6,621,696	14,577,547	21,199,243
Rhode Island	949,336	1,142,499	2,091,835
Connecticut	1,522,750	193,078	1,715,828
New York	8,053,076	13,709,769	21,762,845
New Jersey	26,504	7,363	33,867
Pensylvania	3,765,313	13,809.389	17,574,702
Delaware	125,787	374,319	500,106
Maryland	3,661,131	10,919,774	14,580,905
District of Columbia	1,091,760	154,386	1,246,146
Virginia	4,626,687	428,709	5,055,396
North Carolina	786,029	3,576	789,605
South Carolina	6,797,064	2,946,718	9,743,782
Georgia	82,764		82.764
Territory of the United States . . .	2,578,401	1,530,182	4,108,583
Ohio	62,318		62,318
Dollars.	41,253,727	60,283,236	101,536,963

Appendix.——(C)

Extract of a Letter from ————, dated ————, 24th December, 1806.

Comment est il bien possible qu'a l'age ou je suis parvenu, que je sois totalement esclave du gouvernement; que je sois obligé de travailler comme un mercenaire, pour un gouvernement qui ne me laisse rien de mes travaux, rien de la sueur de mon front; qui ne me laisse pas plus les moyens de payer mes dettes, que ceux pour mon existence; car, si je n'ai pas de l'argent pour acheter des souliers, un chapeau, un peu de linge, du bœure, &c. il faut que j'aille tout nud, que je mange mes bananes et ma morue au gros sel; et encore ou prendre du sel, si je n'ai pas de l'argent pour en acheter. Rien de plus vrai que ce que je vous dis, comme vous le voyez; puisque je suis obligé de donner au gouvernement la moitié de mon revenu, et de depenser l'autre moitié en fraix de batiment, en assurances, en commissions, et en autres faux fraix, *in order to secure* au tresor-royal, et au tresor de ———— la subsditte moitié de mon dit revenu.

Ce 2e Février, 1807.

Jamais ma vie n'a été plus malheureuse qu'elle l'est actuellement. Je ne puis me procurer aucun moyen d'exister; tout est a des prix fous, et souvent il n'y a rien a acheter, les magazins étant vuides de toute espèce d'articles: toutes espèces de marchandises seches ne se vendent que pour du comptant, et a 3 et 4 fois, plus cher que ci-devant; le commestible est encore plus haut; le bœuf et porc de 4 a 5 moëdes le baril; le bœure de 3 a 4 moëdes souvent; la farine actuellement de 16 a 24 gourdes le baril; la morue est actuellement a 124s. le quintal; et le iret ensus 86: et souvent il n'y a ni bœuf, porc, bœure, ni morue. La morue vaut actuellement 60l. currency le boucaud—staves, de 30l. a 50 le M. lumber, de 30l. a 40l. le M. &c. &c.; et la denrée des pauvres planteurs Anglois ne vaut rien: jugez d'après cela de la situation des habitans insulaires Anglois; tandis que les habitans des îles Françoises, nagent dans l'or et l'argent. Malgré la situation de la France, ils ont réellement tous leurs besoins pour des vils prix; et vendent leur denrée pour du comptant a très-haut prix. La sortie du sucre brut y est permis chez l'étranger, moyenant un droit de 10 pour cent; qu'on paye au domaine. Plut a Dieu qu'il en

fût de même ici pendant la duration de la guerre; cela feroit fleurir aussi les îles Angloises, tandis qu'elles sont dans la misére la plus grande.

Extract of a Letter from ————, dated Trinidad, 5th February, 1807.

It would be in vain for me to attempt to describe our situation; whichever way I turn, I see nothing but ruin staring us in the face. Nothing keeps us in *tis vita*, but the supplies we receive from the United States; and, should we be deprived of them, and the consequent means of bartering our produce for the necessaries of life, we must abandon entirely the culture of canes and manufacture of sugar, and turn our estates into pens for a subsistence; which, should the king's late order in council (founded on the powers granted his majesty by the intercourse bill,) be strictly enforced, is the only alternative left us to perishing of famine. Never was consternation equal to that expressed by this colony on the promulgation of that order. Very little provision, dry or salted, was at that moment in store, but much was expected, in consequence of orders which had been previously given; in the meantime, beef, which was current at 20 dollars, rose instantly to 40; butter, from 18 to 30; pork, from 24 to 64; and fish, from 10 to 16. In this dilemma, the governor and council considered themselves justifiable in suspending the effect of the king's order, until the expiration of the proclamation issued in October, by which the faith of government was pledged to the public for the admission of the articles therein enumerated, until the 22d April. By the fag end of that proclamation we now subsist; the general has, in the mean time, represented the necessity of his majesty's exerting the powers with which he is vested by the bill, to grant the island the privileges he is authorised thereby to do respecting its foreign trade; and unless those are accorded us to their full extent, we are a ruined people.

To our friends at home we commit the defence of our cause. A representation is, I am told, to be sent his majesty on the subject, which I hope will meet with more attention than our complaints have hitherto found. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Irish merchants, say—"send no sugar home; give it away rather." Government say—"you shall not send it to the United States to be sold, and remitted to England, nor shall you barter it with foreigners for the necessaries of life; at least if you do, those foreigners shall not carry it away. There is a dilemma; and, to crown all, we'll abolish the African trade: you shall have no more slaves; and we will endeavour to starve to death those you have. Better and better!"

Extract of a Letter from ————, Trinidad, March 8.

I landed here on Friday, and found all things very dull; sugar, selling at public sale, at 2½ dollars. . . . . .

Our crop will be very large, but there is no standing the expenses of carrying on a sugar estate with the American trade as it is; and you must, my dear sir, exert all your energies to get us *leave to sell sugar for American cargoes*. We are ruined completely if the act of parliament be strictly enforced, of stopping the exportation as heretofore; the minor planters have no correspondents in Europe, and the transmission of sugar to England will ruin them at the present prices.

Appendix.——(D)

Statements respecting the Decrease and Discouragement of British Shipping.

Tonnage of British Vessels built in		1804	. .	80,146
Ditto	Ditto	1805	. .	71,256
Ditto	Ditto	1806	. .	58,470

From the above statements laid before the house of commons, it appears that the ship-building of this country has diminished more than one-fourth in the space of two years; and the diminution will be far more rapid this year, as very few ships are now building at any of the ports of Great Britain.

The following statements are extracted from the reports and papers on navigation and trade, printed by order of the society of ship-owners of Great Britain, in 1807, containing many interesting particulars on the distressed state of the British shipping interest, in consequence of the encouragement given to neutral shipping, by the relaxation of the navigation laws.

Since the year 1801, the capital invested in British shipping, amounting to above eleven millions, has depreciated in value more than £30 per cent. (Supplement, page 75.)

Since the year 1780, the rate of freights has *decreased* £6 : 10 : 4 per cent.; although since the same period, the price of provisions has *increased* £54 : 8 : 2 per cent.; the price of materials, £122 : 10 : 2 per cent. and the rate of wages, £39 : 7 : 1 per cent. (Supplement, page 178). No wonder then that brooms were at the mast heads (as tokens of their being for sale,) of near 18,000 tons of shipping in the river Thames alone, last year. (Supplement, page 130.)

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

Sir,—To say that I perfectly accord with every word that you have written relative to sir Francis Burdett, is only to echo the sentiments of every man of loyalty and honour throughout the kingdom; and I am sure I should but weaken the force of your arguments, were I to attempt, for a moment, to take the worthy baronet out of your hands.

But there is another part of your argument, relative to this election, to which I wish to draw your attention, and with which I cannot bring myself to agree with you in opinion: and it is where you blame the supineness of the great body of the electors, and attribute their indifference about the issue of the late contest to motives very different, as I apprehend, from those which actuated them upon the occasion. Instead of being indifferent spectators of the late election, I believe the majority of the electors saw themselves, with regret, deprived of the exercise of their elective franchise;—without one candidate fit to support;—and I believe that many, very many, of those who voted for the successful candidates, did so merely under an impression, that, out of four highly objectionable candidates, they were supporting those who were least so.

You wish to know "why lord Cochrane stood second, instead of first, upon the poll?" I will tell you why, sir; because his lordship, in his political capacity, has, as yet, done nothing to recommend himself to the electors of Westminster, who knew him only as being formerly eulogized and brought into notice by the weekly libeller, whose praise is poison; and because the public papers have imputed to his lordship speeches from the hustings containing sentiments, perhaps, more practically mischievous than even the hot-bed of Wimbledon has produced. I hope that the sentiments imputed to the noble lord are incorrect, or that, if correct, they are to be attributed to the warmth of an election struggle; and that, at all events, his future conduct will effectually redeem his reputation: but their existence is surely a sufficient reason why so many of the electors should have withheld their votes from him.

You then inquire, sir, "why Mr. Elliot, who was known to be a friend to his king and country, should have been the last upon the list?" doubtless inferring that he was so because he was a friend to his king and country. Now, sir, the plain and simple reason why Mr. Elliot was last upon the poll was, because he gave up the contest several days before its conclusion;—a contest in which I apprehend he never had (and most justly) the smallest chance of success. I speak of Mr. Elliot (as I do of Lord Cochrane) merely from what I have seen and heard in this contest; judging from no private sources, but from the same impressions that must have been open to all the electors. First, let us take Mr. Elliot's claims upon the electors of Westminster. Mr. Elliot is a great brewer, and a colonel of volunteers. These, in addition to his being (as I hope many others are) a loyal man, were Mr. Elliot's positive claims. Now, sir, though Mr. Elliot's trade might give him great personal in-

terest among a particular class of the electors, yet I doubt very much whether the present state of the brewing trade is calculated to give its members many advocates among the public: and as for his colonelship of volunteers, that, though a high merit, is not, thank God, of so singular a complexion as to exalt Mr. Elliot above many other highly respectable persons in this metropolis. But the circumstance most fatal to Mr. Elliot's election was that on which he, perhaps, built his firmest hopes of success; I allude to the very accommodating nature of this gentleman's principles, who is represented to have expressed himself attached to the present administration as he had been to the last, and would be to any other. Now, sir, though an attachment to the king's government is abstractedly an honourable and praiseworthy motive, yet there is such a thing as consistency; and if it were not possible sometimes to separate our loyalty to the king from adherence to his ministers, you and I, sir, and a great majority of the people, have been for the last twelve months in a state of woeful disloyalty: but, so far from allowing that, I hope and trust we were as good subjects when opposing, with all our might, the late pitiful ministry, as Mr. Elliot in his active support of them at the former election, when it is well known he gave them the most active proofs of his regard, in favour of their candidate Mr. Sheridan. With these few facts before us I am really at a loss to conceive how the cause of his king and country, or that of the present ministers, can be wounded in the rejection of Mr. Elliot; and, speaking ecclesiastically, I can never wish to see the large incumbency of Westminster *annexed to the vicarage of Bray*. The other candidates, Messrs. Sheridan and Paull, are *hors de combat*. The one is, as he ever has been and will be, the mere tool of a party: and the other is—nobody.

This being the situation of the candidates, what is there to regret in the result of this election? The representation of Westminster, should, I think, be divided between the friends of government and the mob; to the latter of whom I would always concede one member. And, on this ground, I cannot lament the election of Burdett. It is the constant theme of the jacobins, that the people (by whom they always mean the mob) cannot return one member to parliament. By the election of Burdett, this assertion is contradicted, and the engine of discontent recoils against themselves. Nor do I consider his late advertisement as at all to be regretted. If we have to deal with a man of such sentiments, surely it is better that they should be avowed than concealed. *Habes confitentem reum*. Whatever may be the political sins of the baronet, I defy you hereafter to class hypocrisy among the number.

That the mob-candidate should have been at the head of the poll, is, I agree with you, a serious misfortune; but which would certainly not have been the case if the friends of government had had a proper candidate to support. Whose fault it is that there was not such a candidate, I do not take upon myself to say. That there was a great omission somewhere is certain. For want of such a candidate a great majority of the electors have not voted at all, and a great proportion of those who did, have, for the same reason, thrown away their suffrages. I am, &c.

June 15, 1807. JUBA.

COBBETT, AND THE HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

If any additional proof were wanting of Mr. Cobbett being himself the *political Proteus* he has so feelingly described, his conduct towards the several candidates for the county in which he resides, would be sufficient evidence.

When, on the memorable 8th of April, 1805, Sir William Heathcote and Mr. Chute voted with Mr. Pitt against Mr. Whitbread's premature motion, and in favour of a more extended inquiry relative to lord Melville, Mr. Cobbett attacked them in the most vehement manner, pledging himself to recur again and again to their conduct, and threatening them with the vengeance of their constituents at the next election. After one burst, however, Mr. Cobbett's wrath abated; he became to-

tally silent about them; his pledge he never redeemed; and at the election in October last, and at all the previous meetings, behold Mr. Cobbett, the strenuous supporter of Mr. Chute, cheering every sentence which fell from the lips of Mr. Rose, and straining every nerve in defence of Mr. Chute and sir Henry Mildmay; representing the former as the very paragon of purity and disinterestedness; and when sir H. Mildmay spoke of fifteen good reasons for not embarking in a contest (alluding to his fifteen children) Mr. Cobbett was heard to exclaim—"Well, sir, and would you not sooner see your children freemen than slaves?" meaning, no doubt, that the very existence of the liberties of ourselves and our posterity depended upon the county finding a second candidate to stand with Mr. Chute.—Whether Mr. Chute was less grateful for this conversion than he ought to have been; whether he considered that the efforts of the hero of Botley were not likely to give the tone to the Hampshire freeholders; or for what other reason I know not; certain it is that Mr. Chute set a much less value upon Mr. Cobbett's support than did Sir H. Mildmay. Scarcely, therefore, had the election concluded before Mr. Cobbett opened all the vials of his wrath against Mr. Chute, under pretence of his having voted, at the Middlesex election, for Mr. Mellish. Mr. Chute and his cause were now loaded with every degree of ignominy and abuse; that cause, gentle reader, which the writer, had a few weeks before, coupled with magna charta and the bill of rights. At the same time, sir H. Mildmay was, at the expense of Mr. Chute, puffed up to the skies. The freeholders were told that they owed every thing to sir H. Mildmay, and nothing to Mr. Chute; that the former had been alone the champion of their rights; and, to complete his consistency, Mr. Thistlethwaite, who had been vehemently opposed, was soothed with something very like a promise of as vehement support. Oh, how enviable must have been sir H. Mildmay's feelings at having the good-fortune to retain so powerful an advocate, and to see himself supported upon such *true* and *honest* grounds! But how short are sublunary enjoyments! Scarcely is the Register dry, which extols sir H. Mildmay to the skies, than upon the publication of an infamous garbled report against sir H. Mildmay, our Proteus willingly adopts it verbatim; and, without waiting to inquire into the truth or falsehood of the statement, he adopts implicitly the impartial Morning Chronicle (which he is every week telling us ought not to be believed in a single word) and in the coarsest terms of true revolutionary slang, holds up sir H. Mildmay to the world as a public peculator. A more unfounded charge; a charge more manifestly garbled and distorted to suit a party purpose never was made: and I have no doubt sir H. Mildmay will find it much easier to clear his character from this unfounded imputation, than from the disgrace of having, for a moment, countenanced a man who could dare to insult him with praise at the expense of his most honourable and independent colleague.

In the same paper which thus assails sir H. Mildmay, Mr. Chute (who has no more to do with the charge against his colleague, than Mr. Thistlethwaite or Mr. Herbert have) is lugged in; and we are told that though he may have been sixteen years in parliament without asking or receiving any favour from government for himself, yet that he has a brother a clergyman, and may he not have asked some favour for that brother? Without knowing what Mr. Chute may or may not have asked, one thing is certain, that his brother has been for several years, and still is an *unbeneficed* clergyman; and he, therefore, either never has asked any thing for this brother, or has been a most unsuccessful suitor. This is all the answer that need be given to Mr. Cobbett, whose praise and abuse must be alike indifferent to Mr. Chute; whose constituents will continue to judge of him by his actions, not by the testimony of any venal, mercenary scribbler. They know that it is to him they owe their independence; with which his name will be coupled to the end of time. Nor is it among the freeholders of Hampshire alone that Mr. Chute's exertions must be prized. His cause has been that of the whole country; and more especially will the great and respectable body of ship owners of the United Kingdom ever remember, that it was for being found among the few that dared to vindicate their and the country's dearest rights that drew down upon Mr. Chute the opposition of lord Temple and his associates. I say this without the least wish to detract from

the merit of sir H. Mildmay, who, on the contrary, must know and feel the justice of these remarks.

Having thus alternately extolled and abused all the candidates, it remains to be seen who Mr. Cobbett will support at the next Hampshire election. But, perhaps, this coquetting is only a prelude to proposing himself; for who knows but, that, released from his obligations to the electors of Honiton and Westminster, Peter Porcupine may himself aspire to the knightdom of a shire!!

DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN EGYPT.

Supplement to the London Gazette, of Saturday, June 13.

Downing-street, June 13.—The following intelligence has been received by viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major general Alexander M'Kenzie Fraser, commanding his majesty's land forces in Egypt, transmitted in a letter from the right hon. general Fox, to the right hon. William Windham.

Extract of the copy of a letter from Major General A. M. Fraser, to the Right Hon. William Windham, dated Alexandria, April 6, 1807, transmitted to him by General Fox, the original not having been received.

Sir—My letter of the 27th ultimo has already informed you, that in consequence of the strong representation of major Missett, his majesty's resident here, (a copy of which I then transmitted,) stating the risk the inhabitants of Alexandria run of being starved, unless Rosetta and Rahmanie were taken possession of by his majesty's troops, I had, with the concurrence of rear admiral sir John Duckworth, detached the 31st regiment and chasseurs Britanniques, under major general Wauchope and brigadier general Meade, for that purpose.

I am now under the dissagreeable necessity of acquainting you that, contrary to all expectation, this measure did not succeed. Our troops took possession of the heights of Abourmandour (which command the town) without any loss; but from circumstances as yet unexplained, the general, instead of keeping his post there, unfortunately was tempted to go into the town with his whole force, without any previous examination of it, when the troops were so severely handled from the windows and tops of the houses, without ever seeing their enemy, that it was thought expedient to retire; more especially as major-general Wauchope was unfortunately killed, and the second in command, brigadier-general Meade, severely wounded.

The troops, I understand, although certainly placed in a most trying and perilous situation, behaved extremely well; and after having suffered, I am sorry to say, very materially in killed and wounded, (as you will see by the annexed returns,) retired to Aboukir, in good order, without molestation, from whence I directed them to return to Alexandria.

This has certainly been a very heavy and unexpected stroke upon us, more especially as every information led me to conclude, that the opposition, if any, would be trifling; and every precaution was recommended that prudence could suggest.

Finding, however, by the renewed representation of major Missett, corroborated by the personal application of the Sorbagi, or chief magistrate, in the name of the people at large, that a famine would be the certain and immediate consequence of our remaining at Alexandria, without the occupation of Rosetta, I have, with the concurrence, advice and co-operation of rear-admiral sir Thomas Louis, (who commands the squadron here since the departure of sir John Duckworth,) detached another corps, under the command of the honourable brigadier general Stewart and colonel Oswald, to effect this purpose, without which it appears impossible that the measure proposed by his majesty's ministers, of keeping possession of Alexandria, can be accomplished.

(To be continued.)

Printed by W. Marchant, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. Yorke, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. Hodgson, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.

Mr. REDHEAD YORKE's WEEKLY POLITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. II. N°26. Saturday, June 27, 1807. Price 10*d.*

IMPEACHMENT OF THE LATE MINISTERS.

Public justice, though tardy, is about to overtake this insolent and mischievous confederacy. It is with great pleasure I inform my readers, that an independent "*proprietory*" county member intends to move, in the house of commons, for the impeachment of the late administration, for certain HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANOURS. Exhilerating as the fact must prove to every sincere friend of the constitution, yet I cannot refrain from suggesting, that this truly patriotic intention would be attended with happier effects if it were deferred for a short time longer; and for this reason, the history of the late administration is not yet completed; we are not yet in full possession of the *maximum* of their delinquencies. If we wish to make a signal example of state-criminals, we shall do well to collect together, in one huge mass, the *whole* of the enormities of which our injured country has been the victim. This cannot be done until the *result* of the measures adopted by the late ministers shall have been known. We are ignorant, at present, of the rambles of brigadier-general Crawfurd: we are equally in the dark respecting the adventures of general Whitelocke; and the articles of the American treaty have not yet been published. Now, if the motion for this impeachment were postponed, until these circumstances shall be disclosed to the public, the obvious necessity of an impeachement would be apparent to every one, and there would be but one opinion throughout the country upon the demerits of the late ministerial delinquencies. Every heart would then beat high at the expectation of redress for our wrongs; every patriot would feel an interest in the infliction of exemplary justice. I am aware that the universal sentiment is against my proposition; and that there are *sufficient* materials before us, which call loudly for national vengeance; I am aware also, that the wish of every honest man, relative to the late ministers, is the same, and that a *sus per coll* would give general satisfaction. But, prudence suggests that no impeachment should be instituted before the public are in complete possession of all the *public benefits* which these perverse, stupid, and infatuated men have conferred upon their country. Should this suggestion, however, not be approved; should the sufferings, and the insulted honour of the country press for justice without delay, I shall not fail to contribute my mite towards their vindication; and therefore, the moment after the motion for the impeachment of the late ministry shall have been made, I shall join in the glorious pursuit, and never quit the subject until the hour of condign punishment shall convince the world, that a brave, generous, and patient people, exasperated at length by the arrogance and obduracy of the directors of their affairs, will not be wronged and outraged with impunity.

Whether the meeting of the late ministers and their parliamentary adherents in Willis's rooms, on Wednesday last, were intended for offensive or defensive measures, I cannot pretend to affirm; but I will venture to predict, that they met to take a parting glass with each other. If their vindictive minds, and callous hearts be not dismayed at the reproaches with which they have been assailed in every quarter of the empire; if they still dare to meditate mischief, and to contrive means of thwarting the operations of government; they will soon learn, from the unanimous voice of an incensed and indignant people, that there exists, at this moment, the most happy consent between the government and the nation, and that the stability of the former cannot be shaken by the frauds, the violence, and the heterogeneous alliance of aristocratic intrigue with democratic phrenzy, of an aristocratic juncto with a democratic faction, forming together a monstrous combination of tyrants and slaves, united together for the avowed purpose of depressing the throne, and trampling upon the most sacred rights of the people.

The whole of their conduct, since their expulsion from power, indicates their terror, lest their mismanagement of our affairs should undergo a parliamentary revision. They tremble at the contemplation of their own incapacity, and to avert the consequences which they are aware must result from a solemn investigation of their measures, they resort, like felons, detected in guilt, and driven to the last acts of desperation, to force themselves into power, that their influence under such circumstances may drown the voice of public resentment. It is with this view, that dinners are given, and stewards nominated, that the pageantry of a few great names may shield delinquency from merited execration. It is with this view, that opposition is resolved upon against principles which are not yet disclosed, and measures which have not yet been executed. But, the country knows how to distinguish between these false appearances, and a sincere desire to counteract the evils attendant on ignorance and misgovernment. For any opposition to prosper here, it must have at least, the semblance of acting upon *public* principles, and reasonable grounds for disputing the capacity of those whom his majesty has called to his councils. Above all, it must be able to stand a contrast with the body of men whom it would dispossess of the power they have so honourably acquired; and lastly, the members of opposition must shew, what I believe they will find it extremely difficult to do, that they have integrity to wish, talents to devise, and ability to execute such measures as are calculated to promote the honour of the crown, the glory of the empire, and the happiness of their countrymen. As they have not afforded us during the whole of their infamous administration, a solitary instance of disposition or ability to realize these principles, we have a right to infer, that if every one of them were to live to the age of Methuselah, it would not be possible for men of their habits, mode of thinking and acting, to reverse the unfavourable opinion universally entertained of them by their fellow-subjects. Their impeachment, however, will cause the strokes of tyranny and cruelty which they have inflicted to recoil upon themselves; and if the honourable and virtuous member, who intends to move this necessary prosecution; or, if any member, who nobly means to support it, wish to be instructed in the most equitable mode of conducting an impeachment, I need only request, that they will take a leaf out of the volume of proceedings against lord Wellesley—a circumstance to which the opposition cannot except, especially as they have been the authors and promoters of those proceedings; and they must be sensible of the immeasureable distance, in point of talents, wisdom, energy, and public spirit, between that great statesman, and their Lilliputian virtues.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RELATIVE TO THE TRANSACTIONS IN OUDE.

> "Reformation should never be *delayed*, as there is no *certainty* in the affairs of this world, and chance in a moment *overturns* the wisest projects of human discernment. The *best defence* against *all* enemies is to secure the allegiance and attachment of our subjects by attending to their happiness; and it will rarely be found in history that a kingdom sinks under the effects of invasion, until its power is subverted by the *defects* of an internal administration."
>
> Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Vizier, 12th Aug. 1793.

In order to enable my readers to form a full and impartial judgment upon the transactions, which are about to be discussed in parliament, I shall adopt the same simple plan of detail which I have hitherto observed in all the preceding papers relative to the administration of lord Wellesley in India—that is, I shall endeavour to place the history of each question in such a light as to render the reasonings which I shall deduce from it accessible even to those who are not versed in the politics of India, and then I shall proceed to elucidate the motives, and to justify the expediency of the measures which his lordship pursued, for the purpose of securing our interests, consolidating our power, and augmenting our resources in that quarter of the globe. The result of the inquiry will corroborate the truth of my former statements, that the marquis Wellesley has undergone a most unmerited persecution on-

ginating in spleen, malice, and ingratitude, and continued in defiance of every principle of justice, policy, and public honour.

The first point which requires our attention is, *the nature of the relation between the British power in India, and the province of Oude; and the right which the Company acquired by previous treaties to station such a military force in it, as should be judged expedient for the defence of Oude, and to establish adequate arrangements for the payment of this force.* The connection of interests between the Company and Oude became blended originally from an act of unwarrantable aggression on the part of Sujah u Dowlah, the father of the present nabob, who, not contented with affording an asylum to the perpetrators of the cruel massacre of the English at Patna, declared war against the company, in the course of which, after having been defeated by our forces at the battle of Buxar in 1764, he surrendered himself a prisoner. Notwithstanding these unjustifiable acts of hostility and aggression, the greatest lenity was shewn to Sujah u Dowlah; and *though his country had been conquered* by the company's arms, and they became, in consequence, its legitimate sovereigns, yet the whole of his territories were restored to him, with a view of evincing the moderation of our government, and of our acquiring such a degree of influence in the province of Oude, as to enable us to provide for its security, as a most important frontier of our own possessions, without our incurring any additional expense, or interfering with the civil administration of that country. As it was evident, however, that the nabob was unable to protect his own dominions, the celebrated lord Clive concluded a treaty, at Allyhabad in 1765. with him, by which it was maturally stipulated that the company should defend Oude against every enemy, and that the nabob should defray the expense of that defence. Ever since the conclusion of that treaty, the nabobs of Oude, have applied upon the company *exclusively* for the *defence* of their country; and for the support of their government; and have since submitted to further arrangements which are printed, and by which their independence upon the British power becomes still more obvious. Lord Teignmouth, who was for several years governor-general of India, and whose long residence in that country, whose knowledge also of the manners, customs, and languages of the natives renders him a most competent judge of the policy best adapted to promote the British interests in that quarter, has declared that, "the government of Oude, both in the opinions of the natives of the country, as well as externally, is considered a *dependency upon the English, whatever its relation under treaties may be.* Scindiah referred the institute of Vizier Ally Khaun by his majesty to the governor-general; and there are many respectable families in Lucknow, who live under the protection of the British influence. In the estimation of the natives of India, the kingdom of Oude is held as a *gift* from the company to Sujah u Dowlah, *as a dependent fief.* We are so implicated in our connection with Oude, that *we cannot withdraw from it*, and we are so situated in it, that *without a decisive influence in its administration, we cannot have any security.*"*

The present nabob of Oude, also called the nabob Vizier, and who is the eldest surviving son of Sujah u Dowlah, succeeded to the government of Oude, on the 21st of January, 1798.—I call it the government of Oude, because the nabob is erroneously termed an independent prince. He is vizier of the empire, and an *officer* of the Mogbul, holding the office of *Soubahder* or lord lieutenant of Oude, and he was placed in that situation by lord Teignmouth who *deposed* Vizier Alli, the adopted son of the late nabob; upon the principles first, of our *right* to interfere in the affairs of the family of Sujah u Dowlah; secondly, of the *necessity* of *interference* in consequence of the bad qualities and mal-administration of the vizir Alli, and lastly, of the preferable *claim* of the present nabob, upon the justice of which, the British government asserted the *exclusive right* of forming an unlimited judgment. At the time of placing the present nabob in this office, lord Teignmouth made a *new* arrangement, known by the name of the treaty of 1798, according to which, the subsidy was augmented from 693,750l. to 950,006l. under an expressed stipulation that if it should be necessary to increase the number of the British troops in Oude beyond 13,000 men, the nabob should be charged with the actual cost of the excess; and upon the same principle, if the number of troops should be less than 8,000 men, a proportionate reduction should be made from the subsidy. It was

* Vide printed papers Num. 1. page 15.

The whole of their conduct, since their expulsion from power, indicates their terror, lest their mismanagement of our affairs should undergo a parliamentary revision. They tremble at the contemplation of their own incapacity, and to avert the consequences which they are aware must result from a solemn investigation of their measures, they resort, like felons, detected in guilt, and driven to the last acts of desperation, to force themselves into power, that their influence under such circumstances may drown the voice of public resentment. It is with this view, that dinners are given, and stewards nominated, that the pageantry of a few great names may shield delinquency from merited execration. It is with this view, that opposition is resolved upon against principles which are not yet disclosed, and measures which have not yet been executed. But, the country knows how to distinguish between these false appearances, and a sincere desire to counteract the evils attendant on ignorance and misgovernment. For any opposition to prosper here, it must have at least, the semblance of acting upon *public* principles, and reasonable grounds for disputing the capacity of those whom his majesty has called to his councils. Above all, it must be able to stand a contrast with the body of men whom it would dispossess of the power they have so honourably acquired; and lastly, the members of opposition must shew, what I believe they will find it extremely difficult to do, that they have integrity to wish, talents to devise, and ability to execute such measures as are calculated to promote the honour of the crown, the glory of the empire, and the happiness of their countrymen. As they have not afforded us, during the whole of their infamous administration, a solitary instance of disposition or ability to realize these principles, we have a right to infer, that if every one of them were to live to the age of Methuselah, it would not be possible for men of their habits, mode of thinking and acting, to reverse the unfavourable opinion universally entertained of them by their fellow-subjects. Their impeachment, however, will cause the strokes of tyranny and cruelty which they have inflicted to recoil upon themselves; and if the honourable and virtuous member, who intends to move this necessary prosecution; or, if any member, who nobly means to support it, wish to be instructed in the most equitable mode of conducting an impeachment, I need only request, that they will take a leaf out of the volume of proceedings against lord Wellesley—a circumstance to which the opposition cannot except, especially as they have been the authors and promoters of those proceedings; and they must be sensible of the immeasureable distance, in point of talents, wisdom, energy, and public spirit, between that great statesman, and their Lilliputian virtues.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RELATIVE TO THE TRANSACTIONS IN OUDE.

> "Reformation should never be *delayed*, as there is no *certainty* in the affairs of this world, and chance in a moment *overturns* the wisest projects of human discernment. The *best defence* against *all* enemies is to secure the allegiance and attachment of our subjects by attending to their happiness; and it will rarely be found in history that a kingdom sinks under the effects of invasion, until its power is subverted by the *defects* of an internal administration."
>
> Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Vizier, 12th Aug. 1793.

In order to enable my readers to form a full and impartial judgment upon the transactions, which are about to be discussed in parliament, I shall adopt the same simple plan of detail which I have hitherto observed in all the preceding papers relative to the administration of lord Wellesley in India—that is, I shall endeavour to place the history of each question in such a light as to render the reasonings which I shall deduce from it accessible even to those who are not versed in the politics of India, and then I shall proceed to elucidate the motives, and to justify the expediency of the measures which his lordship pursued, for the purpose of securing our interests, consolidating our power, and augmenting our resources in that quarter of the globe. The result of the inquiry will corroborate the truth of my former statements, that the marquis Wellesley has undergone a most unmerited persecution on-

ginating in spleen, malice, and ingratitude, and continued in defiance of every principle of justice, policy, and public honour.

The first point which requires our attention is, *the nature of the relation between the British power in India, and the province of Oude; and the right which the Company acquired by previous treaties to station such a military force in it, as should be judged expedient for the defence of Oude, and to establish adequate arrangements for the payment of this force.* The connection of interests between the Company and Oude became blended originally from an act of unwarrantable aggression on the part of Sujah u Dowlah, the father of the present nabob, who, not contented with affording an asylum to the perpetrators of the cruel massacre of the English at Patna, declared war against the company, in the course of which, after having been defeated by our forces at the battle of Buxar in 1764, he surrendered himself a prisoner. Notwithstanding these unjustifiable acts of hostility and aggression, the greatest lenity was shewn to Sujah u Dowlah; and *though his country had been conquered* by the company's arms, and they became, in consequence, its legitimate sovereigns, yet the whole of his territories were restored to him, with a view of evincing the moderation of our government, and of our acquiring such a degree of influence in the province of Oude, as to enable us to provide for its security, as a most important frontier of our own possessions, without our incurring any additional expense, or interfering with the civil administration of that country. As it was evident, however, that the nabob was unable to protect his own dominions, the celebrated lord Clive concluded a treaty, at Allyhabad in 1765, with him, by which it was naturally stipulated that the company should defend Oude against every enemy, and that the nabob should defray the expence of that defence. Ever since the conclusion of that treaty, the nabobs of Oude, have applied upon the company *exclusively* for the *defence* of their country; and for the support of their government; and have since submitted to further arrangements which are printed, and by which their independence upon the British power becomes still more obvious. Lord Teignmouth, who was for several years governor-general of India, and whose long residence in that country, whose knowledge also of the manners, customs, and languages of the natives renders him a most competent judge of the policy best adapted to promote the British interests in that quarter, has declared that, "the government of Oude, both in the opinions of the natives of the country, as well as externally, is considered a *dependency upon the English, whatever its relation under treaties may be.* Scindiah referred the institute of Vizier Ally Khaun by his majesty to the governor-general; and there are many respectable families in Lucknow, who live under the protection of the British influence. In the estimation of the natives of India, the kingdom of Oude is held as a *gift* from the company to Sujah u Dowlah, *as a dependent fief.* We are so implicated in our connection with Oude, that we *cannot withdraw from it*, and we are so situated in it, that *without a decisive influence in its administration, we cannot have any security.*"*

The present nabob of Oude, also called the nabob Vizier, and who is the eldest surviving son of Sujah u Dowlah, succeeded to the government of Oude, on the 21st of January, 1798.—I call it the government of Oude, because the nabob is erroneously termed an independent prince. He is vizier of the empire, and an *officer* of the Mogul, holding the office of *Soubahder* or lord lieutenant of Oude, and he was placed in that situation by lord Teignmouth who *deposed* Vizier Ally, the adoptive son of the late nabob; upon the principles first, of our *right* to interfere in the affairs of the family of Sujah u Dowlah; secondly, of the *necessity* of *interference* in consequence of the bad qualities and mal-administration of the vizier Ally, and lastly, of the preferable *claim* of the present nabob, upon the justice of which, the British government asserted the *exclusive right* of forming an unlimited judgment. At the time of placing the present nabob in this office, lord Teignmouth made a *new* arrangement, known by the name of the treaty of 1798, according to which, the subsidy was augmented from 693,750*l.* to 950,000*l.* under an expressed stipulation that if it should be necessary to increase the number of the British troops in Oude beyond 13,000 men, the nabob should be charged with the actual cost of the excess; and upon the same principle, if the number of troops should be less than 8,000 men, a proportionate reduction should be made from the subsidy. It was

* Vide printed papers Num. 1. page 15.

The whole of their conduct, since their expulsion from power, indicates their terror, lest their mismanagement of our affairs should undergo a parliamentary revision. They tremble at the contemplation of their own incapacity, and to avert the consequences which they are aware must result from a solemn investigation of their measures, they resort, like felons, detected in guilt, and driven to the last acts of desperation, to force themselves into power, that their influence under such circumstances may drown the voice of public resentment. It is with this view, that dinners are given, and stewards nominated, that the pageantry of a few great names may shield delinquency from merited execration. It is with this view, that opposition is resolved upon against principles which are not yet disclosed, and measures which have not yet been executed. But, the country knows how to distinguish between these false appearances, and a sincere desire to counteract the evils attendant on ignorance and misgovernment. For any opposition to prosper here, it must have at least, the semblance of acting upon *public* principles, and reasonable grounds for disputing the capacity of those whom his majesty has called to his councils. Above all, it must be able to stand a contrast with the body of men whom it would dispossess of the power they have so honourably acquired; and lastly, the members of opposition must shew, what I believe they will find it extremely difficult to do, that they have integrity to wish, talents to devise, and ability to execute such measures as are calculated to promote the honour of the crown, the glory of the empire, and the happiness of their countrymen. As they have not afforded us, during the whole of their infamous administration, a solitary instance of disposition or ability to realize these principles, we have a right to infer, that if every one of them were to live to the age of Methuselah, it would not be possible for men of their habits, mode of thinking and acting, to reverse the unfavourable opinion universally entertained of them by their fellow-subjects. Their impeachment, however, will cause the strokes of tyranny and cruelty which they have inflicted to recoil upon themselves; and if the honourable and virtuous member, who intends to move this necessary prosecution; or, if any member, who nobly means to support it, wish to be instructed in the most equitable mode of conducting an impeachment, I need only request, that they will take a leaf out of the volume of proceedings against lord Wellesley—a circumstance to which the opposition cannot except, especially as they have been the authors and promoters of those proceedings; and they must be sensible of the immeasureable distance, in point of talents, wisdom, energy, and public spirit, between that great statesman, and their Lilleputian virtues.

VINDICATION OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT RELATIVE TO THE TRANSACTIONS IN OUDE.

> "Reformation should never be *delayed*, as there is no *certainty* in the affairs of this world, and chance in a moment *overturns* the wisest projects of human discernment. The *best defence* against *all* enemies is to secure the allegiance and attachment of our subjects by attending to their happiness; and it will rarely be found in history that a kingdom sinks under the effects of invasion, until its power is subverted by the *defects* of an internal administration."
>
> Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Vizier, 12th Aug. 1793.

In order to enable my readers to form a full and impartial judgment upon the transactions, which are about to be discussed in parliament, I shall adopt the same simple plan of detail which I have hitherto observed in all the preceding papers relative to the administration of lord Wellesley in India—that is, I shall endeavour to place the history of each question in such a light as to render the reasonings which I shall deduce from it accessible even to those who are not versed in the politics of India, and then I shall proceed to elucidate the motives, and to justify the expediency of the measures which his lordship pursued, for the purpose of securing our interests, consolidating our power, and augmenting our resources in that quarter of the globe. The result of the inquiry will corroborate the truth of my former statements, that the marquis Wellesley has undergone a most unmerited persecution du-

ginating in spleen, malice, and ingratitude, and continued in defiance of every principle of justice, policy, and public honour.

The first point which requires our attention is, *the nature of the relation between the British power in India, and the province of Oude; and the right which the Company acquired by previous treaties to station such a military force in it, as should be judged expedient for the defence of Oude, and to establish adequate arrangements for the payment of this force.* The connection of interests between the Company and Oude became blended originally from an act of unwarrantable aggression on the part of Sujah u Dowlah, the father of the present nabob, who, not contented with affording an asylum to the perpetrators of the cruel massacre of the English at Patna, declared war against the company, in the course of which, after having been defeated by our forces at the battle of Buxar in 1764, he surrendered himself a prisoner. Notwithstanding these unjustifiable acts of hostility and aggression, the greatest lenity was shewn to Sujah u Dowlah; and *though his country had been conquered* by the company's arms, and they became, in consequence, its legitimate sovereigns, yet the whole of his territories were restored to him, with a view of evincing the moderation of our government, and of our acquiring such a degree of influence in the province of Oude, as to enable us to provide for its security, as a most important frontier of our own possessions, without our incurring any additional expense, or interfering with the civil administration of that country. As it was evident, however, that the nabob was unable to protect his own dominions, the celebrated lord Clive concluded a treaty, at Allyhabad in 1765. with him, by which it was naturally stipulated that the company should defend Oude against every enemy, and that the nabob should defray the expense of that defence. Ever since the conclusion of that treaty, the nabobs of Oude, have relied upon the company *exclusively* for the *defence* of their country; and for the support of their government; and have since submitted to further arrangements which are printed, and by which their independence upon the British power becomes still more obvious. Lord Teignmouth, who was for several years governor-general of India, and whose long residence in that country, whose knowledge also of the manners, customs, and languages of the natives renders him a most competent judge of the policy best adapted to promote the British interests in that quarter, has declared that, "the government of Oude, both in the opinions of the natives of the country, as well as externally, is considered a *dependency upon the English, whatever its relation under treaties may be.* Scindiah referred the institute of Vizier Ally Khaun by his majesty to the governor-general; and there are many respectable families in Lucknow, who live under the protection of the British influence. In the estimation of the natives of India, the kingdom of Oude is held as a *gift* from the company to Sujah u Dowlah, *as a dependent fief.* We are so implicated in our connection with Oude, that *we cannot withdraw from it*, and we are so situated in it, that *without a decisive influence in its administration, we cannot have any security.*"*

The present nabob of Oude, also called the nabob Vizier, and who is the eldest surviving son of Sujah u Dowlah, succeeded to the government of Oude, on the 21st of January, 1798.—I call it the government of Oude, because the nabob is erroneously termed an independent prince. He is vizier of the empire, and an *officer* of the Mogul, holding the office of *Soubahder* or lord lieutenant of Oude, and he was placed in that situation by lord Teignmouth who *deposed* Vizier Alli, the adopted son of the late nabob; upon the principles first, of our *right* to interfere in the affairs of the family of Sujah u Dowlah; secondly, of the *necessity* of *interference* in consequence of the bad qualities and mal-administration of the vizir Alli, and lastly, of the preferable *claim* of the present nabob, upon the justice of which, the British government asserted the *exclusive right* of forming an unlimited judgment. At the time of placing the present nabob in this office, lord Teignmouth made a *new* arrangement, known by the name of the treaty of 1798, according to which, the subsidy was augmented from 693,750l. to 950,000l. under an expressed stipulation that if it should be necessary to increase the number of the British troops in Oude beyond 15,000 men, the nabob should be charged with the actual cost of the excess; and upon the same principle, if the number of troops should be less than 8,000 men, a proportionate reduction should be made from the subsidy. It was

* Vide printed papers Num. 1. page 15.

also stipulated, that if the subsidy *should fall into arrear*, the nabob should give such *security* "for the discharge of the existing arrears, and the *future regular payment* of the subsidy as should be deemed satisfactory."

It is evident, from the peculiar nature of our connection with Oude, and indeed Lord Teignmouth, who framed the treaty of 1798, has declared himself to the same effect in his evidence before the house of commons, that the *right* of determining the amount of the force necessary for the defence of the nabob's dominions, whether upon the ground of immediate or *contingent* danger, was *vested* in the company, and in fact existed independently of the nabob's *consent*, and even in opposition to his will. Lord Teignmouth's treaty also establishes the obligation of the nabob to defray the expense of this force. Now though it be not expressly stipulated that the right is vested exclusively in the company, yet, being bound to defend Oude against *all* its enemies, the engagement would be rug[illegible] if the company could not determine *when* and to *what amount* it might be necessary to *augment* the forces ordinarily employed for that purpose. On the one hand, the *existence* of Oude depends *absolutely* upon the *company's* power; and on the other, the *safety* of Oude is *indispensibly necessary* to the safety of our provinces: nor is it possible to abandon our connection with that state, without exposing our own interest to imminent hazard. It is also evident that the nabob was bound to defray the expenses of such additional troops as the company might station in his province, since the company could not be under any obligation to assist the nabob at *its own prejudice*, which certainly would be the case, unless the nabob's obligation to defray the expense be admitted. Lord Teignmouth has remarked, first, "that the treaty of 1798 leaves the *nature* of the *secur*[illegible] to be *demanded* by the company at THEIR OPTION;" and secondly, that [illegible]y "*authorizes* an *interference* on the part of the company, if it should [illegible], as far as may be expedient for the important object of securing the [illegible] of the subsidy." No doubt, therefore can be entertained of the justice, and political obligation of the *interference* of the British government in the Oude, which interference has, in fact, been the regular and uniform practery government *sanctioned* and *ordered* by the company from the commence- our connection with Oude to the present day. The truth of this assertion proved by referring to the public correspondence of the company and to the [illegible]ce of lord Teignmouth. Indeed, it is not possible that the connection between [illegible]wo parties could have existed without the power of inteference on our part. nabob *depended* upon the company for the support of his government against *all* enemies; and the company depended upon the nabob for a great portion of the [illegible]ources requisite for defraying their military expenditures. Besides, as lord [illegible]eignmouth has justly observed, it was well known throughout India, that the na-[illegible]ob's family are entirely *indebted* to the generosity of the East India company for the dominions which they now possess, and consequently that the company are *responsible* for the character and system of the nabob's government, as well as for the general happiness of his people. From all these views, the interference of the East India company in the affairs of Oude became indispensibly necessary, and has been uniformly practised by their government. As the company were liable to be engaged in military operations, for the suppression of rebellion in Oude, the British government was equally warranted for its own sake as well as for the security of the nabob, to provide that the general administration of the nabob's affairs should not occasion any ground for rebellion; and as the resources for the payment of a great part of their military expenses depended upon the conduct of the nabob of Oude, it was not less the interest and the *duty* of the company to take care that the country which was to furnish those resources should not be subjected to dilapidation, nor injured by a ruinous system of domestic mismanagement. Above all, it must be admitted by our philanthropic reformers, that the British government would have neglected its duty, if it had suffered the national character which has ever been distinguished for humanity, to have been endangered by the acts of the nabob, or, if it had neglected to interfere in all measures wherein their character might be affected, since, in the event of any resistance to them, on the part of the people, the consequence must have been the employment of our troops in support of the nabob's government.

Having thus explained the nature of the relation between the British government in India and the nabob of Oude; having established beyond the power of doubt or dispute, the right of the company to interfere in the concerns of Oude; having also shewn that this right is an emanation from the treaty concluded by lord Teignmouth, and that the company are bound by it according to every principle of moral and political obligation for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties, I shall proceed in the next place to examine

The interpretation of the company's rights in relation to Oude, as given either by the governments of India which preceded lord Wellesley's administration, and by the court of directors.

In the letter from the court of directors to the governor-general in council, dated 31st July 1787, (printed papers No. 2,) the court observes:

"One thing is clear, *the defence of Oude* MUST *be provided for.* If, therefore, the Cawnpore brigade be not equal to such defence, either the vizier's own troops *must* be reformed so as to make them serviceable, or another detachment of the company's troops *must* be stationed in the country, the additional expense of which he may be enabled to defray by reducing his own useless troops."

"The principles on which lord Cornwallis as early as the year 1787 considered that it would be mutually expedient to *continue* the connection between Oude and the company are, "that on our part we shall totally abstain from interference in the management of the revenues, commerce, and internal government of Oude; but with the entire conduct of all political business, shall *undertake its defence against all enemies whatever;* and on the other side, that *every civil and military expense necessarily incurred by the company* in the country of Oude, shall be defrayed by the vizier."

Nor are the court of directors less positive; for they observe in their letter to Bengal, dated 8th April, 1789, that "by lord Cornwallis's minute of the 20th April, 1787, the Bengal government do not conceive themselves *precluded* from *making representations* to the Nabob on the subject of his administration, *whenever* the government might *think* it *necessary*, or from proposing such general arrangements as should appear likely to contribute to the prosperity of both governments."

In a letter to the Vizier, dated 29th January, 1793, lord Cornwallis maintains these principles in their widest extent; for he states to the Nabob, that "*although the company's subsidy was then paid up with regularity*, yet that he could not risk his reputation, nor neglect his duty, by remaining a silent spectator of evils, which would in the end, and perhaps *that end is not very remote*, render abortive even the Nabob's earnest desire that the subsidy should be punctually paid."

In the same letter lord Cornwallis observes, "that the nabob must be aware that such is our close connection, that every chief in India must consider the two states as forming *one* power; and that he flattered himself that the nabob set that value on the company's friendship that would induce him to listen to their counsels in a manner, that might *render unnecessary any other measures on the part of the company for their own security and defence.*"

The opinion of lord Teignmouth appears to have been equally clear with regard to the company's rights. In the political letter from the governor-general in council to the court of directors, dated 12th May, 1795, his lordship observes, "that there was an assurance which he (Mr. Cherry, the British resident) made to the nabob, as the court would observe from his recital, that the government thought it proper to notice, '*that unless asked, it was the governor-general's firm resolve not to intrude his recommendations upon him.*' The Bengal government considered this declaration not only *unguarded*, but *inconsistent* with the *strong recommendations already pressed* upon the vizier by marquis Cornwallis, and *enforced* by the governor-general. The government of Bengal was also apprehensive that if the vizier should think proper to take advantage of it (a circumstance to be apprehended from his habits and disposition), it would add to the embarrassments attending any *future remonstrances* the government might be *compelled* to make on the subject of *reform in his administration.*"

The conduct of the government of Bengal, upon this occasion, was *highly appro*
by the court of directors, in their political letter to Bengal, dated 22d April.
The court express their "surprise at what is stated in the resident's let
5th March, 1795, relative to the unaccountable opinion entertained b

1796.
er of the
the vizier

that there exists in himself an interest *separate* from his government. It was perfectly proper, the court observes, to do away the effect of the assurance which Mr. Cherry unguardedly made to the vizier, '*that unless asked, the governor-general would not intrude his recommendation upon his excellency.*' On the contrary, under the intimate connection which at present subsists between the vizier and the company, we deem it to be your *indispensable duty* to INTERFERE whenever it shall be deemed necessary, not only with advice, but *with remonstrances*, in order to bring about *that effectual reform in his administration*, without which, both his and the company's affairs must be *constantly exposed to embarrassment.*"

I have now shewn the rights of the company under its general relation towards the state of Oude, and the practice of the governments of India, as well as of the court of directors before the epoch of lord Wellesley's administration; the third branch of the question which I shall examine comprehends

The necessity for the exercise of those rights during lord Wellesley's government in India.

Shortly after the marquis Wellesley's arrival in India, in 1798, Zemaun Shah publicly declared his intention to invade Hindustan, for the purpose of *subverting* the nabob's authority in Oude; and a negociation between Tippoo Sultaun and the French government was detected, which soon produced the necessity of a war with the hostile and formidable power of Mysore. At the same time vizier Alli, the deposed rival of the nabob, having murdered Mr. Cherry and several other gentlemen at Benares, made his escape from the company's provinces, and general confusion was apprehended in every part of the country of Oude. In this dangerous crisis of affairs, when the adoption of military arrangements for the defence of Oude had become necessary, the nabob declared that his troops were not only *inefficient*, but that *no reliance* could be placed on their *fidelity;* that in the day of battle they would render more service to the *enemy* than to their *ally;* and that he could entrust, neither the defence of his country, nor even the *safety of his person*, to their protection.* Accordingly, he demanded two battalions of British troops to *protect his person against his own guards, in the centre of his own capital*, at the very moment when those battalions *were required upon the frontier to oppose the enemy.*

But this was not all. The British general, sir James Craig, whose opinion is entitled to the highest respect, represented the nabob's troops to be "*worse than useless, to be dangerous, and to be as much an object of apprehension, as an enemy's fortress in his rear;*" and, at the same time that they possessed all these bad qualities, they were an excessive burthen upon the nabob's finances, and precluded the *possibility* of any *reform* in the nabob's civil government, or *any melioration of the condition of his people.*

In such a perplexing state of affairs, what was the line of conduct most proper for lord Wellesley to have adopted? Was it not his duty, even if he had not received any orders from the company at home, to remove an evil of such magnitude as the existence of a military force without discipline, and without attachment to the nabob, as well as to make a vigorous effort to apply an effectual reform to the military establishment of Oude? Every difficulty, however, was removed in these respects, by the *repeated* and *spontaneous* applications of the nabob himself for assistance in the reform of the troops. Lord Wellesley, therefore, commenced the revision of the existing abuses in the government of Oude, with a reduction of the nabob's troops, and a proportionate augmentation of the company's forces, and of the subsidy; the whole of which arrangement, as I shall shew in a subsequent part of this inquiry, was fully and highly approved of by the government at home, in a letter to the government of Bengal, dated December 4th, 1800, to which I request the *particular attention* of my readers.

The nabob, however, opposed great delays to the reduction of his forces, notwithstanding his sense and declaration of their inefficiency, and his renewed applications for their reform. The obvious consequence of these delays was immediately felt in an aggravated pressure on the nabob's finances, and to such an extent, that

* Vide his declarations (in the printed papers laid before the house of commons relative to Oude) to sir James Craig, and to Mr. Lumsden, the British resident at Lucknow. Vid. also sir James Craig's evidence before the house of commons.

he himself declared his apprehensions that he would find it impossible to provide for the regular payment of the subsidy. "The state of the collections," he observed to colonel Scott, then our resident at Lucknow, "is not unknown to you. You know with *what difficulties and exertions they are realized*, and hence I feel a great degree of solicitude and apprehension."—Here then I ask once more, what was the line of conduct which a sound discretion and prudence, prescribed to lord Wellesley, after the nabob had thus stated the probability of a *deficit* in the revenues of Oude, and after the British government had been fully apprized that the nabob's general resources were diminishing daily with the declining condition of his country? His lordship, I maintain, had but one line of conduct to pursue, which was, to require territorial security instead of the subsidy: and though there can be no doubt that it would have been very desirable to have obtained the nabob's concurrence to the measure, it was, nevertheless, the *duty* of the governor-general, in a case of such importance, involving interests of the greatest magnitude, to enforce, if necessary, a plan, which, in his opinion, (for after all he was the judge of its expediency, and was responsible to his country for his conduct) would be most consistent with the interests of the British nation in India, and with the interests of all the parties concerned in the fate of Oude. Influenced by these motives, lord Wellesley never ceased in urging the nabob to place the subsidiary funds beyond the *risk of failure* until he succeeded in bringing him to conclude the treaty of Lucknow in November, 1801, by which an arrangement was effected which afforded the security that was considered to be necessary for the preservation of the rights and interests which were entrusted by the company, and by the nation, to his lordship's superintendance.

The preceding observations, and the printed papers upon the table of the house of commons, particularly No. 3, and pages 6 and 18 of No. 2, demonstrate, that the demand of territorial security *originated* in the nabob's declaration of the probability that the funds for the payment of the subsidy *would fail*, and in the knowledge which the governor-general possessed, that the evils of the nabob's government, unless checked, must have been progressive, to the utter ruin of the resources of Oude, and of the company's interests in that province. Under the first circumstance, the nabob was bound by treaty *to provide security* for the payment of the subsidy; but the *claim* of the British government did not rest *solely* upon the stipulation of the treaty of 1798. The security of the nabob's government, and the safety of Oude itself, in which the company's dominions were immediately implicated, required that the funds for the payment of the troops should be placed beyond the risk to which they were liable, as long as the territories from which those funds were to be drawn remained in the hands, and under the management, of the nabob and his officers. In short, as I have already observed, the security of Oude is indispensably necessary to the security of our provinces. "It is not possible, therefore," as lord Wellesley has stated with great truth and eloquence, "for the British government to leave that country to become the victim of evil counsels, and the prey of our enemies, without exposing *our own safety* to imminent hazard. The connection with Oude, therefore, must be maintained on such principles as shall render that connection conformable to the spirit of our original engagements for its protection, and shall secure to the British government the *important frontier* of Oude, under such circumstances, as shall render it an *effectual barrier* against an enemy."

Here I close this part of the discussion respecting lord Wellesley's conduct in relation to the affairs of Oude. In my next, I shall exhibit the advantages of this arrangement, and the complete sanction which it received from the government at home.

HISTORICAL.

Since our last review of foreign affairs, intelligence has been received from the different scenes of action, which confirms every part of my observations relative to the war in Turkey. The capitan pacha, who, in the usual style of French bombast, was about to sweep the combined British and Russian squadrons from the

mouth of the Dardanelles, had not advanced farther than Gallipoli, in the month of April. Nor has the land army of Turkey been more successful in its operations than the fleet; for, according to an article from Constantinople, recorded even in the lying journals of France, "the news from Servia is not very pleasant; the insurgents have made themselves masters of Nissa, and barbarously murdered (that is, comfortably placed *hors de combat*) M. Bertrin," a French scoundrel, who had been sent by Buonaparte to *assist* the Turks in their operations. In Constantinople, the apprehension of famine is general, and the latest accounts promise, that it will be delectably realized. According to the latest accounts from Servia, the operations of the army, commanded by Czerni Georges, has been remarkably successful over the Turkish forces.

While Czerni Georges pursued, on the road to Sophia, the advanced Turkish guard, which I stated in my last number that he had defeated on the 2nd, the column of 5000 men, which he left behind him at Nissa, and which was reinforced 2000 more, invested the place, and constructed redoubts, in the erection of which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages were employed. When the works were completed, Milloje-Petrowich, commanding the Servian corps, placed nineteen pieces of cannon and some mortars on them. On the 3d, in the morning, the Servians began to fire upon the town; the Turks answered it vigorously. At two o'clock the garrison made a sortie at several points, and attacked the redoubts. The Servians suffered the Turks to approach within 200 paces of the batteries: they then began so vigorous a discharge of Artillery and musketry on them, that they were obliged to retreat. On the 4th, about six in the evening, 600 Turks made a fresh sortie, but the Servian cavalry coming up immediately, charged them so vigorously, that they were again obliged to retreat. The cannonade was kept up in the mean time with great vivacity on both sides.

The general in chief Czerni Georges, having advanced, as we before said, towards Sophia, in pursuit of the enemy's advanced guard, arrived, on the morning of the 6th of April, near Dragoman. He divided his army into three columns, with the intention of taking Sophia by main force; to march afterwards to Lowack, come upon the rear of the Turkish army, and effect a junction with the Russians, who had already taken post at Rudschuk. On the evening of the 6th, he learned that the Ottoman army of reserve, under the command of Ismail Pacha, marched on the 2nd from Philippoli; that it had advanced towards Sophia, and was joined by the advanced guard. On the 7th in the morning, Czerni Georges reconnoitred in person, for the purpose of ascertaining the force and position of the enemy. Convinced of their superiority, he determined to retreat, and made preparations for that purpose. At 11 at night he was informed, by his spies, that the Turkish army, 70,000 strong, was to march next morning, at day-break, in seven columns, to attack him. Three columns were to advance towards Sophia, two others towards Belitza, and two towards Saribrad, for the purpose of turning the Servian army. Czerni Georges also received intelligence from Melenko-Stoik, apprizing him that he could not advance towards Widdin to support him. The general in chief, therefore, began his march, with all his troops, divided into five columns. On the 8th, he arrived at Xerta, and after halting for some time, he continued his route by Missoratz towards Bagno. In the mean time, the Turkish general advanced, at day-break on the 7th, with his whole army, towards the position of the Servians, but what was his surprise when he discovered, that the latter had abandoned their camp. He instantly dispatched all his cavalry in pursuit of them, and followed with the remainder of the army. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the Turks, they were not able to come up with the Servians. On the 12th, in the evening, Czerni Georges arrived at Bagno. He caused his troops to take an advantageous position between Alexinza and Nissa, upon a line of pretty good extent. Ismail Pacha, with his army, arrived on the 13th in the afternoon, near Chivona. In the evening there were several smart skirmishes between the Servian corps which attacked Nissa, and the Turkish cavalry.

The general in chief, Czerni Georges, having begun his retreat on the 7th of April, ordered Milloje Petrowich, commanding the corps that beseiged Nissa, to invest

the place closer, and to make the greatest exertions to obtain possession of it. He, therefore, caused some heavy artillery to be brought from Kurvingurad, and on the 12th in the morning, he began a vigorous cannonade and bombardment against the town. The fire was kept up until the evening of the 13th, and a great number of houses were destroyed and damaged. The approach of the Turkish army, however, under Ismail Pacha, compelled Czerni to change his plan. He ordered Milloje Petrowich instantly to raise the seige, destroy all the redoubts which he had thrown up about it, and to fall back towards Brakul. These orders were carried into execution on the night of the 13th, and Milloje Petrowich effected a junction on the 14th, with the division of the commander Obradowick, who was encamped on the left of the Niew. Czerni Georges then applied himself to prevent the junction of the army of Ismail Pacha with the corps of Kusanzi Ali. By the advice of the commander of the infantry, he did not allow the first time to take a position; and on the 14th, at day-break, he attacked it at three points, between Schinova and Mitroviza. After a battle, which lasted till one in the afternoon, the Ottoman troops were obliged to retreat. A column of 6000 men was cut off, and almost entirely destroyed. The loss on both sides in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 7000 men. The Servians took several pieces of cannon, two stand of colours, and thirty ammunition waggons. They owe their success on this day principally to the rapid and steady movements of their army.

Further advices from Semendria say, that Ismail Pacha withdrew towards Belgraica, and that he has taken a position extending from Widden towards Nissa. Czerni Georges had been joined by the corps of Melenko-Stoik, which was near Gladowa. Milloje Petrowich also joined him with the corps under his orders. From the 25th to the 30th of April, the armies made different movements, and every thing announced that an engagement would soon take place, Kusanzi Ali was still behind Gladowa with 10,000 men, without being able to effect a junction with Ismail Pacha.

At length, the articles of capitulation of Dantzic have reached this country, and it appears from them that the valiant garrison have obtained such honourable terms as will enable them *immediately* to enter upon public duty, though they cannot take the field against the enemy. Amongst the state papers the reader will find the articles of capitulation, and it will be perceived, from the docility with which all general Kalkreuth's proposals were accepted, that the French are not in such a commanding situation, as their journalists constantly state. The fortress of Neisse capitulated on the 1st of June, after a very gallant and vigorous resistance. Buonaparte seems to be so delighted with his success, that he has thought it necessary to diffuse over France a few pious lies for the good of the faithful. The following letter was addressed by the ruffian to the archbishops and bishops of France, on the occasion of the reduction of Dantzic:

"After the memorable battle of Eylau, which terminated the last campaign, the enemy, driven forty leagues from the Vistula, was no longer able to support Dantzic. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season we commenced the siege; and, forty days after the trenches were opened, this important place has fallen to the power of our arms. The efforts of the enemy to succour it were defeated, and victory constantly followed our banners. Immense magazines of provisions and of artillery, and the reduction of one of the riches cities in the world, to our power, are the *debut* of the campaign. We cannot but ascribe this success, so rapid and so signal, to that especial protection of which Divine Providence has given us so many proofs. It is our pleasure that, on the receipt of this, you assemble our people, and offer solemn thanksgiving to the God of Armies, praying that he will continue to favour our arms, and to watch over the happiness of our country; that they may also pray, that that cabinet which persecutes our Holy Religion, as much as it is the eternal enemy of our nation, may no longer influence the cabinets of the continent, to the end that a solid and glorious peace, worthy of the great nation, shall console humanity, and enable us to realise our intentions for the good of religion, and the prosperity of our people. This letter is only to that end, and we pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"In our camp, in Finkenstein, 28th May, 1807."

The proclamation of general Blucher, which I have inserted below, shews, that the king of Sweden is firmly resolved to abide by those sacred principles for the conservation of Europe, which have marked his character since the commencement of the great struggle in behalf of human kind. Below is his proclamation, and beyond that, the history of continental affairs affords nothing worthy of record.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL BLUCHER.

"His majesty the king of Prussia, my sovereign, has entrusted me with the command of a corps of Prussian troops, which, united to the Swedish forces, is about to commence its operations against the enemies of our country, under the command in chief of the king of Sweden.

"If, on the one hand, the just cause of the king, our sovereign, is courageously supported by great and powerful allies; so, on the other hand, the cries of our oppressed and suffering country summon every Prussian to its defence.

"The moment of undertaking this is at length arrived; and I therefore now call upon all patriotic Prussians, who are capable of military service, whether residing in Prussia or in foreign countries, and armed or unarmed, as circumstances may permit, to repair to the corps under my command, where every one will be duly received, maintained, and advanced, and there co-operate in attaining the great and sublime end before us.

"Inhabitants of the Prussian monarchy! Recollect the state of your country, when, not one, but many enemies, made war against it, during seven long years. Be mindful of the glory of your ancestors, who were its brave and victorious defenders; shew yourselves worthy of them; and learn, like them, to conquer or die!

Stralsund, 1st June, 1807.

"BLUCHER."

NOTICE.

The last letter to the electors of the united empire must be postponed till the next week, that I may have an opportunity of seeing to what extent rascality will extend on this day, Friday.

THE THEORY OF MONEY.

The following letter is the introduction to a discussion upon a most intricate and repulsive subject; and its pressing importance I have thought sufficient to warrant its insertion in this week's Review. But, whether the author's opinions be right or wrong, or whether I shall support or oppose his doctrines, will be a subject of future consideration. In the mean time, he reasons so acutely, and the general interest that must be excited by the examination of a subject, in which the commercial prosperity of this country is deeply involved, call for the sober attention of my readers. I shall give my own remarks upon his principles, after they shall have been fully submitted to the public.

Sir,—It certainly is a matter of astonishment, that in an age like the present, when so many great discoveries have been made, and the principles of so many of the arts and sciences developed, no rational or consistent "theory of money" has ever yet been given; and that more especially in a country where the practical uses and employment of money are so well known, and so universally followed. I have often reflected upon this. Some years ago, when I first wished to acquire information on the subject, I read sir James Stewart, and Dr. Adam Smith, both excellent works, but with neither of their theories of money was I satisfied. The restriction on the bank of England, was a new æra in the history of money, and ought to have given rise to some new views thereof. Mr. Thornton's work was certainly an excellent practical treatise; but he gives no theory. Lord King's was a specious work, and very much calculated to lead superficial readers astray; and the other writers of that time, being servile copiers of his lordship, only tended to make things darker. I happened to be in Dublin, in spring, 1804, just when the high

rate of exchange with this country was the general topic; much was said and wrote upon it to very little purpose; at last it attracted the attention of the legislature, and a committee of the house of commons was appointed to inspect into it; and from them a full solution of the ænigma was expected. Their report was, therefore, anxiously looked for; it came forth, *et nascitur mus*. Being thus disappointed in my expectations from others, I was induced to turn my own thoughts towards the subject; and at length I had reason to believe that I had been so fortunate as to stumble upon the groundwork, or true principle, upon which a theory of money ought to be established; and which, like many other discoveries, appears very simple when known; indeed, so very much so, that I am surprised that it had not before occurred to many abler writers on the subject. That it was just, I was convinced, because, upon trial, I found that all the difficulties regarding the different operations of gold and silver coin, paper-money, and exchange, which had so much puzzled the writers on these subjects, might by it be completely solved. Diffident of my own abilities, however, I hesitated giving my "theory of money" to the public, until it had the sanction of men acquainted with the subject. Having occasion to come to London lately, I took the opportunity of shewing it to such, and was gratified by finding it met their approbation; in consequence, I began arranging it for publication, in a small pamphlet; when sauntering one day through the street, my eyes were attracted by a bookseller's window, where I saw a huge quarto, inscribed, an "Essay on the Theory of Money and Commerce;" and I immediately conceived my work forestalled: to be certain, however, I walked in, and asked for a sight of the essay; and, after running over the table of contents, I dipt into several parts of the work itself, when a very few glances served to convince me, that although the author has abused all other writers on the subject, yet he himself is as ignorant of what I conceive to be the true principles, as any of them. This is an additional reason for my endeavouring to set the public right in so important a point; but it has caused me to alter my mode of publishing; and, instead of giving the work to the world by itself, I have resolved to steal it into notice through the medium of a respectable periodical publication, which will have two good effects; it will, at once, insure a much more extended circulation than could otherways be expected; and if, upon inspection, my ideas be found erroneous, they will, at least, have the merit of having cost the public nothing. If, therefore, sir, you deem the following essay worthy a place in your work, you will oblige me much by inserting it just as it suits your convenience.

In all countries the least civilized, or where the distinction of individual property was known, the intercourse between man and man, in the interchange of commodities, has been carried on by the intervention of coins, generally made of the precious metals, and which have been called "money, or the circulating medium." The farther advanced a county becomes in civilization, the more necessary is a well regulated "circulating medium" to that country: in Great Britain, therefore, where manufactures and commerce have advanced to so great a pitch, and where the political existence of the country depends so much upon them, it must be of the highest consequence; on this account it might naturally be concluded, that, not only the practical use of the different kinds of "money, or circulating medium," was completely understood in this country, but that the true theory upon which their various operations are founded, had been long before this, investigated and explained: how surprising then is it, that no real "theory of money" has yet been given to the public! All the writers on this subject, hitherto appear to have amused themselves with speculations on the practical part; and, having no fixed principle laid down whereon to found these speculations, their different conclusions have been as opposite to one another, as east is to west; in consequence the subject has been daily more and more involved in obscurity. To endeavour to dispel this darkness, it is proposed in the following essay,

1st. To state what appears to be the groundwork, or true first principle upon which the existence of "money, or a circulating medium," depends.

2d. To shew the nature and properties of coins, and their connection with the first principle.

3d. To show the nature and properties of paper money, and its connection with the first principle.

4th. To lay down the true theory of exchange, or connection with foreign countries, which is also founded on the first principle, and which will be illustrated, by an explanation of the real cause of the late high exchange with Ireland.

ON MILITARY PRESENTS AND COMPLIMENTS.

Sir,—I am desirous to draw your attention to the consideration of a subject connected with my profession, which I shall consider under two heads, and request the favour of you, approving of my remarks, to insert them in your valuable paper. In the first place, I shall observe that I have long regarded with dissatisfaction the custom which pretty generally prevails in the army, viz. that the officers of a corps think it necessary to shew their good opinion of a commanding officer, by voting him a sword or a handsome piece of plate, when he is about to quit their society. To the *universality* of this practice the objections are, I conceive, insurmountable, though it is difficult to foresee how the practice can be checked when it has once taken root in a regiment. For instance; I have seen an advertisement in the public papers, announcing that the rest of the officers were so well pleased with the gentlemanlike manners, &c. of the commanding officer, who was on the point of leaving them on promotion, that they should feel honoured by his acceptance of a sword or piece of plate (I forget which);—now, although I have every reason to believe that they were perfectly sincere in the kind expressions which they employed on the occasion, and that the commanding officer was fully entitled to their good wishes, I cannot help regretting the precedent thus afforded by an act of unnecessary liberality. The officer alluded to had scarcely been more than *a twelvemonth* with the regiment, and though they might in that time have discovered many good qualities which he possessed, would not the next commanding officer have reason to think himself neglected, if, after a patient attention to his duty for *two* or perhaps *three* years, he did not receive a similar mark of approbation? and would not his brother-officers, if they *had* approved of his conduct, find themselves in a distressing situation if they allowed him to leave them without this testimony of their good wishes? In either case, the difficulty would be great: all would *then* see reason to regret the establishment of the precedent, and all would be unwilling to break through it in the present instance, though their failing to do so would greatly tend to fix the continuance of the practice. It is common on these occasions to maintain that the act is voluntary, which in strictness can hardly be admitted: a member of the mess who has more money to spare, or who is more careless of what he has than the rest, inconsiderately starts the subject, and who would venture to incur the imputation of illiberality, by being the *first* to oppose him? On the contrary, whatever their real opinions may be, they appear to vie with each other in their eagerness to second the proposal; and when once the matter is decided on, the consideration of its propriety or impropriety becomes of no avail. It appears evident to me, that as the *effect* of the compliment is lost by its frequency, and as *inconveniency* is thereby occasioned to many members of the corps which makes the present, as well as to the officer who receives it, *and who is obliged by courtesy to offer one as expensive in return*, officers would do well, except under peculiar circumstances, to restrain feelings which in themselves are highly praiseworthy. I should be inclined to limit this practice, generally speaking, to instances where an officer was about to quit after having served meritoriously in a regiment fifteen or twenty years; or, I should think an honorary gift of this nature still more satisfactorily bestowed, if presented to one (no matter whether *commanding* the corps or not) who had *eminently distinguished* himself in the FIELD OF BATTLE. Some few other causes might occur, but I think not frequently.

The other part of my subject concerns the too general distribution of *praise* by officers commanding land and sea forces, when rendering an account of the result

of any warlike enterprise which has been achieved under their orders. I acknowledge that, nobly and gallantly as our soldiers and sailors always behave, the task of discrimination is a very nice one; but I think it would not be *difficult*, whereas it surely would be *desirable*, to bestow just praise on the whole as a body, and to mention by name those individuals only who have had the merit and good fortune to render themselves *strikingly* conspicuous by their valour. A general officer commanding a body of men on service, seems now to consider it part of his duty to specify distinctly by name, every officer commanding a brigade or regiment; in short, every officer at the head of a department, whatever may be his rank or peculiar services; so that in future (if this custom shall continue to prevail), a person thus situated would consider himself aggrieved if his name happened to be omitted in the report of an action. In the navy this practice appears to prevail yet more extensively; for a captain, *after mentioning the names of three or four officers* whom he considers *peculiarly* entitled by their good conduct to his warmest thanks, frequently employs words such as the following:—"in an action, in which every officer and sailor displayed the great qualities of a hero, and where all, by evincing *equal* conduct, coolness, and courage in the attack, are *equally* entitled to the highest encomiums, it might appear invidious were I to distinguish any one by particular notice. I cannot refrain, however, from pointing out the extraordinary assistance I received during the whole action, from lieutenants ——— and ———, as well as from Mr. ——— the gunner, and Messrs. ——— and ———, master's mates, who are very promising young men, and likely to prove excellent officers. Mr. ——— too, the master, rendered me the most essential service, as did lieutenants ——— and ——— of the royal marines, by the skilful disposition of their men on the poop," &c.—Sometimes acknowledging the attention of the chaplain, who was so good as to carry orders below; and not even forgetting the valiant conduct of captain ——— of the army, who happened to be taking a cruise in the ship.

As I have the honour to hold a commission in one branch of the military service, and entertain the highest possible respect for the other, I shall not, I trust, be suspected of a wish to cast the slightest reflection on the officers of either, by the foregoing remarks. The customs above alluded to have gradually become prevalent, contrary to the wishes of many commanders, who have not however had resolution, in their own cases, to set an example which many would rejoice to follow.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient humble servant,

June 11. A BRITISH SOLDIER.

YORKSHIRE ELECTION.

Sir,—The insatiable ambition of the whigs, those pretenders to liberty, has caused two changes of ministry, and two general elections; and, if not stopped, would have occasioned two revolutions. They complained of delapidated revenues, and talked of economy and reform, and then lavished away the public money in jobs, pensions, new-created places for their hangers-on, as is fully proved in the Couriers for the sixth and eighth of June. They next attempted, though in vain, by further unasked profusion, to bribe and bias the navy, the army, and the royal dukes. Besides all this, the two changes of ministry have been said, I know not how truly, to cost the nation 800,000l.; and the expense it has been put to by the two elections is perfectly incalculable, as we may judge by what it cost the aristocracy to cram lord Milton down the throats of the commons of Yorkshire, though the latter alone had any right to send their representative to the commons' house. Whigs seem to have as great a contempt for the constitution as Oliver Cromwell had, by the flagrant interference of whig ministers, and whig peers in elections, and by suffering an infant to sit in parliament, contrary to law, &c. and yet I dare say, when it suits them, we shall again hear them talking about the constitution! Much has been said about "the rape of the infant;" we have now witnessed the equally illegal "elevation of the infant." I do not blame this younker for being a boy, but for being a presumptuous boy—for presuming, eight days out of his nonage, to "*think*," that the church is not sufficiently in danger, but "that *more liberty might be granted to papists and dissenters*;" and for daring, at such an age,

to reflect upon his venerable sovereign for dismissing a mischievous ministry, and recalling a persecuted servant. Heaven preserve both church and king from the tutors and instructors of this young gentleman! It may be hoped, however, that the purse of the aristocracy has been so well sweated on the present occasion, that, if Yorkshiremen are but true to themselves, they may have an early opportunity of shaking off so disgraceful, so unconstitutional, and, as recent events have shewn, so dangerous a controul.

——I had written thus far when the papers brought me the triumph of the aristocracy, at the crown and anchor tavern, on their having imposed what they call *independence* on the county of York. It is a little singular that this should just come across me as I had finished what I merely intended as a digression on this subject —however I shall obey the omen, and, postponing the subject I was going to write upon, I shall endeavour to follow them by a cool and attentive examination of what they have to say for themselves, as detailed in the Courier of June 15.

The chairman was a Mr. Fawkes, which is somewhat similar to *For*, or *Faux*, both which are sounds very ominous to this country. He sets off with a touch of loyalty for which we do not thank him, as the party appeared more honest and undisguised when they forbad, at their whig-clubs, the drinking the health of our beloved sovereign. Next came some swaggering words about "the splended political victory, which is proud matter of triumph to all who *feel interested* in the great cause which our noble friend has espoused, &c." i.e. to the party itself. Then we are told, that "the rival candidates were *equally good*." (a remarkable concession). "No vice, no folly marked the character of either." No vice or folly can be greater than the attempt to unhinge and subvert the most wise and approved constitutions and governments, or to endanger the soundest branch of christianity upon earth, merely through selfish ambition, and lust of power—are both the candidates equally free from this great vice?—"And both, I believe," Mr. F. says, "thoroughly independent in principle and conduct." Now no man is more slavishly dependent than a thorough party-man; all his actions, words, thoughts, and dreams, are occupied in pushing himself and his party into power and profit—as, *ecce signum*, the very meeting we are speaking of—but were both candidates equal in this respect? There is, however, one most important inequality between the *good man* and the *good boy*, which Mr. Fawkes himself has generously pointed out. "Their former representative, he says, was known to have transacted their business, for ten years, with the greatest ability;" and his integrity was granted before, so that they stand self-condemned for opposing and depriving the country of so excellent a statesman. "Whereas, of the new candidate's pretensions they were perfectly ignorant, and he was industriously represented to them as a *jacobin stripling*, intimately leagued with a desperate faction, whose avowed and dangerous aim it was to undermine the religion of their country, and to convert their king into a cypher."—True—the concurring testimony of nine tenths of the kingdom have loudly and most feelingly proclaimed, in their loyal and patriotic addresses, that there is, indeed, "a desperate faction, whose avowed and dangerous aim it is, to undermine the religion of their country, and to convert their king into a cypher." The only difficulty is to find out why this great and undeniable truth is wilfully brought forward by one of the leaders of this very faction. It is meant, it seems, to

"Prove truth, to be a liar,"

or to shew that this obvious truth is proved to be an untruth by the votes of 11,177 Yorkshire electors!!! because they could not have voted thus upon any other principle.—O ho—that is the case, is it? Come then ye jacobins of the greatest county in England—and, through the concurrence of Foxite exertions, such persons are said to be abundant in every county. Come ye dupes of whiggish harangues and artifices—and ye who became a prey to the numerous hosts of attornies, &c. that were every where posted to entrap, intoxicate, overawe, and mislead the weak and unwary into the ranks of the new-fledged candidate. I will not insult, by calling upon them, those very numerous vassals of the aristocracy who would have voted otherwise, had they been at liberty—but come all the rest, and learn from Mr. F. what your conduct has proved—it has proved that the faction is *beloved in Yorkshire*; and, that "*the church of England is to them an almost*

extinguished principle of bigotry and superstition!!!——But I own, I am tired of Mr. Fawkes, and so perhaps are your readers; I shall, therefore, proceed to the next speech, which is that of the "good boy" himself.

While other boys at school learn the use of words, our "good boy," it seems, has learnt the abuse of them also, for which the correction of a Flagellifer will not be improper. With an astonishing *modesty* he sets off thus: "When I became a candidate for the high and distinguished station, in which the GOOD SENSE and *public spirit* of Yorkshire has placed me, I stood forward to vindicate the late administration from the calumnies so industriously propagated against them." To see the evils this country has suffered, and the still greater ones it was threatened with by the late most dangerous and detestable administration is needless—the people know them well. But though our political youth be blind to these, he can see in the next sentence more than any man can see, and that is, that the present ministers have violated the constitution, though he does not tell us how! Next comes the false assertion, that the new ministers are actuated by ambition, though, in fact, they were called almost reluctantly to the helm; and the noble and glorious spirit that is exerted to keep out popery, is perversely branded as an attempt "to provoke a recurrence of the riots in 1780." The next stroke of "the good boy's" oratory is levelled personally at his opponent "the good man." "Mr. Lascelles," he says, "ascribes his failure to the animosity of the clothiers; and I really believe, gentlemen, that he is the first man that ever assigned his own unpopularity as the ground of his defeat." But Mr. Lascelles only complains of the *unjust* prejudice he labours under from very false impressions received of him by the clothiers, "a prejudice that has been studiously, and too successfully, fomented by lord Milton's party." (See p. 496.) This may be called an electioneering manœuvre; but, at a time that the country is brought to the brink of ruin by the late weak, wicked, and execrable administration, it is doubly to be lamented—first, by robbing the country of so excellent a supporter, and secondly, by substituting a youth of the very worst political principles in his place.

The remainder of this juvenile harangue relates to a curious kind of non-descript *independence*, which I will endeavour to make something of if I can, and then request your permission to defer, once more, the remainder of this discussion to a future opportunity. He ascribes his victory, in course, to the independence of his voters. It is observable, that the more false the pretence is, the more likely it is to be produced. But our young gentleman is not content with the common vulgar independence; his must have one of a novel and dashing kind, of his own inventing. "When I make use of the word independence," says he, "I do not mean that hackneyed sense in which it is too often used at elections for purposes of imposture. No, I mean an independence of mind, of character, and of station." The word is, indeed, terribly hackneyed and abused at elections; but the reader need only turn back to your pages, 466, 467, and 468, to be convinced that it was never more vilely prostituted than in the present instance. Independence of *station* his great supporters certainly have—it is not, however, a virtue in them, but a vice, when it is used, as in the present case, to enslave others. Did the duke of Norfolk, for instance, drive down to Sheffield to promote independence? But independence of *character* and of *mind* I cannot allow them, for I have proved above, that these do not consist with party men. Our youthful senator seems here to ascribe the independence of *station* and *character* to his high friends, or the nobility, and that of *mind* to his low friends, or the *mobility*—but then this is some new species of independence of mind. The old hackneyed sense of the word was, a freedom of thought, of judgment, and of the will, which, all of them, belong to the mind; but this, it seems, is something very different. What can it be? It might puzzle a Locke to decypher it, even in this *enlightened age*. I will be vain enough to venture one conjecture however. *Mental* independence then may be, possibly, used in allusion or in opposition to *bodily* independence. But the question returns again, What is bodily independence? Now, *independence of the body* ought, in propriety of language, to mean *the state or quality of not being hanged*. Hence, in allusion to this, *independance of mind* might be used to mean, *the state or quality of not deserving to be hanged*. If this be the case, as it will be readily allowed me, that many, very many,

of the "good boy's" voters do not possess this independence of mind; it is a very great pity that they should any longer retain their independence of body.

AJAX FLAGELLIFER.

P.S. To give his boy-lordship a right idea in general of the independence of the *best part* of his voters, i.e. of such of the middle ranks, or gentlemen, that polled for him, I will relate an anecdote which may teach him a lesson. A little before the close of the poll I was in a large public company, where one gentleman only was a Yorkshire voter, and had polled for lord Milton. Every mouth was open against him, and he defended himself as well as he could, by an affected jocularity. Some time afterwards, meeting the same gentleman alone, I said to him, "I am extremely sorry, sir, for your Yorkshire triumph—it is a severe stroke upon your country, and its constitution." "Well," said he, "but now I will tell you between ourselves, that I lay under a private and personal obligation, which compelled me to do as I did." This he explained, and added, "otherwise I assure you, sir, *I despise and detest their politics as much as you can do.*"—These were his very words—and so I heartily wish his lordship joy of the independence of all his electors, from the highest to the lowest.

THE YORKSHIRE ELECTION.

An Answer to the two Letters of Verax and Hampden in the 24th No. of this Volume.

Sir,—although I differ from you in political opinions, yet I give you credit for the utmost candour, and I have little doubt, therefore, of your inserting in your next number, the comments which I now send, on two letters relative to the Yorkshire election, printed in your last week's review; and to these I add a word or two on your own remarks upon the conclusion of that event.

That Mr. Yorke, who a week or two back, elated with the temporary success of Mr. Lascelles, triumphantly predicted that this gentleman "would give the Wentworth Infant the go-by," should eagerly grasp at every straw of consolation in the sad reverse of fortune which has since occurred, is not to be wondered at; and yet, methinks, it would have been more to the credit of his temper and his judgment, if he had made some inquiry as to the accuracy of his correspondent's statements, before he had so positively asserted, on no better grounds than their anonymous informative, "that every thing connected with meanness, duplicity, trick, and corruption, has been exerted by the friends of lord Milton." It shall be my aim, by a few remarks on the communications of Verax and Hampden, who seem to be your sole informants on this head, to show, that you were somewhat too hasty in drawing such a conclusion from their inaccurate and unfounded assertions. The first passage of Verax's letter, on which I shall comment, is the following: "During the first ten days Mr. Lascelles was supported by a decided majority of the most *respectable* freeholders of this great county." Here is a wilful falsehood at the very outset. The 2d, 3d, and 4th, days of polling, Lord Milton, had a decided majority over Mr. Lascelles, and at the close of the 4th day was 260 a head of him: and if Verax (how appropriate a name for the writer!) will take the trouble to look at a statement of the numbers polled by the candidates each day, he will find, that on *nine* of the days polls out of 15, lord Milton had a majority. So much for the accuracy of this statement.—Next, as to the "*respectability*" of Mr. Lascelles's "decided majority;"—by what profound operation of magic, by what demon's aid, (for surely no angel has assisted him,) has Verax come to the knowledge of the important fact, that "Mr. Lascelles's majority was of the most *respectable* freeholders of this great county?" By what scale does Verax determine the degrees of respectability? Does he deem a Leeds merchant more respectable than a Leeds clothier, if both be honest men? or a landlord more respectable than his tenant, if both tread equally correctly in the paths of rectitude? If this be Verax's sublime notion of respectability, he is welcome to all the comfort which he can draw from the idea of his favourite candidate having votes endued with so valuable a characteristic. But what proof does he give that even this advantage was Mr. Lascelles's. Now I assert that lord Milton's votes, in every point of view, from the first to the last, were to the full as

respectable as those of Mr. Lascelles; and until Verax favours us with the secret of his calculation on this head, my assertion has as much right to be believed as his. Verax continues, "Lord Milton's party have not dared to say, that these suffrages were not free and unbiassed suffrages, nor have they ventured even to insinuate, that any unfair or unconstitutional measures were resorted to, to obtain them." Again a mis-statement, not to use harsher language. Lord Milton's party dare, and do assert that every one of Mr. Lascelles's votes were obtained by means to the full as unconstitutional and unfair as were lord Milton's. Does Verax tell me that landlords in the interest of lord Milton forced their tenants to vote for him. So, I reply, (and he must be a fool indeed who doubts the fact,) did landlords in the interest of Mr. Lascelles, force their tenants to vote for *him*. Does he tell me, that the friends of lord Milton in some instances endeavoured to prevail upon those who had promised to vote for Mr. Lascelles, to give their votes to his lordship. So, I assert, did the friends of Mr. Lascelles endeavour to make the voters of lord Milton break their promise. And in proof of this, I do not go upon mere supposition, as it is plain enough Verax does; but I will mention a fact in point, which if necessary, I can substantiate with names. *I myself was present, when one of Mr. Lascelles's committee, about the third day of the election, engaged a man to stand at one of the gates of York, for the express purpose of inducing Lord Milton's voters, who should come into the city by that way, to break their promise, and vote for Mr. Lascelles:* and I know that in other cases the foulest means, and most despicable lies were resorted to, during the whole election, by the friends of Mr. Lascelles, to reduce lord Milton's voters. Lastly, does Verax tell me that the voters of Mr. Lascelles were more unbiassed than those of lord Milton, because they were not influenced by any such unjust clamour, (as he will call it,) as that by which the clothiers were prejudiced against the former gentleman? I answer, and assert that those who voted for Mr. Lascelles were under the influence of a clamour against lord Milton, to the full as unjust, and far more extensively prejudicial, than the cry of the clothiers against Mr. Lascelles. Has Verax yet to learn that the cry of "no popery" was raised against lord Milton. No. He knows this; and he knows also, that this very cry of no popery deprived Lord Milton of as many votes, as did the prejudices of the clothiers Mr. Lascelles. Here again I speak from facts, not from conjecture. I conversed during the election with many of Mr. Lascelles's voters, some of whom assured me, that the reason why they did not vote for lord Milton was, because they had been told he was a papist! and others, too enlightened to swallow such a tale, confessed that they had been made to believe that at any rate he was labouring to establish popery. So effectually had these calumnies been propagated by the friends of Mr. Lascelles, to the prejudice of Lord Milton, that I firmly believe from facts which came within my own knowledge, that at least *half* of these who voted for Mr. Lascelles, were persuaded that lord Milton was actually a papist, or endeavouring to establish popery as our national religion. Such being the case, what becomes of Verax's "free and unbiassed suffrages" for Mr. Lascelles? The truth is, that Verax's pretence that Mr. Lascelles can claim a greater share of unbiassed votes, obtained by more fair and constitutional means, than lord Milton, is to the last degree preposterous, and wholly contrary to fact. That many of the votes for both candidates, would be influenced votes, no rational mind can doubt; and that some of the most sanguine friends of each party, would, unauthorised by their principal, resort to unfair means to promote the cause of their favourite, is equally certain. But what do these admissions prove? Why, merely, that the irregularities on one side are counterbalanced by those on the other, and consequently that the result of the election is the fair proof of the sense of the county.

The next part of Verax's letter, which it is worth while to advert to, is, that where he attributes lord Milton's success to the discovery of a coalition between Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Lascelles. And here, for once, I allow the accuracy of Verax's inference. Without doubt, if lord Milton had unfortunately been duped by Mr. Wilberforce's pretences of standing alone, he would have lost his election. But Verax calls this coalition "a pretended coalition." Alas, for the accuracy of his information! Never was a coalition more real: I do not say between the two candidates, but, what was productive of far more injury to lord Milton, between their

friends and their committees. Once more I go upon facts. I can at any time bring forward a gentleman, (and others can produce hundreds similarly circumstanced,) who, having promised a single vote to Mr. Wilberforce, when he got to York, was requested by Mr. Wilberforce's committee to split his vote, and give one to Mr. Lascelles. If this was not coalescing, I know not what a coalition means.

With regard to Verax's history about orators who first made the clothiers drunk, and then calumniated Mr. Lascelles, and promised great things from lord Milton—I challenge him to produce his facts for this statement. And if he can bring proofs of two or three instances of this kind, I can furnish him with counter proofs that Mr. Lascelles also has had his orators, who have made their auditors drunk, not with the spirit of rum or brandy, but with a far more dangerous spirit, the spirit of religious bigotry and enthusiasm; and have then loaded lord Milton with calumnies infinitely more infamous than any laid to the charge of Mr. Lascelles. And having done this, I will ask him if he is able to charge any of lord Milton's accredited friends with influencing the passions of the clothiers? He cannot, but he will perhaps wish to shut his ears, when I tell him a secret worth knowing, viz. that the Hon. Edwin Lascelles, the eldest brother of Mr. Lascelles, was actively employed in the Castle Yard of York, on the day of nomination, in exciting the cry of "no popery?"—Lastly, to have done with Verax, I ask him how he knows that "*immense* numbers of respectable freeholders have been informed by written notices that if they did not vote for lord Milton, they would be discharged from their farms:"—and if he is able to bring me one instance of this kind, (his power to do which I greatly question,) I will then, by way of balancing the account, direct his attention to the 13 Scarbro freeholders, whom lord Milton so nobly released from their promises to him, because their ruin had been threatened if they voted against Mr. Lascelles. Such, sir, you perceive from the foregoing examination, is the accuracy of one of your correspondents, and hence you may learn what credit is due to the more vague assertions of your other friend, who so appropriately assumes the name of Hampden, under which signature, by the bye, I would whisper to him, Mr. Lascelles will not be very proud of his praises. This gentleman's general observations do not require comment, except as to their main object, which appears to be, to call for subscriptions to support a petition against lord Milton—which idea, you, sir, seem so highly delighted with, that in your mind's eye you fancy the petition already prepared, and by aid of your glowing imagination predict its success without difficulty. But, sir, you must have a much worse opinion of Mr. Lascelles than I have, if you believe that he would countenance such a proceeding; and you must be very ignorant of the transactions of the Yorkshire election if you fancy, that such a petition, if successful, would place Mr. Lascelles in the house of commons as member for Yorkshire. Every candid witness of the election will admit, that, as far as the law would allow, money has been employed with equal profusion to forward the cause of all the parties; and if a rigorous investigation should show, that, in some few instances, the strict letter of the law has been exceeded, both Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Lascelles know, that in these points, they have been to the full as guilty as lord Milton; and therefore they will never countenance a petition against lord M. Indeed, the friends of Mr. Lascelles are aware, that no benefit could accrue to them if a petition against Lord Milton were successful. For the very same reasons which would throw out lord Milton, would incapacitate Mr. Lascelles from taking his seat. And the friends of Mr. Lascelles, who are sincere in their professions of regard for Mr. Wilberforce, will, to the utmost of their power, prevent any petition from being presented against lord Milton, as they are conscious, that such a petition would be the signal for a similar one against Mr. Wilberforce; and that if one is successful, both would.

One word, before I conclude, as to an assertion of your own. You say—"wherever the friends of church and state have been defeated, they have in fact obtained the majorities of their respective towns and counties:" and as a proof of this mode of reasoning, you instance Mr. Osborn's 900 plumpers for Bedfordshire. Was

you made use of this mode of reasoning, you were not aware what a weapon you put into the hands of lord Milton's friends to disarm you of the consolation you derive from the *smallness* of lord Milton's majority over Mr. Lascelles. You surely had not been told, that out of about 11,000 plumpers given at the Yorkshire election, lord Milton had nearly 9000. Apply this fact on your own mode of reasoning, and you must confess that never was the sense of any county more strongly expressed in favour of a candidate, than that of the county of York in favour of lord Milton. Suppose it had been the law, that where three candidates offered themselves, no freeholder should give more than one vote. What, in that case, would have been Mr. Lascelles' situation on the poll? Why, he and Mr. Wilberforce would have had not more than 13,000 votes between them, (the number of freeholders that polled was about 22,000,) whilst lord Milton alone would have had 9000!! Combine this circumstance with the fact, that lord Milton's majorities were by no means of clothiers only, and you must admit, that his victory was most decisive. Some of Mr. Lascelles's friends have asserted that lord Milton's majorities were solely in the clothing districts. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Look only at a statement of the numbers polled for each Wapontake. You will there see that lord Milton's *largest* majority *by far*, was from the wapontake of Strafforth and Tickill, where not a clothier is to be found. In that wapontake, lord Milton polled 1898 votes, chiefly plumpers, whilst Mr. Lascelles had from the same quarter only 483, chiefly split votes. Will Verax pretend that the knife and scissars manufacturers of Sheffield, the inhabitants of Doncaster, and the landed proprietors of the rest of that district, were influenced against Mr. Lascelles by the clothiers? Again, in the wapontake of Hart-hill, a district of the East Riding, 60 or 80 miles distant from the clothiers, where the population is solely composed of land proprietors and of merchants, there also had lord Milton a decided majority. Look at these facts, Mr. Yorke, with a steady eye: revolve the conclusions which your good sense must oblige you to draw from them, and tell me honestly, if lord Milton and the principles which he espouses, have not been decidedly approved of by the great county of York, which includes one-eighth of the population of England. Yes, sir, the freeholdhers of the county of York do approve of the principles of lord Milton; not because (as you will say) he is a friend of jacobins and of papists, but because they believe him to be the friend of the constitution and of toleration—the declared enemy of oppression and of bigotry, and finally, because his manly energy, decision, perseverance and eloquence, manifested in every stage of the contest, have proved him eminently qualified for being their representative in parliament.

I am, sir, yours,

18*th June*, 1807. One of lord Milton's (nearly) 9000 plumpers.

ADMONITION; or, A LETTER of ADVICE, for his future conduct, to JOHN FULLER, Esq. M. P. by a Freeholder of Sussex.

Sir,—You are once more returned to parliament as the representative of the great and opulent county of Sussex. As a freeholder, and your constituent, I claim the right of thus publicly addressing you. I am by no means your enemy, and I trust, eventually, you will believe me your friend. I did not give you my vote, because you was not the person I approved of as a representative of this county, but as soon as I saw Mr. Windham's election safe, I sent you many which I could command, because I thought you should be supported in preference to Mr. Serrison; who appeared to me to have been most wantonly brought forward to disturb the peace of the county, without being possessed of any fair personal claim, or of talents and abilities such as should distinguish the representative of it. But when I say this of him, I do not mean to flatter you by any comparison. Perhaps what I have to address to you will not be very pleasing to you to read; I really, however, do not mean to give offence, and I hope I shall not. But my language must be that of plain, undisguised truth, or it cannot be of benefit to you. You was first brought in for this county because it was *Holson's choice* with the freeholders. No other candidate presented himself, and you was of course returned by the silent suffrages of the electors, as their representative in parliament, but certainly *not by their*

wishes or approbation. I know, sir, this fact you could not, or would not, believe and most erroneously supposed yourself to be the idol of the county, because yo had the repeated good fortune to stand without any opponent. The late conte must, I should think, have undeceived you. Sir, you cannot be ignorant th three independent gentlemen in the eastern part of the county were strongly sol cited to oppose you, with the promised support of very powerful interests, and coul either of them have been prevailed upon to have come forward, *you would not ha dared the contest.* Nothing then has saved you, and again placed you in the se you enjoy, but the incompetency of your opponent, the little weight and influen of those who nominated him, and seconded the nomination, and the *low* estimatic in which the *party* which brought him forward is generally held. Yet, sir, with t these circumstances in your favour, the contest has been severe, the issue for a lor time doubtful, the victory hardly obtained, and the triumph slender and unflatterin The inconvenience attendant on a long and sharply contested county election, as f as they apply to the individual member, will, no doubt, be fully developed, a amply detailed to you in the course of a few weeks, by the high sheriff, the und sheriff, your solicitors, your attorneys and their clerks, the poll clerks and sheril men, coach-masters, inn-keepers and jobmen, printers, messengers, postillions and wa ters, and a long list unnecessary for me farther to detail. The means which you a your family possess may perhaps enable you to meet them more lightly, and to fe them less deeply, than may be the case with many others. But, if I know you all, sir, and such is the character of all the Fuller family, I am much deceiv indeed, if you can part with *fifteen or sixteen thousand glittering and endearing pock companions,* without breathing some *painful sighs,* and casting *some expressive looks sorrow* when you bid the *long and last adieu to those favoured inmates,* from whom yo are about *to separate for ever.* So far the matter respects yourself; but let us tur to it as it concerns the public. A county contest is a great and general evil; it fraught with innumerable mischiefs—Divisions in families, quarrels between frien and neighbours are too often its consequences. Idleness, drunkenness, loss of tim inattention to business, &c. &c. are its inseparable attendants. It is my object recommend to you, and it should be yours to study, to follow such measures as m prevent a repetition of the calamities at the next dissoluion of parliament, and g neral election. The county does not relish *a fifteen days uproar.* But the fre holders in general will prefer *that* to *you*, if you hesitate, I had almost said, *to chan your nature. If you would avoid a future contest, attend to my advice.* Excuse t plainness of the expression, but you are famed for liking plain English. *Natu sir, has cursed you with overpowering lungs.* Your common acquaintance absolute wish you was dumb; and your real friends lament you are not consumptive. Th think some pulmonic attack might soften and moderate those stentorian exclam tions which alarm and confound the senate, your constituents, and society in g neral. Learn then, sir, leaving aside the consideration of elegant and polish manner in private life, which are the best and surest recommendations to men rank, worth, and merit; which conciliate affections, and rivet intimacies not l frequently useful in public causes; leaving, I say, if it must be so, these con derations out of the question, let me turn to that line of *public* conduct which y should observe, as a member of the house of commons. There cannot be slightest necessity, because you are a county representative, that you should spe on every subject which is submitted to discussion. *Nature never intended you for orator.* Besides, you cannot be presumed to be equally well informed on ev question; on some, perhaps, from local circumstances, and want of opportuni however great your assiduity and zeal, your information must be slender. Y hitherto we have had your daily speech, *regular as the evening gun at Portsmou* and nearly *as loud.* Excuse me, sir, if I persevere in the simile, and add, effects of both are the same. As soon as the explosion has taken place, there mains no impression on the senses, except the concussion and noisy din in the e Let me then advise you, sir, as a friend, (and I am sure all your friends will j in the advice) to speak but seldom, and then shortly, and only on points of urg importance respecting the interests of this great empire at large, or those of county in particular which you represent. I am told, sir, and I believe it, t

you are ready and accessible to those constituents whose concerns require your parliamentary interference or assistance. I shall ever approve the stand you made for the *best and most valuable commercial interests of this empire, let the cry of a Brighton mob be what it may.* But, whether you speak in opposition to, or in support of, a measure, recollect always, that gentleness of manners, softness of voice, a modest and respectful address, not however destitute of manly confidence, are the requisite qualifications of a senator who wishes to be thought well of, and who is ambitious his opinions should be attended to. Let me remind you too of the respect which is due to the *chair* of the house of commons. Any omission in this point is highly reprehensible. It is indecorous to interrupt, in any way, the solemn deliberations of parliament; and to be frequently and repeatedly *called to order* by the speaker, for noisy behaviour, or improper language, is what no person of common sense and decency, either within or without the house, will ever justify, or approve. The great assembly of the nation must not be suffered to be made to resemble a *bear-garden;* noise and tumult must be excluded; reason, justice, decency, and truth alone admitted.—One word more to you and I have done.

The private life of a man, who ventures to stand forth as a public character, and to solicit the good opinion and support of a county like this, is strictly scrutinized; and if reprehensible, severely censured. His domestic pursuits, connections, and occupations are inquired into minutely, and if they are found inconsistent with the rules of virtue and decency, he loses all pretensions, and every claim to public favour. Weigh these truths in your mind.—The object of an illicit love should never be obtruded on the eye of modesty, nor offered to the public stare. It is improper for youth to offend in this respect; at your age it is unpardonable. *Have done then with boyish follies.*—I am told you are rich, I believe you to be good tempered; and though you appear to be *far past the prime of life*, and I cannot compliment you on *personal merit*, yet I have no doubt some lady might be found, of family, virtue, sense, education, and manners, who would not reject the offer of your hand, *accompanied with a handsome settlement, and liberal allowance for pin-money.* She would render your home respectable, would attract to your house persons of good sense, breeding, and information, and would form a polished and pleasing society around you. Should your ambition again lead you to aspire to be the representative of this county, you would soon reap the benefit of *such a reformation.* You might then look opposition in the face, and stifle contest; and in your canvass you would meet with complacency and smiles, instead of scoffs and insult.

" *Uteunque defecere mores*
" *Dedecorant bene nata Culpæ.*"

A SUSSEX FREEHOLDER.

Lewes, May 30th, 1807.

Continuation of the Supplement to the London Gazette, of Saturday, June 13.

Extract of a Dispatch from Major-General Fraser to General the Right Hon. H. E. Fox, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Canopus, Aboukir Bay, April 24, 1807.

I have the mortification to acquaint you, that the second attempt that I thought necessary to make against Rosetta has failed, owing to a great reinforcement of the enemy being sent down the Nile from Cairo, which overpowered our troops, and obliged them to fall back with the loss (I am grieved to say) of nearly one thousand men in killed, wounded and missing. Among the latter are lieut-col. M'Leod, major Vogelsang, and major Mohr. Brigadier-general Stewart, who commanded the troops on this service, is only now upon his march towards Alexandria with the remainder of his force, and has not yet sent me the details; but as the admiral thinks it necessary to dispatch the Wizard brig immediately from this bay to Messina, I think it necessary to give you all the information I am at present in possession of, and shall send you the particulars of this unfortunate affair by his majesty's ship Thunderer, which will leave Alexandria very soon; and as I have not time to acquaint his majesty's ministers of this event by this opportunity, I must request you to have the goodness to do it as soon as possible.

Return of Killed and Wounded of the Army in the Action of the 31, of March, 1807, at Rosetta.

Killed.—Staff—1 major-general.—Royal Artillery—2 rank and file.—31 Regt.—1 captain, 3 serjeants, 3 drummers, 69 rank and file.—Chasseurs Britanniques—1 captain. 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 99 rank and file.

Total—1 Major-general, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 6 serjeants, 5 drummers, 170 rank and file.

Wounded.—Staff.—1 brigadier-general, 1 brigade major.—Royal Artillery—10 rank and file.—31 Reg.—1 captain, 6 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 129 rank and file.—Chasseurs Britanniques—4 captains, 5 subalterns, 1 adjutant, 4 serjeants, 111 rank and file.—Staff corps—1 rank and file.

Total. -1 brigadier-general, 1 brigade major, 5 captains, 10 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 11 serjeants, 1 drummer, 251 rank and file.

Names of Officers killed.—Major-general Wauchope.—31 Regt.—captain John Robertson.—Chasseurs Britanniques—captain B. de Serocourt, lieut. D'Amiel.

Names of Officers wounded.—Brigadier-general the Hon. Robert Meade.—31 Regt.—captains Horsburg, (brigade major,) and Dowdall; lieutenants E. Knox, Fearon, Thornton, Seddon, and Ryan, ensign Kirby.—Chasseurs Britanniques.—captain Duhautoy, de Comprement, de Calonne, and de Lafitte; lieutenants le Maitre, J. Spitz, de Sault, and Klinger: ensign Dontingault, adjutant.

(Signed) GEORGE AIRY.
Acting Dep. Adjutant General.

N. B. Most of the wounded officers and men are recovering.

General Baron Armfeldt's Report to Baron Essen, Governor General of Pomerania, relative to the actions between the Swedish and French Troops, on the 16th of April, 1807.

"As early as the 12th of April, I received intelligence that the blockade of Colberg was raised, and general Mortier was marching to Stettin, to form a junction with the garrison of that place, commanded by general Grandjean.

"On the 15th, in the morning, colonel Cardell reconnoitred, from Neukong to Passelwalk: he was attacked by the enemy, and fell back to his positions. All reports agreed, that the enemy was from 12,000 to 15,000 men strong. In this situation, I had no other choice than either to fall back behind the river Peene, and abandon the magazine in Anclam, or to endeavour to repulse the enemy: and if this could not be done, to make an honourable retreat, disputing with the enemy every inch of ground he had to traverse. I thought it right to prefer the latter measure.

"As the French were assembling in considerable force, I found it also necessary to concentrate the troops under my command. Colonel Vegesack's position could not be altered; but colonel Cardell received orders to take a position near the rivulet Zarow, pushing his advanced posts as far as Uckermande and Sargalow.

"On the 16th, at 6 o'clock in the morning, I received brigadier-general baron Vegesack's report, that his out-posts near Belling had been driven in by the enemy, and that the French were marching in considerable force to Ferdinandshoff and Sprengenfield. I immediately sent orders to colonel Cardell, in case that he should not be attacked, to send succours to Sprengenfeldt by way of Blumenthal. At 7 o'clock I received a report that colonel Cardell was severely attacked by the enemy. I immediately proceeded with my escort to Springenfeldt. In Old Cosenow, where the roads of Uckermunde, Zarrowmill, and Passenwalk meet, I left one battalion of foot, and my aid-de-camp Adlerbaum, with orders to halt there until further orders. I had not yet advanced beyond Ratibor, when I received the report that baron Vegesack was badly wounded, and had transferred the command to lieutenant-colonel Posse. Near Old Vigshagen I met the head of our retreating column, and soon after found colonel Posse closely engaged with the enemy.

"The loss of this column was not inconsiderable. Baron Posse was slightly wounded in the hand and knee. The battalion of Sudermanland, which drove the enemy back with fixed bayonets, had about 12 or 15 wounded.

"In the mean time I sent an aid-de-camp to colonel Gutskow, in Baldekow, with orders to fall back to Stolpe, which he did.

"In Cosenow, of which the enemy endeavoured to render himself master, the conflict was uncommonly severe. My six pieces of cannon compelled the enemy twice to fall back. We had 6 pieces of cannon and 3 howitzers, which latter, by the numerous granades they threw, caused more confusion than mischief.

"Finding that the enemy was turning my left wing, and erecting a battery against it, I judged it necessary to retreat to Hoenstein, where I had the honour to make my report to your Excellency, through the medium of major Silfroerskoule, and at the same time required some bread and brandy for the troops, who had not taken the least food or refreshment since three o'clock in the morning.

"In this position, I remained until night-fall, without being attacked by the enemy, and then fell back to my former position, near Zietin, lest my flank should be turned during the night, by the numerous horse of the enemy.

"From Anclam I received the report, that, with the exception of some sick who could not be removed, and a few pipes of spirits, every thing had been sent off from that city.

"Near Stolpe, I was joined by two battalions, and at Zietin by four battalions of foot, about 60 chasseurs, two squadrons of dragoons, and one squadron of hussars, with four 6 pounders. With these troops, I hoped I should be able successfully to defend the strong position of Zietin, as I received several reports that the enemy had barricaded himself on the Anclam road, and taken up a defensive position.

"Not being attacked by the enemy, nor seeing any probability of being so in that position, I left there all the horse and two pieces of cannon, and sent the infantry to Schlatko and Raugien, where they could obtain the provision which could not be had at Zietin.

"I myself remained in the above position, until the arrival of colonel baron Stael Von Holstein, who, by your Excellency's order, assumed the command of my corps, in consequence of the severe contusion which I received the preceding day, and which disabled me from continuing any longer at the head of that gallant column, which, composed of two weak squadrons, four battalions, and four pieces of cannon, disputed with the enemy, who was 19,000 men strong, with fifteen pieces of cannon, for several hours, an extent of ground of four German miles, and there gloriously upheld the military fame of the Swedish army.

"G. M. ARMFELT, General of Infantry."

"Strulsund, April 20."

CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC.

After a long resistance, and 51 days open trenches, circumstances having rendered it necessary to negociate for the surrender of Dantzic to the troops of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, and his allies, the following capitulation has been agreed upon, between his excellency general Kalkreuth, knight of the orders of the black eagle and of St. Andrew; and the general of division Drouet, commandant of the legion of honour, grand cross of the royal order of Bavaria, chief of the general staff of the 10th corps of the army, provided with full powers by the marshal of the empire Lefebvre, commandant in chief of the said corps:—

Art. 1. The garrison shall march out on the morning of the 27th, with arms and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, with two pieces of light artillery, six-pounders, and their ammunition waggons, each drawn by six horses.

2. The remainder of the artillery horses shall be delivered up to the French.

3. All the arms of every kind, beyond what may be necessary for the officers and troops who leave the place, shall be delivered up to the officers of artillery nominated for that purpose.

4. The garrison shall be conducted to the advanced posts of the army of his Prussian majesty, at Pillau, passing through the Nehrung; and night quarters shall be assigned them for a march of five days.

5. The garrison engages not to act against the French army, or its allies, duri one year, reckoning from the day of signing the capitulation. General co Kalkreuth, his highness prince Scherbatow, and the rest of the officers, engage, u their honour, to observe, and cause the present article to be observed.

6. Hakelsberg, and the gates of Oliva, Jacob, and Neugarten, shall be delive up to the troops of his majesty the emperor and king, and those of his allies, the 26th, at noon,

7. The officers, subalterns, and privates, at present prisoners at Dantzic, whet belonging to his majesty the emperor or his allies, shall be liberated without b exchanged.

8. In order to prevent confusion, the troops of his majesty the emperor, those of his allies, shall not enter Dantzic till the Prussians and Russians have w drawn. However a piquet shall be admitted into the place, and guards be po at the gates.

9. As the means of conveying the whole baggage out of the place are not s cient, a vessel shall be granted to sail directly for Pillau. The freighting of vessel shall be made in the presence of a French officer, nominated for that pur

10. Officers of the engineers and artillery shall be nominated on both sides, take charge of what relates to the army, not forgetting the plans, charts, &c.

11. The magazines, regimental chests, and every thing in general, belongin the king, shall be given up to the French administration, and a commissary shall nominated to deliver them to the person provided with full powers to receive th by his excellency marshal Lefebvre.

12. The Prussian officers, prisoners on parole, who were with their familie Dantzic before the blockade commenced, may remain there, waiting for fr orders from his excellency the prince of Neufchatel, major-general; neverthel to enjoy this advantage, it will be necessary for them to produce a certificate, attest that they have not taken any part in the defence of the place.

13. All the women belonging to the officers and others, or persons in a civil ploy, shall be free to leave the place, and shall have passports granted them.

14. The sick and wounded shall be left to the generosity of his excellency m shal Lefebvre; officers and surgeons shall be left to take care of them, to prese good order, and provide necessaries. As soon as they recover, they shall be s to the advanced posts of the Prussian army, and enjoy the privileges of capitulation.

15. An accurate list of the officers, subalterns, and privates of each regime shall be delivered to his excellency marshal Lefebvre. The military remaining the hospitals shall be inscribed in a separate list.

16. His excellency marshal Lefebvre has assured the inhabitants of Dantzic, t he will use every means to cause persons and property to be respected, and that best order shall be maintained in the garrison.

17. A superior officer shall be sent to the respective head-quarters to guaran the execution of the capitulation.

His excellency the governor has nominated major Lestocq.

His excellency marshal Lefebvre has appointed the adjutant command Guichard.

18. The present capitulation shall be carried into execution if, by the 26th noon, the garrison shall not have been relieved. It is understood, that from present time till then, the garrison of Dantzic shall not make any attack upon besiegers, supposing any engagement should take place in the vicinity of the place

Done at Dantzic, May 20, 1807.

(Signed) The general of cavalry, KALKREUTH, governo
V. RQUGETTE.
COLLAMBEGER, commandant.
P. SHERBATOW, major-general.
DROUET, general of division.

Approved by us, The marshal of the empire, commander in chie the 10th corps of the army, LEFEBVRE

Official Account of the Battle of Auerstadt, on the 14th of October, 1806.

The unfortunate consequences of the battle of the 14th of last October, have hitherto prevented any official account from being laid before the public.

The Prussian army, under the duke of Brunswick, was mostly collected on the 5th of October, in the neighbourhood of Naumburg; the corps of the prince of Hohenlohe was in the vicinity of Altenburg and Pennig; general Ruchel's corps was between Mulhausen and Gottengen.

As the enemy's principal force was expected in the neighbourhood of Wurtzburg, it was thought proper to send about 8000 men through Smalkalden and Eisenach; while a small corps, under count Tauenzien, was to act as a corps of observation on the road to Hoff, follow the reserve, or act against an enemy's corps on the side towards Saxony.

On the 7th, both armies were between Eisenah and Rudelstadt: then we learned that the enemy had turned the greatest part of his force towards Bayreuth, and was in greater force than we had reason to expect.

Since the theatre of war in Prussia afforded no natural means of defence, on the 8th, we marched to the left, in order to pass the Saal. The army of prince Hohenloe moved towards Jena and Kahle, and the duke of Brunswick to Blankenhayn. The prince of Hohenlohe had already passed this river on the 9th with a part of his army; but the duke did not wish him to have passed till he had arrived upon the banks with the troops under his command, as he did not want to combat the enemy singly. He therefore ordered the prince to fall back. This circumstance gave occasion to the unfortunate affair of posts near Saalfeld on the 10th, in which the gallant and heroic prince Ferdinand of Prussia did not engage rashly, as has been supposed.

The duke's army arrived on the same day at Blankenhayn. He now learned that the enemy was advancing through Hoff, and that another column was proceeding along the Saal by Saalfeldt. He found the passage over the Saal would be attended with difficulties to him. To prevent being cut off from the Elbe, he marched on the 11th to Wiemar. Here the duke's army encamped on the right bank of the Ilme, and the prince of Hohenlohe at Kappellendorf, not far from Jena. General Ruchel's corps took a position near Erfurt; and the advanced guard under the duke of Wiemar, which had previously advanced through the forest of Thuringia, in order to alarm the enemy in his flank and rear, had orders to return and approach the grand army by the road through Arnstadt.

On the 12th, the duke of Brunswick had a conference near Jena with prince Hohenloe; the duke's plan was then to pass the Saal higher up, in case the enemy should attempt to turn the left of the Prussian army.

This took place on the 11th, 12th, and 13th, without our obtaining any certain knowledge of it; and through a mistake the detachments belonging to prince Hohenloe, who were ordered to observe the enemy, did not march at the proper time.

On the 12th, we learned that the enemy was in possession of Naumburg. still this intelligence was in some measure uncertain; however, late in the evening it was confirmed beyond a doubt.

On the 13th at noon, the duke's army marched to Aurstadt, to make head against the enemy, who was endeavouring to turn the Prussians. Towards evening, the duke arrived near Aurstadt, within two miles and a half of Naumburg. We learnt upon the march, and in Auerstadt, that the enemy was still in possession of Naumberg, and that some regiments of French chasseurs were posted on this side of the Saal, on the road to Auerstadt. It was determined to drive these regiments back again over the Saal, and then to proceed through Unstrutt, near Frieburg and Laucha, and to attack the enemy's corps on the other side of the river. The duke of Brunswick wrote to prince Hohenloe, late in the evening of the 13th, to inform

him that he occupied the passage over the Saal, in great strength betwen the arm and that the prince should by no means suffer himself to be cut off from the du army.

The army of the duke commenced its march early in the morning of the 1 and fell in with the French corps under marshal Davoust. Notwithstanding meeting was not expected, and that a very heavy rain had occasioned great inc veniences, the advanced guard under general Blucher made a vigorous attack upon enemy's chasseurs, which formed marshall Davoust's advanced guard, and drove t back upon the main body. The three other divisions of the army, under the d of Brunswick, marched in order against the enemy, and engaged him from wing to the other. The infantry of these three divisions formed a column, maintained their fire from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon. At noon our right wing began to gain ground: the enemy, however, obtained reinfo ments from his reserve, and now commenced an attack upon the defile of Ka Our left wing had driven the enemy out of his first position, just as our right w began to give way; the left was the first to follow, as soon as the enemy was motion in their rear. The remainder of the two divisions, the flower of the army the reserve, was for the most part about 3000 paces in the rear, upon the hei of Auerstadt, and only a few regiments of them took part in the action.

The army of prince Hohenlohe was attacked at break of day by the corps w which the Emperor was present, from the side of Jena, whilst the corps of Ba dotte passed the river Saal, advancing from Dornburg and Kamburg, and took prince in the rear; the corps of general Ruchel hastened to the prince's assista passed through a dangerous defile, and attacked the enemy. The army of prince, as well as the corps of general Ruchel, fought with great bravery; but w at last obliged to submit to the superiority of the enemy, whose numbers were th times as great as theirs.

"The prince's corps retreated to Weimar, which town was occupied by the ene the same evening. The small corps of lieutenant-general Ruchel, (who had alre received a wound) which was not quite 10,000 strong, retreated only through defile as far as Capelldorff, where the general again formed in line, and advance a square column towards the defile. A brisk cannonade now commenced on b sides, but the enemy did not pass the defile; and the firing ceased. Hereupon neral Ruchel transferred the command to lieutenant-general Larisch, ordering h at first, to retreat *en echiquier*, to cover the retreat with a *bataillon quarré*, and continue drawing back on one side of Buttelstadt, to reach the king's army, up which the left wing was also leaning, whilst the right had joined field-marshal M lendorff. The greatest misfortune to both these corps was, that the passage of Saal at Dornburg and Kamburg was not properly guarded and defended. It owing to this circumstance that the army of the prince was taken in the rear, a its communication with the duke's army cut off. When the king ordered the ar of the Duke to march forward upon the heights of Auerstadt in the evening, at the retreat of the three first divisions, thereby preventing the enemy from advanci he did not know that the army of prince Hohenlohe, and the corps of general R chel, had been unfortunate in the engagement. Had he been informed thereof, would have renewed the action, and cleared the way to the Unstrutt.

"On the supposition that the army of prince Hohenlohe was still at Kapellend and that the corps of general Ruchel was at Weimar, the king ordered the duk army to go and join that corps, and to renew the engagement the next day. Ge ral count Kalkreuth was ordered to form the rear-guard with the reserve (wh had not then been engaged), and field-marshal Mollendorff took the command the other troops. The king intended (as the action was ended, and the enemy pu sued no farther) to go to Weimar in person, to settle with prince Hohenlohe a general Ruchel the proper dispositions for executing the said plan. But, on t road from Auerstadt to Weimar, he met with the enemy, and was therefore oblig to return to the army. The king placed himself in front of the army, and marc from Wickerstadt to Sommerda, leaving Weimar on his left hand. In the nig when the king was successively informed by the fugitives of the condition of t army of Hohenlohe, and of general Ruchel's corps, he determined that all t

troops should retreat by Nordhausen, and took his way for the said place thro' Sommerda. As the retreat for Weimar had originally been resolved upon, a division of the troops marched thither; but, on finding an enemy there, they turned towards Erfurt, and made a long detour. On this occasion, general Mollendorff, with about 5000 men, were taken prisoners at Erfurt.

"On the 17th the army marched in three columns from Nordhausen to Madgeburg, through the Harz.

"On the same day the Wurtemberg corps was attacked near Halle, by the corps of marshal Bernadotte, and defeated. It crossed the Elbe at Dessau, burned the bridge, sent a detachment of 30 men to Wittenberg, to destroy the bridge at that place, which, however, was prevented by the inhabitants, and then proceeded to Madgeburg. The enemy restored the bridges, passed the river at Dessau and Wittenberg, and thus reached the Oder before the Prussian army under prince Hohenlohe, which was retreating by the way of Madgeburg. This general, who had always distinguished himself by his bravery and resolution, was obliged to sign an unfortunate capitulation for 16,000 men at Prenzlow, on the 28th October. The same day a corps of 10,000 men, under general Blucher, which had followed him, got as far as Bonzenburg, where it escaped the pursuit of the enemy (who was coming from every side) by bending towards Strelitz, and a few days after joining another corps under the duke of Weimar.

"Both these corps, under the enterprizing and brave general Blucher, after four engagements, did, at last, on the 7th November, submit to the superior numbers of the enemy, when they had only 9,400 men left, of whom there were only 7,500 able to bear arms; though they kept three corps of the enemy (those of prince Murat, and of the marshals Soult and Bernadotte) for three weeks at a distance from the Oder and Vistula; for the latter were ten days in marching back to Frankfort.

"It will now be proper to state the force of the army which fought against France on the 14th. According to the statement delivered to the king, by the duke of Brunswick, the Prussian army, which was put in motion to oppose the enemy, could not be computed to exceed the following numbers:—

	Effective.	*Batteries.*
The corps of Blucher in Westphalia - - - -	11,532	3
The Hanoverian corps - - - - - - - -	13,688	4
The Magdeburgh troops - - - - - - - -	9,820	3
The troops from Potsdam, Berlin, and the Mark	11,520	5
The corps of general Kalkreuth - - - - -	13,980	4
The troops from Silesia and South Prussia - -	23,940	11
Those from West Prussia - - - - - - - -	12,720	5
	96,840	35
Saxon troops - - - - - - - - - - - -	20,000	
Total - -	116,840	

"In this statement each battalion is reckoned at 600 rank and file. Probably no regiment was stronger, and many of them consisted of fewer effective men.

"The Saxon forces are but superficially stated, and a correct list would shew, that the effective numbers of this corps, both of the infantry and cavalry, are rated rather too high than too low.

"On the 14th October, the following deduction appeared from the above, viz.:

1. The troops from West Prussia, because they reached the Elbe later, and only arrived at Halle on the 15th - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	12,720
2. A small corps in Westphalia, in two detachments - - - - - - -	4,080
3. At Hameln and Nieuburg - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,800
4. At Hanover -	1,300
5. Under the duke of Weimar and general Winning, a corps of observation to watch the enemy's corps in Franconia, and on the Lower Maine	12,260
	31,060

being deducted from 116,840 leaves the total effective force of the Prussian which fought on the 14th October, 85,180 men, inclusive of the Saxons; from which the small corps of prince Louis Ferdinand is still to be deducted, which was routed at Saalfeld.

We are not accurately acquainted with the force of the French army. Some time previous to the battle, the different French corps which were engaged, were stated as follows:—

The corps of marshal	Bernadotte	16,800
	Davoust	36,000
	Soult	36,600
	Lannes	42,000
	Augereau	14,400
	Ney	28,200
	The reserves of Cavalry	20,400
	Total	194,400

It is probable that the corps of marshal Lannes was the weakest of any in the action; however, we know for a certainty, that those of Bernadotte and Augereau were the strongest The enemy w atas least 200,000 strong.

The Prussian armies sustained a great loss in killed and wounded. The royal house has supported, by its personal bravery, the heroic character of its ancestors The king had a horse shot under him with a musket ball, at the moment when he was leading a regiment of cavalry against the enemy. General Zastrow immediately gave his majesty the horse he had rode, to facilitate his majesty's escape, and prevent him from being made prisoner. In the night between the 14th and 15th, his majesty likewise put himself at the head of a regiment of cavalry, and rode through the enemy sword in hand. Prince Louis died the death of a hero, when he found he could not be a conqueror. Both his majesty's brothers were wounded: prince Henry was with the last of the troops that remained upon the field of battle; and being hurt in consequence of the fall of his horse, which was shot, he was only saved by receiving that of colonel Scharnhorst. Prince Augustus Ferdinand wounded, having continually fought at the head of his grenadiers with great bravery.

The enemy's princes may have the advantage of the Prussians in military experience, but certainly they are not superior in valour; otherwise wounds and death are no longer certain proofs of the share they took in a close and continual engagement.

Not one of the three commanders of the Prussian army has escaped unhurt; the heroic duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, and has died of his wounds; the brave and noble prince Hohenlohe received a violent contusion upon his arm; the valiant and determined general Ruchel is badly wounded; and there are besides eleven Prussian generals partly wounded and partly dead.

The Prussian army may still be subject to some failures when opposed to the enemy formed for war, and matured by 14 years experience. Our cotemporaries may still bring forward their objections in many respects, but the blood the Prussians have already shed, and most probably their future conduct, will justify them to posterity."

Erratum, in Mercator's letter, in the last number, p. 499, line 13, after the word "*exception of*," add "*some European goods re-exported, and*".

Printed by W. MARCHANT, 3, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden; and published by H. R. YORKE, 412, Strand, opposite the Adelphi; and sold also by H. T. HODGSON, Wimpole-Street, and by all the News-venders in Town and Country.